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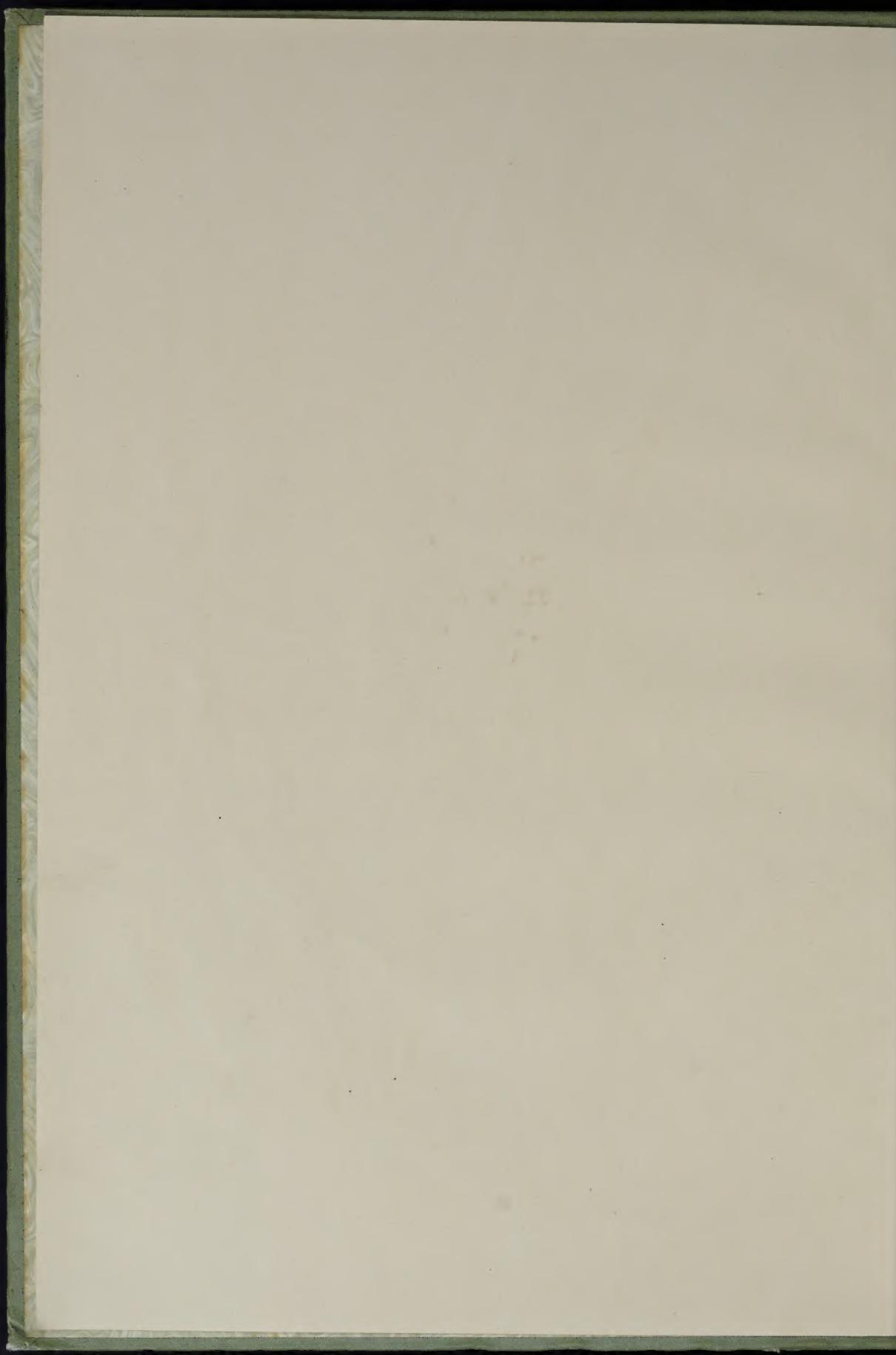
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*Why ask for the moon
When we have the stars?*

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THE ARCHITECTURE OF
ROBERT and JAMES ADAM



First published in 1922.





Ant Zucchi Inv.

F. Bartolozzi, Sculp.

*"A Student conducted to Minerva, who points to Greece, and Italy, as the Countries
from where he must derive the most perfect Knowledge and Taste in elegant Architecture."*

THE FRONTISPICE, DATED 1775, TO "THE WORKS IN ARCHITECTURE OF
ROBERT AND JAMES ADAM ESQUIRES."

The Architecture of Robert & James Adam

(1758-1794)

BY

ARTHUR T. BOLTON
F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

Curator of the Sir John Soane Museum

VOL. I.

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P R E F A C E .

MORE than five and twenty years ago I had the good fortune to be one of a party of architects, young and old, who had spent an afternoon at Syon. On leaving I exchanged a few words with one of the elders, known for his profound knowledge of architecture. The sole comment of the critic after viewing Robert Adam's masterpiece was that "he preferred the Earlier Style." This may undoubtedly have been from his point of view conclusive, but neither at that nor at any subsequent time have I been able to accept such an intentionally slighting appreciation.

It is certain that there is a stage in any artistic development when the form in use has become so crystallised that the artistic spirit of the time must take refuge in the uttermost elaboration of detail, thus marking time, if you will, until a breach is made by the rising pressure of a fresh creative movement. Every period of art in turn will exhibit the same phenomena. It is natural that we should look back to the earlier stages of each successive form as endowed for us with a greater sense of life and freedom. At the same time we are apt to unconsciously read into such beginnings much of the later achievement, assuring ourselves that it must have been there in the germ. Robert Adam came at the ebb and flow, between the lapsing classic and the rising romantic movements, and having by temperament sympathies alive to the influences of both, his work in its results was bound to exhibit their opposing characteristics.

If our outlook is too limited we may fail to realise the value of such phases of style as the Perpendicular Gothic of England and the Adam period of Georgian Classic. What ought rather to intrigue our fancy is why such phases are not more permanent, because in them we see the workings of local assimilation and that adaptation to wider needs of forms at first restricted in their use. At this point, however, the fruit is decided to be rotten, and the tree is more often cut down than pruned, and the whole process is, as it were, inaugurated afresh by a new graft.

Criticism that fails to take account of Robert Adam's relation to his own times will always fail to realise the depth and quality of his genius. Time and experience should only deepen our sense of the wonderful achievement of this distinguished architect.

The knowledge acquired in the course of visiting and describing the buildings in this book, and the long hours on many days spent in going through the Adam Drawings in the Soane Collection, served only to deepen my own conviction that far too little is known of the actual work which Robert Adam achieved.

It is the fate of the distinguished house architect that very little should be known of his finest work. It used to be a joke about Bodley that his best buildings were always five miles from a railway station. In the case of the house architect it is not only distance, but also the moral certainty that it will be inaccessible, which keeps the enquiring student at bay.

We are beginning to realise that the last half of the eighteenth century, whatever may have been the case in Italy and France, was a great period in England. It was not only a summing up or culmination of the work of the first half of the century, but was also formative in the highest degree, containing in itself the elements of the great expansion of the next century. The galaxy of writers and artists who flourished in England at this period have been hitherto too much overshadowed, perhaps, owing to our absorption in the earlier group, who formed what is called the "Augustan Age" of Queen Anne.

The life of owners of Adam houses would indeed be not worth living if they had to share their glories with the whole world. All the more thanks are due, therefore, to those who have so kindly yielded to the entreaties that have been made to them, and have allowed their treasure to be revealed by the aid of the photographer. Great pains have been taken by personal investigation and plans to determine, as far as possible, what Robert Adam really did in each case. In the author's Prefatory Note to the "Walter Spiers' Topographical Index of Adam Drawings in the Soane Collection" some explanation is given of the nature of the Adams' practice and

of the character of the records therein preserved. Special documentary evidence is further given in the Chapters on Shelburne House, Bowood, the Adelphi Estate, the building of the Royal Society of Arts, and the Register House of Scotland, particular instances which will be found to throw much new light upon the financial and building methods of the Adams. It is not for a moment pretended that the whole ground has been covered so that further research will not increase our knowledge in respect of the work of Robert Adam, and also correct many unwitting mistakes. On the contrary, the writer's aim has been to endeavour to ease the path of others by providing data and material which should be of great assistance to all students of Adam architecture. Whatever errors I may have met with in previous accounts, I have been at no pains to signalise such discoveries, nor, I trust, is there anything intentionally controversial in these pages.

Apart from the general account in the first six chapters, the main idea of the present book has been to deal with the finest accessible works by Robert Adam, each as comprehensively as possible in separate chapters devoted to each subject. By means of plans and photographs it is sought to show how much still exists, and in particular what the work looks like in its actuality; while through contemporary engravings and reproductions of selected Adam drawings much that has lapsed has been restored to view.

Preference has been given to Domestic over Public buildings, and particular attention has been bestowed upon the first ten years (1758-68) of Robert Adam's practice. At first, Adam's own great book, "The Works," was taken as a guide. It was divided up into separate undertakings, and in regard to these it was hoped to throw such further light on the subjects already dealt with therein as is possible by the aid of photography. Unfortunately, some of the buildings illustrated in "The Works" no longer exist, while others have been altered out of knowledge. The two or three subjects given in "Vitruvius Britannicus" (1767), which still exist, were then studied. Recourse was next had to the Adam Drawings in the Soane Collection for information as to works which might still exist and be worth tracing out. One or two buildings were also taken on their reputation and appearance independent of the above authorities.

As the work advanced, finding that there was so much available material in the great quarry of the Adam Drawings in the Soane Collection, I decided it was best to leave "The Works" on one side and to endeavour to carry further the illustration of Adam work which was there begun but left incomplete. It is possible that James Adam's intended "History of Architecture" would have contained a considerable portion of the unillustrated buildings, and particularly of the smaller houses, had it ever been brought to the point of publication. In the result it is hoped that such a selection has been made as will form a sound criterion of Robert Adam's architectural achievements.

Comparatively few people have ever seen a really first class Adam building inside and out, and their ideas of Adam work are too apt to be based on the exterior of the much altered Adelphi, the incomplete designs of Portland Place, Fitzroy Square, and possibly the Coffee Room of some hotel "in the Adam style." To such it is hoped that this work will be a revelation of the personality of a great architect, a stylist and decorative artist of the first order.

ARTHUR T. BOLTON, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.,

Curator.

Sir John Soane's Museum,

13, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.,

14th April, 1922.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS, AND AUTHOR'S NOTE TO THE READER.

It is surely appropriate that a work dealing with the architecture of Robert and James Adam, whose careers were chequered by a great war, should have been interrupted and prolonged by a conflict transcending all previous experience. The first idea of the book was a simple one, a series of articles on the Brothers Adam to form a work uniform with the Architect's Library, which Sir Lawrence Weaver, K.B.E., had initiated. The first article (*Shardeloes*) appeared in *Country Life* on July 5th, 1913, and the last in 1921. Only about two-thirds of the materials and drawings accumulated have been drawn upon for this book, and all that has been already printed has been so recast and altered as to leave very little of the original form. Very much that appears here has not been printed at all in any form before. When the events of August, 1914, cancelled the original idea of the book, so much had already been done and the possible value of the task had become so apparent, that the work was carried on, and thus by the circumstances of the time acquired a character that could otherwise have hardly been consistent with the claims of professional life. In addition, I recognise that I owe to this book a relief from the pressing anxieties of the time.

I hardly venture to hope that the full aim of the book has been achieved, that the patient reader should arrive at a more complete realisation of the life of the last half of the eighteenth century, seeing, in fact, a period of which he would already have a general knowledge derived from histories, political, military and social, as staged in the full background of the domestic architecture of the period.

Architecture as an important strand in the cord of civilisation is really the concern of all, and the past is not so much dead as to be incapable of affording guidance for the present. To bring it really to life we must set forth once more that "form and pressure of the times" to which its original development was due. The characters, thoughts and actions of the men and women of each period are surely reflected in the monumental record of the past. From a completely revealed history of a period striking analogies will rise to the surface, and hope for the present and the future will revive as the scroll of the past brings out links and likenesses to so much that is familiar to ourselves.

Very particular acknowledgments are due to the owners of Adam houses for their kind co-operation, and most of all to those who have placed at my disposition original documents and drawings. To the Marquess of Zetland, the Earl of Jersey, the Earl of Kerry and to Lord Mansfield I am specially indebted for original documents of the utmost importance. There are, doubtless, in existence numbers of letters written by Robert Adam, but singularly few have so far been met with. Those which are given here will be read with great interest, and the fact of their publication may lead to others being drawn out of oblivion.

I regret that it is impossible to record the names of all those to whom I am indebted. To Mr. C. B. King, Lord Mansfield's agent, I owe much in relation to Kenwood, and to Mr. Henry Little at Osterley. At the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the London Library, the Royal Society of Arts, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Guildhall, the Hon. Society of Benchers of Lincoln's Inn, the County Hall of Hertford, the Register House of Scotland, the City Hall at Edinburgh, etc., I have met with the kindest assistance.

In making the very large number of drawings, of which some 90 out of 140 sheets have been reproduced here, I had the help of a series of young assistants as one after another went to the war. Some of the best were the work of Mr. R. Vallis Knights, who was the first to join in 1914, and has, happily, returned. In cases where the plans were obtained from my own survey, architects will appreciate that the object was to give the general idea of the plan with sufficient detail and accuracy. Neither time nor opportunity allowed of a Silver Medal standard. The majority of the plans are from Adam originals, checked as far as was possible on the spot. The plans, as a whole, offer, I trust, a series of examples fully illustrating Robert Adam's remarkable gift in this as much as in any other branch of architecture.

The decease, in May, 1917, of the late Curator of the Soane Museum, Walter Lewis Spiers, F.S.A., an old personal friend, was a most severe loss. His great interest in the subject made him at all times ready to discuss at any length points arising in the course of the work. His special knowledge of London topography was invaluable. It is a source of regret to me that he did not live to see the proofs. I could have counted on the advantage of his criticism, which was marked by a caution and meticulous accuracy that would have been most helpful.

The general index has been the work of Mr. J. H. Elder Duncan. Much is due to the compositors and printer's readers who have dealt so patiently and well with the complicated appendices. The book itself is evidence that the proprietors of *Country Life* have spared nothing to make the whole a monumental record of the architecture of Robert and James Adam.

SYNOPSIS OF THE WORK.

VOLUME I.

PART I.

INTRODUCTORY.

CHAPTER I. EARLY YEARS UP TO ROBERT ADAM'S RETURN FROM ITALY IN JANUARY, 1758.

CHAPTER II. OUTLINE OF THE EARLY PERIOD FROM 1758 UP TO THE START OF THE ADELPHI SCHEME IN 1768.

CHAPTER III. ROBERT ADAM'S IDEAS.

CHAPTER IV. THE CASTLE STYLE AND THE FIRST STIRRINGS OF THE GOTHIC REVIVAL.

CHAPTER V. ROBERT ADAM'S CRITICS.

CHAPTER VI. THE ADELPHI CRISIS : LAST YEARS AND THE DEATHS OF ROBERT AND HIS BRETHREN.

PART II.

EARLY DOMESTIC WORK IN THE COUNTRY.

CHAPTER VII. HATCHLANDS, SURREY, 1759.

CHAPTER VIII. SHARDELOES, BUCKS, 1759-61.

CHAPTER IX. HAREWOOD, YORKSHIRE, 1759-68.

CHAPTER X. CROOME COURT, WORCESTERSHIRE, 1759-65 (?) AND LATER.

CHAPTER XI. BOWOOD, WILTSHIRE, 1761-71.

CHAPTER XII. COMPTON VERNEY, WARWICKSHIRE, 1760-63.

CHAPTER XIII. KEDLESTON, DERBYSHIRE, 1760-70 (?).

CHAPTER XIV. SYON, MIDDLESEX, 1762-68.

CHAPTER XV. OSTERLEY, MIDDLESEX, 1761-79. (?)

CHAPTER XVI. KENWOOD, MIDDLESEX, 1767-68.

VOLUME II.

PART III.

WORK IN LONDON.

CHAPTER XVII. LANSDOWNE HOUSE, BERKELEY SQUARE, 1762-65 AND 1765-68.

CHAPTER XVIII. THE ADELPHI, 1768-72, AND THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, 1772-74.

CHAPTER XIX. THREE TYPICAL HOUSES : CHANDOS HOUSE, CHANDOS STREET, 1771 ; WYNN HOUSE, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, 1772 ; DERBY HOUSE, GROSVENOR SQUARE, 1773.

CHAPTER XX. THE FETE PAVILION OF 1774 AT EPSOM FOR THE EARL OF DERBY.

CHAPTER XXI. HOME HOUSE, PORTMAN SQUARE, 1775-77.

CHAPTER XXII. MANSFIELD STREET, W., 1770 ; PORTLAND PLACE, W., 1773 AND 1776-78 ; FITZROY SQUARE, N.W., 1790.

PART IV.

LATER DOMESTIC WORK IN THE COUNTRY.

CHAPTER XXIII. NOSTELL, YORKSHIRE, 1766-76.

CHAPTER XXIV. NEWBY, YORKSHIRE, 1772-80.

CHAPTER XXV. MISTLEY, ESSEX, 1774-76 AND 1782.

CHAPTER XXVI. SALTRAM, DEVONSHIRE, 1768, AND MAMHEAD, DEVONSHIRE, 1774.

CHAPTER XXVII. BRASTED, KENT, 1784.

CHAPTER XXVIII. CAMBRIDGE, 1784-88.

CHAPTER XXIX. MRS. FITZHERBERT, BRIGHTON, SUSSEX, 1786.

PART V.

WORK IN SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER XXX. INTRODUCTION. ROBERT ADAM IN SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER XXXI. THE WORK OF ROBERT ADAM IN EDINBURGH.

CHAPTER XXXII. THE REGISTER HOUSE OF SCOTLAND IN EDINBURGH, 1772-89.

CHAPTER XXXIII. THE UNIVERSITY, 1788, AND MERCHANT HALL, 1788-90, IN EDINBURGH.

CHAPTER XXXIV. MELLERSTAIN, BERWICKSHIRE, 1770-78.

CHAPTER XXXV. CULZEAN, AYRSHIRE, 1777-90.

CHAPTER XXXVI. NEWLISTON, MIDLOTHIAN, 1789-92.

PART VI.

CHAPTER XXXVII. ON FURNITURE.

PART VII.

CHAPTER XXXVIII. APPENDICES. ADAM INSCRIPTIONS AND WILLS. SALE LISTS OF ROBERT ADAM'S EFFECTS IN 1773, 1818 AND 1821. MESSRS. ROBERT AND JAMES ADAM BILLS OF CHARGES. PRICED SCHEDULE OF BUILDING WORKS. SPIERS INDEX OF DRAWINGS IN THE SOANE COLLECTION. INDEX OF CLIENTS' NAMES. GENERAL INDEX.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

PART I.

	PAGE
CHAPTER I. EARLY YEARS, UP TO ROBERT ADAM'S RETURN FROM ITALY IN JANUARY, 1758	I
CHAPTER II. OUTLINE OF THE EARLY PERIOD FROM 1758 UP TO THE START OF THE ADELPHI SCHEME IN 1768	25
CHAPTER III. ROBERT ADAM'S IDEAS	75
CHAPTER IV. THE CASTLE STYLE AND THE FIRST STIRRINGS OF THE GOTHIC REVIVAL	88
CHAPTER V. ROBERT ADAM'S CRITICS	99
CHAPTER VI. THE ADELPHI CRISIS (1772), LAST YEARS, AND THE DEATHS OF ROBERT AND HIS BRETHREN (1792, 1794, 1822)	115

PART II.

CHAPTER VII. HATCHLANDS PARK, SURREY	133
CHAPTER VIII. SHARDELOES, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE	144
CHAPTER IX. HAREWOOD HOUSE, YORKSHIRE	157
CHAPTER X. CROOME COURT, WORCESTERSHIRE	178
CHAPTER XI. BOWOOD, WILTSHIRE	192
CHAPTER XII. COMPTON VERNEY, WARWICKSHIRE	216
CHAPTER XIII. KEDLESTON, DERBYSHIRE	229
CHAPTER XIV. SYON HOUSE, MIDDLESEX	246
CHAPTER XV. OSTERLEY PARK, MIDDLESEX	279
CHAPTER XVI. KENWOOD, MIDDLESEX	303

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOLUME I. PART I.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
Robert Adam	1
Kinross House, Plans	2
The Entrance Front	3
Elevation of	4
Drum House, Entrance Front	5
Plan	6
In the Hall	7
North Side of the Hall	8
In the Dining-room	9
Drawing-room Fireplace	11
Blair Adam, Plan and Elevation	12
Tomb of William Adam (Senior)	13
David Hume's Tomb, Two Original Designs	14
David Hume's Tomb	15
Plan Studies and Ideas	16, 18, 20
Student Designs	17, 21
Original Sketch by Piranesi and one by Robert Adam	22
Finished Drawing of latter by Clerisseau	22
Original Sketch Design	24

CHAPTER II.

Roubillac's Statue of Garrick as Shakespeare	25
Plan of House in Grosvenor Street	26
David Garrick's Villa at Hampton : Shakespeare Temple Portico	27
Plan	28
Portico from the South-East	29
The East Front	31
Hall, Stairs and Decoration on Landing	33
The Shakespeare Temple	35
High Down, Hitchin : Plan and Elevation	36
Admiralty Screen in Whitehall, Elevation of View of	37
Goodwood, Sussex, Plan	38
The Queen's Transparency	39
Great Saxham House, Suffolk : First Design View of Proposed House	40
Plan of Principal Storey	41
Moor Park : Before the Removal of the Adam Colonnades Plan of Principal Floor	43
Tea Room	44
High Wycombe, Design and Plan of Shambles and Butter Market	46
West Wycombe, Within the West Portico	47
The West Portico as Carried Out	48
Design for the West Portico	49
Design for Kitchen and Stable Wing	50
House and Portico from the North-West	51
Plans	52
Centre of Southern Colonnade	53
From the South-East	54
Island Temple, from below the Cascade	55
Temple on the Island in the Lake	57
The Saw Mill	58
Despencer's Mausoleum	59
Interior of the Church on the Hill	61
Lord Holland's House, Piccadilly : Plans for Elevation of Screen Wall for	62
	63
Edinburgh Riding House, Design for	64
Kimbolton Castle, Plan of Gateway	66
The Gate House	67
Luton Park, Beds., Plans	69
Elevations	70
Elevations	71

CHAPTER III.

Kedleston, the South Front	75
Early Design for the Bridge at	76
Sketch for a Bridge	77
The Bridge as Built	77
Compositions by Robert Adam, 1782	78, 79
Design for a Pavilion and Garden Buildings	80
Detail of Tea Room at Moor Park	81
Green Park, Deputy Ranger's Lodge, Plan and View	82, 83
General Hervey, Design for a House	82, 83
Architectural Details, Kenwood	84, 85
Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, Adam's Reconstruction of	86

CHAPTER IV.

Culzean, Ayrshire, Stable Block at	88
Hagley, "Athenian" Stuart's First Greek Doric Building	89
Sanderson Miller's Ruinous Castle at	90
Culzean, Ayrshire : Elevation of a House in the Castle Style	91
Buildings in the Castle Style	92
Garden Towers	92
General View	93
Lauder Castle : Elevation by Robert Adam	95
Ground Plan	96
King's College Chapel, Proposed Reredos for	97
Mrs. Montagu's House in Portman Square, by James Stuart	99
The Ante-room	100
15, St. James's Square, Ceiling of the Great Drawing-room, by James Stuart	101
Façade, by James Stuart	102
20, St. James's Square, Elevation by Robert Adam	103
Elevation of the House	104
Whitehall, Elevation of a House in	105
Wormleybury, Herts., Staircase with Adam Decorations	106
Eating-room	107
Weald Hall, Essex, Mantelpieces	108, 109
Ceiling	111

CHAPTER VI.

Stowe, Robert Adam's Design for the South Front and View of the South Front as Existing	115
The Great Portico	117
Detail Centre of South Front	119
Detail of the End Bays of the South Front	121
Map of Herts. and Adjacent Counties North of London	122
Stratford Place, Imitated Adam Work	123
Ceilings in the Adam Manner at No. 3	124, 125
Soho Square, No. 32, the House of Sir Joseph Banks, P.R.S.	127
Ceiling	129
Caldwell, Plans	132

PART II.

CHAPTER VII.

HATCHLANDS PARK, SURREY :

Admiral Boscowen's House	133
Plan of Ground Floor	134
Detail of Ceiling of Dining-room	135
Ceiling of Bay Window of Dining-room	136
Dining-room	136
Dining-room Fireplace	137
Adam Fireplace	138
Detail of Library Ceiling	139
Admiral Boscowen's Library	140
In "Lesser Dining Parlour"	141
In Present Dining-room	141
Two Bedroom Fireplaces	142
First Floor Landing of Staircase	143

SHARDELOES, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE :

The South-East Side	144
The Entrance Portico	145
Plan	146
Doorway in Salon	147
Detail of Ceiling of Salon	147
The Fireplace of Salon	148
The Hall or Salon	149
Detail of Dining-room Ceiling	150
The Dining-room	150
In the Drawing-room	151
The Drawing-room Fireplace	151
Detail Drawing-room Ceiling	152
In the Drawing-room	152
Doorway in Boudoir	153
The Library	154, 155
The Stables	155
The Portico Entrance Façade	156

CHAPTER IX.

HAREWOOD HOUSE, YORKSHIRE :

South or Garden Front	157
North and South Elevations	158, 159
Plan of the Principal Floor	160
Intermediate Plan	161
Plan of the Principal Floor	162
The Entrance Hall	163
The Gallery Chimneypiece	164
Music Room	165
A Console Table	166
A Gallery Window	166
The Gallery	167
Balustrade Design	168
The Staircase	168
Chimneypiece	169
Original Drawings for Salon and Library	170
The Salon, as Altered for a Library	171
Original Adam Drawing for the Old Library	172
In the Old Library	173
An Adam Design for Iron Railing to Area	174
Drawing and Design for Gateway and Lodges	175
Site Plan	179

CHAPTER X.

CROOME COURT, WORCESTERSHIRE :

Croome Court, the House after a Design by Sanderson Miller (?)	178
Entrance Front from South-West	179
Plan of Interior Work	180
Early Adam Decorations in the Long Gallery	181
Details of the Ceiling	181
The Gallery Fireplace	182

CROOME COURT—*continued*.

Ceiling of Tapestry Room	183
The Library	183
Adam Lamp Column in the Stable Yard	184
Early Georgian Garden Room	184
Conservatory Garden Room	185
Plan of Buildings in the Park	186
The Church	187
Interior of the Church	187
Design for a Building between the Woods	188
Temple Seat on Island	189
The Panorama Tower	189
Entrance Gateway	190
Sundial in the Walled Garden	190
Fireplace in the Tapestry Room	191

CHAPTER XI.

BOWOOD, WILTSHIRE :

The Diocletian Wing	192
The Centre of the Diocletian Wing	193
Plan of Proposed Additions	194
General View	195
Portico Façade	197
Survey Plan	198
Entrance Front	199
Plan of Additions	200
Porch on the West Side	201
Detail of the Portico Façade	203
The Great Drawing-room	205
Ceiling	206
In the Indian Room	207
The Entrance Hall	208
Detail of the Great Drawing-room	209
The Mausoleum	211
Design of Mausoleum and Catacombs	212
Interior of Mausoleum	213
Old Picture of the Earlier House	215
Map or Plan	215
Plan of Bowood, 1775	215

CHAPTER XII.

COMPTON VERNEY, WARWICKSHIRE :

View from the East	216
From the Bridge	217
Plan of the Robert Adam Additions	218
Original Adam Drawing	219
Design of Addition to the South Front	220
Vanbrugh's Work on the South-West Front	221
Design of the Principal Front	222
Elevation of the East Front	223
The Portico	223
Under the Portico	224
The Hall	225
The Early Georgian Stables	226
In the Chapel	226
The Orangery and Sphinxes	227
The Bridge	228

CHAPTER XIII.

KEDLESTON, DERBYSHIRE :

The Central Feature of the Intended South Front	229
Plan of Principal Floor	230
The Great North Portico	231
The North Front : Paine and Brettingham's Design	232
The South Front : Adam's Complete Design	232
The North Front	233
English Alabaster Columns in the Great Hall	234

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

<p>KEDLESTON, DERBYSHIRE—continued.</p> <p>Section through Hall and Saloon 234 The Great Hall 235 Cast Iron Work 236 The Hall Fireplace 236 Candelabra Tablets in Rotunda 236 The Rotunda 237 In the Dining-room 238 Drawing-room and Fireplace 239 Venetian Window in Drawing-room 240 From Boudoir to Ante-Chamber 241 In the Library 242 Fireplace with Wedgwood Plaque 243 Design of a Great Roman Ruin 243 The Fishing House, Kedleston 244 Room in Fishing House 244 The Bridge 245</p> <p>CHAPTER XIV.</p> <p>SYON HOUSE, MIDDLESEX :</p> <p>River Front 246 Syon House in 1737 247 Plan 248 The Great Hall, Looking Towards the Apse 249 The Great Hall, with Ascent to Ante-Room 250 Original Adam Drawing for the Great Hall 251 Doorway to Court-yard 251 Detail of Angle of Entrance Hall 252 End of Hall next the Ante-Room 253 Statue of Apollo in the Hall 253 A View in the Ante-Room 254 Ante-Room from Terrace Entrance 255 The Advanced Columns 255 Detail of Fireplace Wall 256 Mantelpiece in the Ante-Room 257 The Dining-room 258 Ceiling of one of the Half Domes in the Dining-room 259 Dining-room from the Ante-Room 259 Mirrors on Wall Piers 260 Mantelpiece in the Dining-room 260 Chimneypiece 261 White Marble and Ormolu mantelpiece in the Drawing-room 262 Drawing-room : the Carpet 263 Detail of the Ceiling in the Drawing-room 263 Curtain Boxes, Mirrors, Console Tables, etc. 264 Ivory and Ormolu Door-case 265 Detail of one of the Console Tables 265 Detail of the Central Recess on Window Side of the Gallery 266 The Gallery 267 Detail of End Wall of the Gallery 268 Detail of one Bay of Side Wall 269 Doorway to Drawing-room 270 One of the Centre Bays of Side Wall 270 Elevation and Section of the Gallery 271 Detail of End Wall 271 View from the Gallery 272 The Round Closet 272 The Corresponding Square Closet 272 Two Card Tables and Tops 273 Sofa of Louis XVI Type 273</p>	<p>PAGE</p> <p>SYON HOUSE, MIDDLESEX—continued.</p> <p>Chair of Louis XV Type 273 The Entrance Gateway and Screen 274 The Gate-Houses 274 The Entrance Gateway in Profile 275 Elevation of the Gateway and Porters' Lodges 276 The Boat-House 277 Perspective View of the Bridge and Geometrical Elevation 278</p> <p>CHAPTER XV.</p> <p>OSTERLEY PARK, MIDDLESEX :</p> <p>"The Propyleum of Osterley" 279 Plan of Principal Storey 280 View from the Inner Courtyard 281 The Soffit of the Portico 281 Plan 282 View from the Garden 283 Doorway to Entrance Hall 283 Balustrade to Garden Staircase 283 The Eating-room Sideboard 284 The Entrance Hall 284 Detail of Alcove 285 The Gallery 286 The Staircase 287 Ceiling of the Earlier Adam Type 288 Drawing-room by Robert Adam 288 The Library 289 Girandoles in the Gallery 290 The Tapestry Room 291 Detail of Door to Bedroom 292 Corner of the Tapestry Room 293 Ceiling 294 Glass Frame for the Bedchamber 295 Original Adam Drawing for the Bed 296 The Bedchamber 297 The Etruscan Room 298 Detail of the Etruscan Room 299 Original Drawing of Bridge 300 The Disused Bridge 300 The Conservatory or Garden Room 301</p> <p>CHAPTER XVI.</p> <p>KENWOOD, HAMPSTEAD, MIDDLESEX :</p> <p>The Entrance Portico 303 Site Plan 304 Entrance Hall 305 Adam Furniture in Entrance Hall 306 The Staircase with Adam Balustrading 307 The Ante-Room to the Great Room 307 Lord Mansfield's Reception-room and Library 309 The Adam Room 310 The Entrance Apse 311 Decoration of the Half-Domes 312 Window Side of the Adam Room 313 Settee of the Type Designed for the Two Recesses 313 Detail of Half-Dome of Apse 314 Mantelpieces 315 The Terrace Front 317 From the South-West 317 Detail of Entablature and Pediment 318 The Bridge 319</p>
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PART I. CHAPTER I.

EARLY YEARS, UP TO ROBERT ADAM'S RETURN FROM ITALY
IN JANUARY, 1758.



ROBERT ADAM.
Wedgwood cameo, modelled by Tassie.

THE architecture of the second half of the eighteenth century was destined to have a character quite distinct from that of the more solid, robust and traditional work of Inigo Jones, Sir Christopher Wren and their direct disciples. In point of fact, Robert Adam appeared upon the scene with a different equipment from that of his immediate predecessors. The eastern half of the Mediterranean was being thrown open by the gradual decay of the Turkish power, and henceforward Athens and Ionia¹ were to be the focus of all the classical enthusiasm that hitherto had been exclusively centred on Rome and Italy. The turn of the tide is marked by the appearance of Stuart and Revett's "Antiquities of Athens," the first volume of which came out in 1762. Robert Adam's own study of the Palace of Spalatro, that masterpiece of the late Empire seated on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, was made in 1757, but only appeared as a book in 1764.² James Adam, who was travelling in Italy in 1760–63, dreamt of Sicily, the Levant, and even Egypt, as part of his "Schemes of Antiquity."

There is a tendency to exaggerate the effect of Robert Adam's study of Diocletian's Palace as

though he had merely copied or repeated what he had found there. Anyone looking at his Spalatro book with that idea will be singularly disappointed. The truth is that the real benefit which Robert Adam derived from this special study was an indirect influence which confirmed and enlarged his own conception of ancient architecture. Some passages, which will be given in a succeeding chapter, taken from his important "Prefaces" to the "Works," will show exactly what Robert Adam's real position was towards "Palladio and the Ancients."³

Reasonable as Robert Adam's attitude may appear to us, in the light of nearly two centuries of further study of the antique, it must be remembered that it would not so appear in his own time. There was something in his artistic ideas and practice that gave an edge to the criticisms levelled against him as an architect for nearly three generations, and this antagonism of itself proves their reality. How different was the attitude of so representative a man as Sir William Chambers may be judged from the preface to his last edition (1791) of the "Civil Architecture" (first edition, 1759). It will be shown that Robert Adam pursued his studies of architecture in the most catholic spirit. Besides the work of the Early Italian Renaissance, which particularly appealed to him, he was also attracted by Romanesque and Mediæval work in a way which was truly remarkable for an architectural student in the middle of the eighteenth century.

He made, of course, no such serious study of Gothic, as he would have done had he travelled a century later, but there is enough to show that he was alive to its possibilities and beauties. In such work as Robert Adam undertook in that style he was heavily handicapped not only by his insufficient knowledge of detail, but also, it must be recognised, by an insufficient appreciation

of the theoretical and practical basis of the work of the mediæval architects and of its essential relationship to actual methods of building construction.

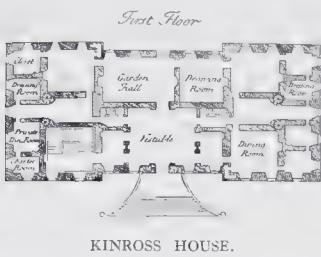
Robert Adam, born in 1728, belonged to a family of architects. William Adam senior⁴ of Maryburgh (now Blair Adam), near Kinross,⁵ the father of the more famous Adelphi brethren, is now chiefly remembered by his book "Vitruvius Scoticus." Composed, no doubt, in imitation of "Vitruvius Britannicus" (1717-25), this thick folio of plates, devoid of any text, appeared only as a collection in 1810.⁶ It has no further introduction than the meagre remark : "The following plans, drawn by the late William

Adam, Esq., Architect, were engraved at his expense by the most eminent artists of the time with a view to publication. A few complete sets having come into the Publisher's hands he now respectfully offers them to the Public. No. 57, South Bridge, Edinburgh."

The book thus flung, as it were, at the public, contains mainly the numerous houses which William Adam senior had built in Scotland, with a few designs thrown in by other architects. The main impression produced by a survey of the "Vitruvius Scoticus" is that of a solid, stodgy mass of work which is painstaking and thorough, but discloses few ideas and little originality. William Adam senior seems to have been influenced by the general work of the time, and his designs will be found to be a compilation of ideas from various sources. He oscillates between Vanbrugh, Kent, and Gibbs. His inside work is particularly heavy and ordinary, and is far removed from the brilliant effectiveness of his son Robert.

Sir William Bruce's⁷ work at Hopetoun, the best work of its period in Scotland, was always in the mind of William Adam, no doubt because he had completed that work on Bruce's death in 1710, when he himself was only twenty-one. Kinross, the native place of the Adams, contains, moreover, Sir William Bruce's own house, an important example of the Renaissance in Scotland.

In 1686, P. P. Boyce and C. Van Nerven, two Dutch stone carvers, were employed there for three months before proceeding to Drumlanrig. At Arniston, built by William Adam⁸ in or about 1736, and in the same locality as Drum, a Dutch plasterer named Enzer was also employed. We can see, perhaps, in this the source of an influence which seems to run all through William Adam's work and is very particularly manifest at Drum. In the first half of the eighteenth century it was customary for young Scots to proceed to Leyden and other centres in the Low Countries for the completion of their studies, as we learn from the memoirs of the time. Drum appears to be the best worked out and most complete example of a house by William Adam.⁹ The actual date is only approximate. The Somerville coat of arms in the pediment on the south front is quartered with that of the first wife, the heiress widow, whom Lord Somerville married in 1724. They are stated to have resided on the wife's estate for two years, and, as the lady died in 1734, there seems to be a definite limit of eight years within which the main structure, at all events, must have been erected. Some of the interior work may very well be a few years later, as over the hall chimneypiece Lord Somerville's arms are impaled with those of his second wife. This marriage is given as having taken place in 1736, and also in 1738. As the lady was again a wealthy widow, this time with London connections, the ceremony at St. Gregory's, London, on April 27, 1736, may have been repeated in Scotland. It will not be unreasonable to suppose that the whole of the work which we see at Drum to-day was finished before the troubles of 1745, which would be three years before the death of William Adam senior.



KINROSS HOUSE.

The plan of Drum is very simple and the house is complete, except for one unbuilt wing. In the general distribution the masses are very crowded, the great bulk of the wings being separated only by the shortest of connecting links from the centre block, as though the house had had to be built on a narrow frontage in a town. The scheme thus looks, at first sight, not unlike a misunderstanding of the typical Continental mansion, which is usually based upon an enclosed forecourt. In the architectural treatment of Drum everything is concentrated on the centre, which is over-accentuated with rustication in a way which destroys the effect of the fluted and banded pilasters at the angles. The great Venetian window which occupies the entire centre is too large for its position, and fails to justify the encroachment that it makes upon the main entablature below the pediment. The design is, in fact, a very rough version of James Gibbs' ideas, as displayed, for instance, in the church of St. Mary-le-Strand.

The garden front of Drum suggests that William Adam senior would have succeeded better with the simple Classic, free of the Orders of which he had no real grasp. The customary external



THE ENTRANCE FRONT: KINROSS HOUSE.

staircase¹⁰ on the south¹¹ front has been altered from the simple ascent shown in William Adam's plan. This stairway leads into a hall, which is the most successfully decorated interior in the house. It has all the full-bodied richness of the Early Georgian. It savours of the Low Countries, where, as the old saying tells us, the British soldier learnt to swear horribly, and equally, we may presume, our artists learnt to be profuse. The interiors of Drum are thus explanatory of Robert Adam's "Prefaces," in which he inveighs against the crudeness of the interior decoration of the previous generation. Pope, addressing Boyle, writes: "You show us Rome was tasteful, not profuse"; and when the poet's young friend William Murray came to employ Robert Adam at Kenwood his maxim was fully exemplified. The dining-room at Drum is even more profuse, but much less successful than the hall, owing to a defective scale and overcrowded features. The eye very soon realises that a monotonous repetition of ideas underlies all this richness. The drawing-room upstairs is a *salon* of an ambitious character, and the ceiling in particular represents a great effort on the part of the plaster-workers of that age. A deep cove, curiously ornamented with immense scrolls, supports a great oblong divided into three squares by beams

strangely decorated on the soffit. The centre square encloses an octagonal relief panel of Jupiter and Juno, with eagle, peacock, clouds and trees, all most complete in the "Ercles" vein." It is impossible to overlook the vigorous execution of this not very refined trophy of the plasterer's art. The walls are more simply treated with large panels, but a feature is made of the chimney breast, where, in high relief, Neptune appears with his sea horses, while an accompanying triton blowing on a shell, dashes the realistic waves. The swags, masks, cornucopias, shells, consoles and drops that surround this panel fail to combine in a satisfactory composition. It is a work like that for which, in Kipling's story, Torrigiano administers satiric chastisement on his English pupil. It explains the "pig work" of that instructive tale.

The staircase is fully worked out, but the large bevelled rustication of the stair-well on the ground floor is unrelated to the detail of the balusters and to the curious stucco work of the top landing. Here, in the ingeniously planned alcove with its three doors, the same disproportion of features exists, as, for instance, in the inappropriate keystone of the oddly shaped arch.

Drum is not a large house and the accommodation is limited; but it is remarkable for the amount of interest which has been made out of a limited number of interiors. In that respect it belongs to the class which that age knew as "casini"—small retreats remarkable for their decorative display. The work compares very favourably with the inanities of the French Rococo.

To this account of Drum as the masterpiece of William Adam senior it is only necessary to add that his immense architectural practice, as the drawings in his book relating to works carried out by him in Scotland testify, must be assumed to have placed his sons from the first in an independent position.

William Adam senior himself enjoyed a good position in Edinburgh, and in 1737 took part in the formation of "The Society for Improving Arts and Sciences, particularly Natural Knowledge," of which body he was an original member. In 1739 he was directing the cutting of a tunnel of considerable extent through the great bank on which the village of Inveresk stands, with the object of draining the coalfield at Pinkie.¹¹ Dr. Alexander Carlyle¹² mentions William Adam senior's joint interest in coal with Archibald Robertson, who was his brother-in-law and therefore an uncle of Dr. Robertson, the historian.

Apparently William Adam senior had also important contracts for the Government in connection with the building of forts in the Highlands. On Fort George (1749-59), Murray Firth, Inverness, an immense sum (£106,000 being the original estimate) was spent under General Skinner, Chief Engineer for Great Britain (died 1807). General Wolfe saw and praised the works. Thomas (1721-98) and Paul (1725-1809) Sandby were employed on the survey of General Wade's road through the Highlands, made after the rising of 1745, and these young artists were, I imagine, acquainted with Robert Adam at this time. There is a reference in a letter from William Adam junior to James Adam, while the latter was in Italy in 1760, to sums due to the eldest brother, John, from the Ordnance.

Robert Adam claims with apparent justice, in his "Prefaces," that their studies of the antique were pursued at greater labour and expense than those of any other student of their time. The collections that Robert and James formed of antiques of all kinds, as well as of costly books and artistic objects, proves that, apart from the very serious outlay of their prolonged travels, William Adam's sons were both able and willing to stake large sums on their ultimate success in architecture.



ELEVATION OF KINROSS HOUSE IN WILLIAM ADAM
(SENIOR'S) BOOK.

The inexplicable character of genius is so unacceptable to most of us that we are never tired of attempting some explanation of the riddle. The many reams that are written, and the great researches pursued into origin are satisfactory up to the point of transition, the border line that separates the best ordinary from the extraordinary.

The importance to be attached to heredity is quite as great a problem in architecture as in other artistic callings. Instances for and against can be quoted, leaving only an inconclusive result, a mere impression, that it may be more a matter of early surroundings and influence than of the actual transmission of the gift itself. On the face of it, there is nothing in the work of William Adam senior (1688-1748), in the main, thorough, sound and traditional, that accounts for the exceptional gifts of his brilliant second son. There is nothing to show that, apart from the stimulus of Robert's genius, any one of the other three sons, John, James or William, would have reached a higher, if as good, a level of achievement as that of their father.

Thus, although Robert Adam (1728-1792) was only the second son of the four brethren, he must early, by natural gifts and force of character, have been marked out as the born leader and mainspring of the group. John (1721-1792), the eldest, remains a very shadowy figure; he seems to have passed his life at Edinburgh and on his estate at Blair Adam. Although his name appears in the transactions of the Adelphi estate, and also occurs once or twice in the documents



THE ENTRANCE FRONT OF DRUM HOUSE.
William Adam (senior), Architect.

relating to the Register House, there is nothing that seems to imply more than a formal deference to him, as the eldest of the brethren.

We shall not be far wrong in assuming that the planting and development of the Blair Adam estate¹³ was the greatest interest and occupation of John Adam's life. His son, the Right Hon. William Adam, M.P., possessed of an intolerable love of writing verbose inscriptions and of erecting memorials, published in 1834 a descriptive guide to the Blair Adam estate with lithographic



DRUM HOUSE: IN THE HALL.

William Adam (senior), Architect.

views. A stone pedestal, erected at a central point of view in the grounds, gives a summary of the matter, as follows :

William Adam
born 1688, died 1748
Began in 1733
with a spirit and enterprise
and with a forecast
greatly in advance of that age
to improve and plant this domain
then a wild and unsheltered moor.

John Adam
the son of William
born 1721, died 1792
with a distinguished taste
extended the improvements
and enlarged the woods.
In 1755 he began and 1761
he completed this garden
which has been preserved
without change or effect
except what
growth has produced.

A century after the improvements were begun
William, the son of John, aged 82
Composed this inscription and placed it here
A.D. 1833

The whole Blair Adam estate is given as three thousand nine hundred and twenty-two Scots acres, composed of woods, grass, hay and corn, farms, and sheep pasture to the extent of five hundred acres. The shrubberies account for ten and the garden for four and a half acres. Stone walls eighteen feet high on the north and twelve feet high on the east and west,



DRUM HOUSE: NORTH SIDE OF HALL.
William Adam (senior), Architect.

the former one hundred and forty-two yards and the latter eighty yards long, enclose the garden. The north wall, built with flues kept in constant use, was covered with fruit trees. There was a central grass walk sixteen feet wide leading up to a gardener's house of two storeys in height, having a large Venetian window as its chief feature. The flower borders were rather remarkable for the time, as they were seven, fourteen and twenty-four feet in width, and equivalent to half a mile in length. The architectural decoration of the walls was stopped "owing to particular affairs," possibly the Adelphi crisis.¹⁴ The intended house, also, was never built, although Robert Adam seems to have been asked, and was making in 1772 the design here illustrated, which is re-drawn from the originals in the Soane Collection. Unfortunately, this Soane set of drawings is too incomplete in the elevations to be reproduced direct. Very likely

they are merely office copies of the originals, which possibly no longer exist. Nothing was done, but additions were made when required to an older house of no particular character. The proposed house is distinctly interesting, being very architectural in character.

James (1730–94),¹⁵ the third brother, is probably the one whom Miss Burney dismisses as "a well behaved good sort of young man," unless we are to take her verdict as applying to William (1738–1822), the youngest, which seems unlikely from the little that we know of the fourth brother's position in the Adelphi group.

James seems to have acted as chief of the staff to Robert, and, as he appears to have been a very neat and painstaking draughtsman, he must have been of immense help in reducing the rough but masterly indications of Robert's ideas into working form. Without the impetus of his brother's ideas, and when removed from his influence, James seems, as his work while a student in Italy also implies, to have been able to achieve very little. He appears to have had a taste for agriculture, on which subject he produced a book,¹⁶ and he also contemplated writing an Architectural History. It is quite possible that the neat miniature plans and elevations of Adam works in Vol. XLVI of the Adam Drawings were made for this projected book.

Dr. Alexander Carlyle¹⁷ (1722–1805), who knew them all well, tells us that "James Adam, though not so bold and superior an artist as his brother Robert, was a well informed and sensible man, and furnished me with excellent conversation, as we generally rode together." This was on a riding tour, May 4–22, 1758, during which Home¹⁸ and Robertson (the historian) formed one, and James Adam and Carlyle the other pair of travelling companions.

"Jamie Adam," he remarks, "would not get up, and had, besides a very tedious toilet." He had already told us that the Adams were "a wonderfully loving family," so much so that on leaving London the brothers and sisters had accompanied the party as far as Uxbridge, where they all spent the night of May 3, 1758. Unfortunately, Carlyle mistakes James for the youngest brother, and never seems to mention John or William. There is also a very curious point about their joint visit to Blenheim on this same tour. "Our companion, James Adam, had seen all the splendid palaces of Italy, and though he did not say that Sir John Vanbrugh's design was faultless, yet he said it ill deserved the aspersions laid upon it, for he had seen few palaces where there was more 'movement,' as he called it, than in Blenheim." If this statement is to be relied upon, it can only mean that James must have been for some part of the time with Robert



DRUM HOUSE: IN THE DINING-ROOM.

William Adam (senior), Architect.

on his earlier tour (1754-58). This seems somewhat unlikely, and it may be merely that Carlyle has not clearly recollected the particulars at so great a distance of time, and that James may merely have been speaking from books and, perhaps, repeating the talk of his brother Robert.

The party passed through Birmingham and visited the famous printer, Baskerville, who had his great folio Bible in hand at the time. "He dined with us that day, and acquitted himself so well that Robertson pronounced him a man of genius, while James Adam and I thought him but a prating pedant."

Hutton's account of Baskerville ("Hist. Birm., 1781") gives us the best idea of this remarkable man who, born at Wolverley in Worcester in 1706 and trained as a stone cutter, became an enthusiast for fine printing. In 1726 he was at work as a writing master in Birmingham, and in 1745 he bought eight acres of land to the north-west of the town and created a place for himself which he called Easy Hill. He used to drive out in a coach which had panels japanned by himself and was drawn by two cream coloured horses. By 1750 he had spent £600 before he had founded a letter to please himself, and in 1756 he was printing his first attempt, a quarto Virgil, published at one guinea. He then produced "Paradise Lost," the Bible and Common Prayer, and various Roman and English classics. In 1762 he wrote a letter to Horace Walpole, as to another great amateur of printing, endeavouring to engage his patronage. In 1765 Dr. Franklin tried to sell his types for him at Paris. Hutton says he was "idle but inventive, remarkably polite to a stranger,¹⁹ fond of show, a figure of the smaller size, and delighted to adorn that figure with gold lace. During the twenty-five years that I knew him, in the decline of his life, he retained the traces of a handsome man. If he exhibited a peevish temper, we may consider that good nature and intense thinking are not always found together. Taste accompanied him through all the different walks of agriculture, architecture and the fine arts. Whatever passed through his hands bore the lively marks of John Baskerville." He died without issue in 1775. His types were bought by the French in 1779 for £3,700, and £100,000 was spent on a great edition of Voltaire in which they were used.

Though they visited Oxford and Hagley, Carlyle gives us none of James Adam's impressions. His point of view is social and literary, and it never dawns upon him that posterity will be more interested in Robert Adam than in Adam Furguson, William Robertson or John Home. Over the latter he almost calls to mind the gallery enthusiast at the performance of "Douglas" who called out: "Whaur's your Wullie Shakespeare noo?"

William Adam (1738-1822), the youngest brother, seems to have looked after the financial and business dealings of the brethren—the patents for the Adam cement, for instance, apparently stood in his name. To him we probably owe the preservation of the fifty-three volumes of the Adam Drawings, purchased in 1833 by Sir John Soane from the niece, to whom William left all that he died possessed of. As the last survivor, it fell to him to wind up the dying practice of the Adelphi brethren. As I have discovered, however, that the Houses of Parliament designs in the Adam Collection at the Soane Museum must be ascribed to William, and not to James or Robert, it is evident that the survivor of the group had assimilated the Adam tradition, and could on occasion sketch out a fine plan.

The obituary notice of Robert Adam states that he was educated at Edinburgh University. From the search made between the years 1738-56 of the register of Matriculation, the satisfactory result of "Rob Adams 1743,"²⁰ and "Joa Adams, 1752" has been arrived at. There is good reason for assuming the final "s" to have been dropped by Robert Adam later on, and there is nothing valid against the fact that Robert was then only a youth of fifteen, early as that age may appear. In 1752, James Adam, who is supposed to have been two years younger than Robert, was already making some small elevational drawings of rather a feeble character, which have been preserved and are pasted in Vols. VII and XXVI. For instance, in Vol. VII, Number 17, dated 1756, there is "A plan and elevation for a small house for Capt. Hugh Dalrymple of Fordle." It seems quite likely that Robert spent the four or five years between 1743 and 1748 (the year in which his father died) in Edinburgh, in touch with those students who are quoted as friends of his that afterwards became famous, i.e., Adam Smith, William Robertson,²¹ David Hume, Adam Furguson and John Home.

There is a volume of "Miscellaneous Sketches by Robert Adam and others"^{21a} in the Soane Museum, a separate book from the main collection of the Adam drawings purchased

by Soane which seems to contain a few of Robert's earliest remaining drawings. There is an ink line drawing of a lake scene, in which a castle is shown on an island; this, which is signed "Rob^t Adam delin Sept. 1744," is a crude effort at the age of sixteen. A tree drawn with pen and brush has "R. Adam after S. Rosa. 1751." A laborious copy in pen and ink of a landscape is entitled "in the collection of Dr. Bragge."

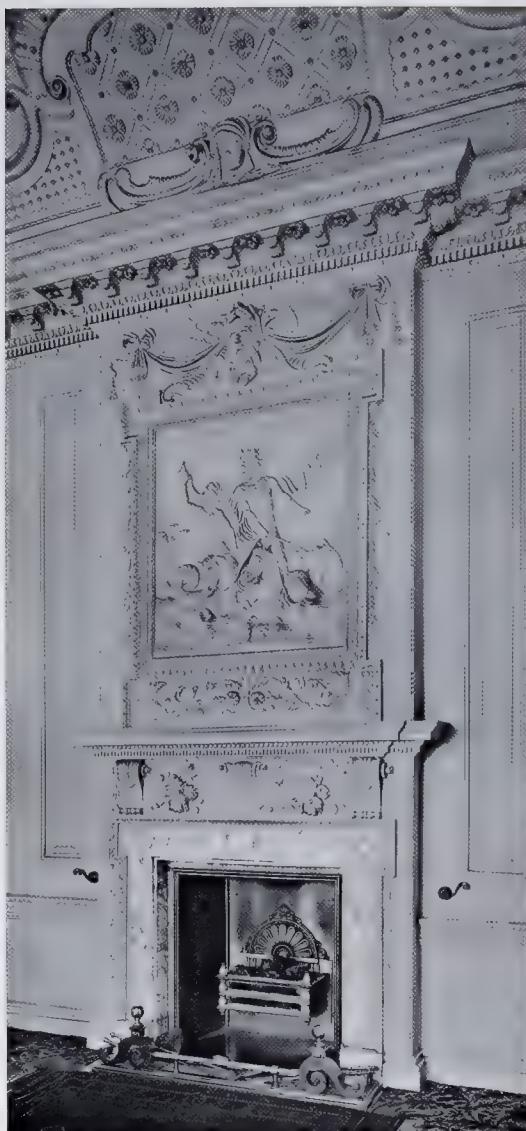
A pen and ink sketch for "A bath for a Room in the style of the Antique, Decem^b 1744" (No. 90, Vol. vi), seems too much advanced for this period. If correct in date, we may conclude the Adam tomb of 1748 to have been built from a design by Robert.

There is also "Elevation of the Cross at Winchester," drawn to a scale of five feet to one inch and marked "Rob^t Adam. delin^t 1750," most likely, a copy from some early book or print of mediæval remains. There is, however, the possibility that Robert had already begun to visit the South.

The most interesting drawing, however, is the second in the book, an elaborate perspective drawing, apparently made on the spot, of his father's tomb in Greyfriars Churchyard. It is signed "Rob^t Adam Delin^t 1753," and, as there is no "invenit" on it, it may be that John designed this monument or that it was a joint production of the brethren.²² The tomb is shown standing free, with three arches open, and the drawing is also evidence of the unfortunate later extension of the tablet on the wall enclosing the fourth arch on both sides. Beyond the wall of the churchyard Heriot's Hospital and the Castle are seen in the distance.

It is curious that a sketch made abroad (No. 37 in Vol. LV) is marked "Un coté du Temple D'Adam en Ecosse," as if Robert had turned over in his mind the idea of building an elaborate memorial chapel to a design evidently inspired by some rich structure seen by him on his travels.

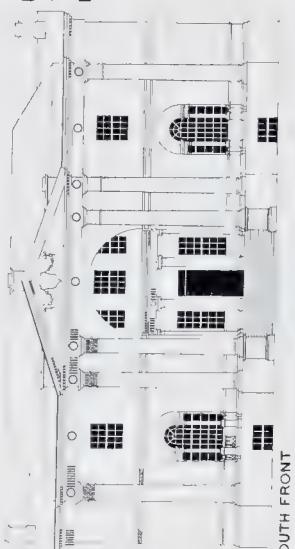
There is one anecdote in Carlyle's "Autobiography"²³ which connects Robert Adam and David Hume in 1753, at the time when the latter was living in Edinburgh²⁴ and composing his "History of Great Britain." "He was," we are told, "a man of great knowledge, and of a social and benevolent temper, and truly the best natured man in the world. He was branded with the title



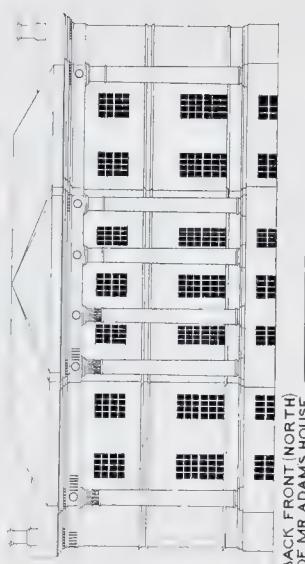
DRUM HOUSE: DRAWING-ROOM FIREPLACE.

William Adam (senior), Architect.

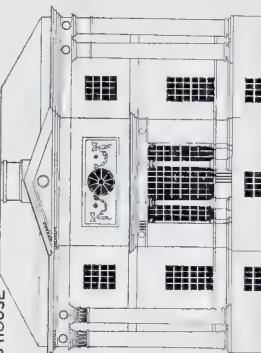
DESIGN OF A HOUSE FOR JOHN ADAM ESQ AT BLAIR ADAM



SOUTH FRONT

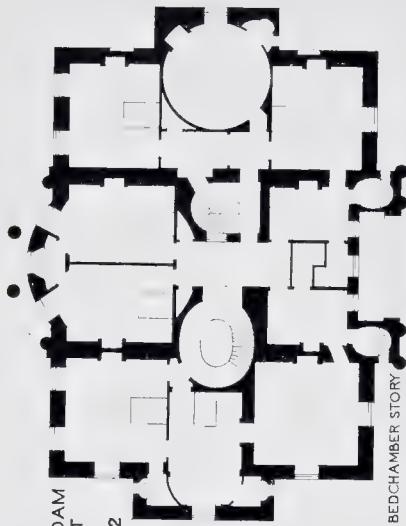


BACK FRONT (NORTH)
OF MR. ADAMS HOUSE

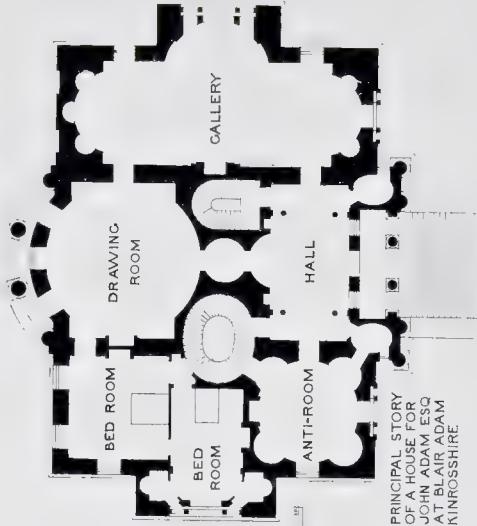


EAST FRONT OF
A HOUSE FOR
MR. ADAM

ROBERT ADAM
ARCHITECT
ADELPHI
MAY 9 1772



BEDCHAMBER STORY



PRINCIPAL STORY
OF A HOUSE FOR
JOHN ADAM ESQ
AT BLAIR ADAM
KINROSSHIRE.

of Atheist on account of the many attacks on revealed religion that are to be found in his works. *A propos* of this, when Mr. Robert Adam, the celebrated architect, with his brother,²⁵ lived in Edinburgh with their mother, an aunt of Dr. Robertson's²⁶ and a very respectable woman, she said to her son, 'I shall be glad to see any of your companions to dinner, but I hope you will never bring the Atheist here to disturb my peace.' But Robert soon fell on a method to reconcile her to him, for he introduced him under another name, or concealed it carefully from her. When the company parted she said to her son: 'I must confess that you bring very agreeable companions about you, but the large jolly man who sat next to me is the most agreeable of them all.' 'This was the very Atheist,' said he, 'mother, that you were so much afraid of.' 'Well,' says she, 'you may bring him here as much as you please, for he's the most innocent, agreeable, facetious man I ever met with.'

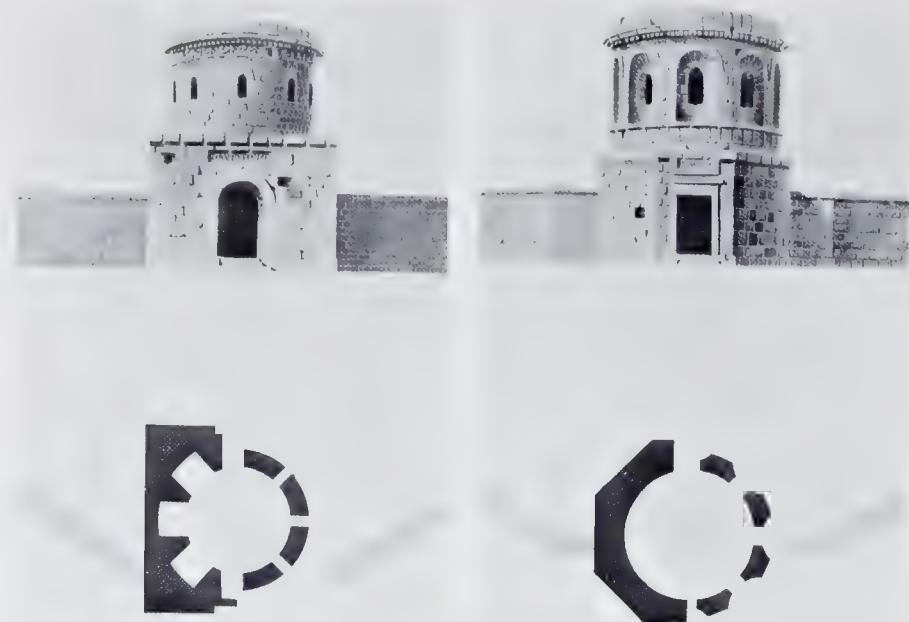
Carlyle tells a further story to illustrate his own idea that "Hume's sceptical principles had never laid fast hold on his mind, but proceeded rather from affectation of superiority and pride of understanding and love of vainglory." In reference to David Hume, Wallace writes from Edinburgh to Strahan, the publisher, on August 30, 1776:²⁷

"Alas! for David Hume! His friends have sustained a great loss in his death. He was interred yesterday at a place he lately purchased in the burying-ground on the Calton. A monument on that airy elevated cemetery, which, on account of a magnificent terrace now carried round the hill, is greatly frequented, will be extremely conspicuous, and must often call his name to remembrance." In 1777 Robert Adam made numerous interesting designs for this tomb (Vol. xix, No. 76, etc.), and the executed monument, though sadly crowded by the later additions of many other memorials, is still almost as conspicuous as Hume's friends desired.

The Professor of Scots Law, a nephew of David Hume and an opponent of Dr. Robertson, erected the monument. There is an amusing story relative to this tomb. "While Smellie²⁸ was walking with Dr. Gilbert Stuart and Dr. John Brown, author of the once famous Brownonian system of medicine and a man of rough and coarse manners, the latter asked a mason who was hewing a paving stone for some finishing part of the tomb: 'Friend, this is a strong and massy building: but how do you think the honest gentleman will get out at the Resurrection?' The mason replied: 'I have secured that point, sir, for I have put the key under the door.'



THE TOMB OF WILLIAM ADAM (SENIOR).



TWO ORIGINAL DESIGNS FOR DAVID HUME'S TOMB BY ROBERT ADAM.

Robert Adam did not start upon his travels to Italy until the summer of 1754,²⁹ six years after his father's death in June, 1748. He was then twenty-six, and must already, as the son of an architect, have made very great progress in his studies and knowledge of architecture, both historical and practical. He would know and have experienced more than an ordinary student of well over thirty years of age. The next three years spent abroad, prior to his return in January, 1758, brought Robert Adam to the point of starting practice at the age of thirty, with an artistic and professional equipment which must have been quite exceptional. This is the only way in which the rapid maturity of his art can be explained, and the entire absence in his case of that long hesitating and unemployed stage which is the almost invariable fate of the architectural aspirant.

Sir Joshua Reynolds' swift progress is a contemporary case in point. In 1755, only two years after he had established himself in London, he had one hundred and twenty sitters. His busiest year was 1758, when he had one hundred and fifty. In 1760 Reynolds moved to Leicester Square, was making £6,000 a year, and had set up his carriage.

It would be very interesting, if it were possible, to trace out the plan of Robert Adam's grand tour, but only a few points can be established. First of all, there is No. 60 in Vol. LV, "Sketch of Tour Magne³⁰ at Nimes from the Windmill. Taken on the spot, 13th. Dec. 1754." This is a drawing of a ruined structure. Although not conclusive, it seems to suggest that Robert's route was that taken by Sterne and others—the well worn highway to Italy passing through Paris and Lyons. Three letters written by Robert Adam at Rome will be found in the Appendix.

That at some period Robert Adam spent some time in Paris seems probable, from the references in his "Prefaces" to Continental methods of house planning and to French social conveniences of life; but it is not apparent that either on the outward or on the return journey much time could have been devoted to that purpose. In the 1821 sale list is an entry, "ten large Elevations of remains of Antiquity restored by Mr. R. Adam, buildings at Genoa, &c.," which suggests that he may have passed some time at that important city on his way to Florence.

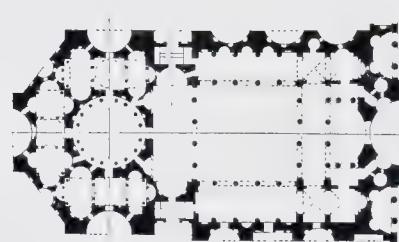
No. 3 in Vol. LIV is headed as follows : "Section and front view of the Ballustrade of St. Lorenzo or Doma of Florence 14th Feb. 1755." This is a drawing of the corbelled Gothic cornice of the Cathedral, and with it is a note of more classic import : "Sketch of a small cornish in a chamber of the G. D. (Grand Ducal Pitti Palace) Gallery which has a good effect."

In Vol. x of the Soane Collection there is a plan (No. 1) and an elevation (No. 20) belonging to it, signed "Robert Adam Inv. Romæ 1756."³¹ It is a student work drawn in brown ink and wash, and, as a design, is evidently inspired by a study on the spot of the great Roman Thermæ. There is also an immense vision of a palace design, something between a Turneresque restoration of Old Rome and a wild dream induced by Piranesi prints. It cannot be taken seriously, except as an indication of an unfortunate inborn tendency to a redundancy of undisciplined design on the part of Robert Adam. This fatal fluency crops up in first sketches, but fortunately disappears as the work takes actual form. To anyone unacquainted at first hand with Robert Adam's actual work the process of turning over the Soane volumes is productive of many shocks,

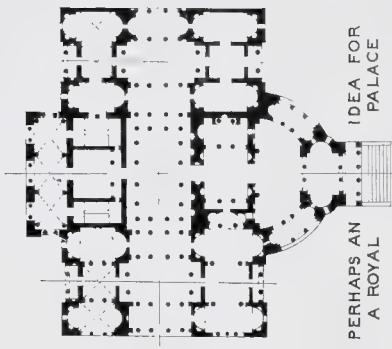
partly due to this tendency of his, but still more to the indiscriminate collection of office and other material made by the surviving brother, William, to whom we most probably owe the sorting and binding up of these books of drawings. The volume of "Miscellaneous Sketches," mentioned previously, contains a few drawings belonging to Robert's time abroad, such as the composition "A Casino" with water and trees marked "Rome, 1756," and another important sketch (No. 39) made on the spot of the famous Loggia of the Villa Madama at Rome. This interior, drawn in ink over pencil, proves an attentive study of the work of the Golden Age of the Renaissance. There are some drawings (46 and 47), of plasterwork from the ceilings of the Villa Pamfili. (Other studies from this important example are in the C. J. Richardson Collection of Adam Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum, notably a measured bay of the Stanze, of the Rotunda, and two freehand studies of panels from ceilings in ink; one of these is drawn with great elegance and feeling. In the same collection is an elaborate study of the entablature of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans.) Three drawings (55-57), very spirited in character of the Trevi



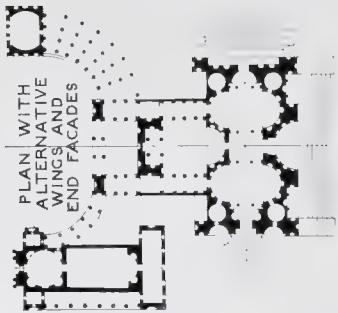
DAVID HUME'S TOMB, BY ROBERT ADAM.



PLAN STUDIES & IDEAS BY ROBERT ADAM. DRAWN OUT & COMPLETED FROM ORIGINAL ROUGH NOTES. VARIOUS FEATURES OF HIS EXECUTED PLANS ARE PROJECTED IN THESE SKETCHES.



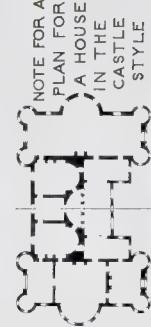
IDEA FOR
PALACE



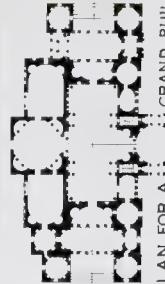
**PLAN WITH
ALTERNATIVE
WINGS AND
END FAÇADES**



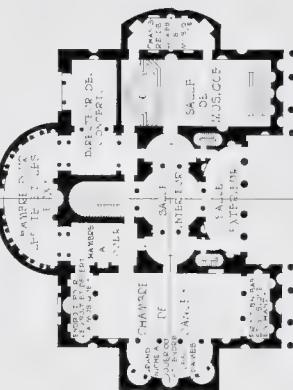
NOTE FOR
THE ELE-
VATION OF
THE ABOVE
THE OB.GNAL IS
BY DR. JAMES DODSON.



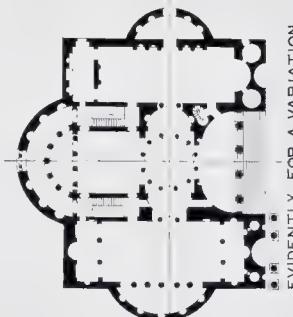
NOTE FOR A
PLAN FOR
A HOUSE
IN THE
CASTLE
STYKE



A PLAN FOR A GRAND BUILDING



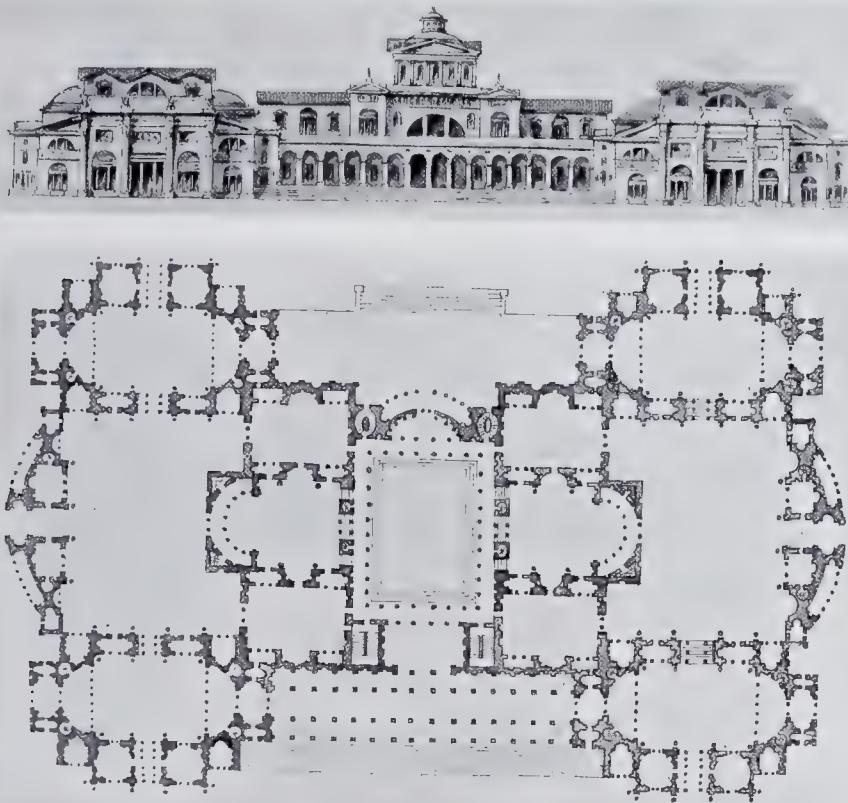
IDEA FOR A CASINO



APPENDIX E
EVIDENTLY FOR A VARIATION
OF THE CASINO PLAN
DEERFIELD TOWNSHIP, MASS.

Fountain may be Adam's work.³² There is also an unsigned drawing (177), to a fairly large scale, of St. Maria della Salute and the Dogana at Venice. A series of vignette sketches of ruins, with tinted backgrounds, seems like the amusement of idle moments, though, no doubt, they possessed at the time a popular value in the days before photography (69-91, etc.).

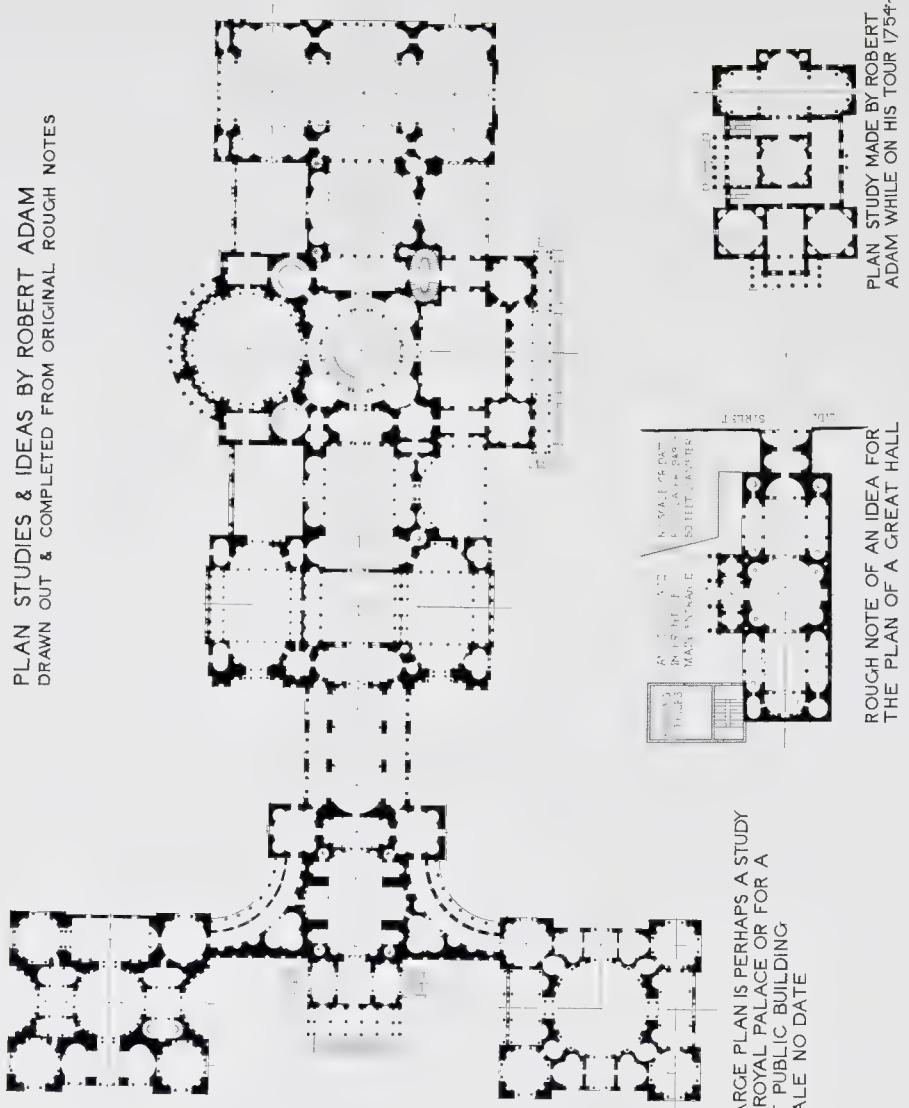
There is not the slightest doubt, however, that Robert Adam's own studies were of the most architectural character.³³ His thoughts were of plans, elevations and sections, and all the mechanism of design in building. This was accompanied by a deep love for, and close study of ornament, and decoration. Of such subjects he probably amassed a great number of examples, as his style shows influences from the most widely scattered sources. That the work of the



STUDENT DESIGN BY ROBERT ADAM AT ROME.

school of Raphael and of the Early Renaissance architects attracted him, as well as the Antique, not only the Sion Gateway, but also the design of the screen-like reredos, proposed for King's College Chapel, Cambridge, clearly proves. It is also very remarkable that some of Robert's designs for David Hume's monument show a very good memory of Theodoric's Tomb at Ravenna. This open-minded study enabled him to appreciate Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro, which many a student of that day would merely have shuddered at as the barbarous product of a declining age. To Adam it represented some approach to that domestic architecture of antiquity, of which he felt the remaining examples to be so entirely inadequate a representation. Above all, it taught him to differentiate between the house and the temple.

PLAN STUDIES & IDEAS BY ROBERT ADAM
DRAWN OUT & COMPLETED FROM ORIGINAL ROUGH NOTES



THE LARGE PLAN IS PERHAPS A STUDY
FOR A ROYAL PALACE OR FOR A
GREAT PUBLIC BUILDING.
NO SCALE NO DATE

PLAN STUDY MADE BY ROBERT
ADAM WHILE ON HIS TOUR 1754-7

ROUGH NOTE OF AN IDEA FOR
THE PLAN OF A GREAT HALL

" This thought often occurred to me during my residence in Italy ; nor could I help considering my knowledge of Architecture as imperfect, unless I should be able to add the observation of a private edifice of the Ancients to my study of their public works. This led me to form the scheme of visiting the Ruins of the Emperor Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro, in Dalmatia ; that favourite building, in which, after resigning the empire, he chose to reside. I knew, from the accounts of former travellers, that the remains of this palace, though tolerably entire, had never been observed with any accuracy, or drawn with any taste : I was no stranger to the passion of that prince for Architecture, which prompted him to erect many grand and expensive structures at Rome, Nicomedia, Milan, Palmyra, and other places in his dominions ; I had viewed his public baths at Rome, one of the noblest, as well as most entire, of all the ancient buildings, with no less admiration than care ; I was convinced, notwithstanding the visible decline of Architecture, as well as of the other arts, before the reign of Diocletian,³⁴ that his munificence had revived a taste in Architecture superior to that of his own times, and had formed artists capable of imitating, with no inconsiderable success, the style and manner of a purer age. The names and history of those great masters are now unknown, but their works which remain, merit the highest applause ; and the extent and fertility of their genius, seem to have equalled the magnificence of the monarch by whom they were employed."

Adam's expression of his ideas in the heavy Johnsonian style of the epoch may be described as suggestive. There seems to be an undercurrent of advice to his Royal patron and reader, the youthful and architecture-loving George III, then newly on the throne, to go and do likewise.

" Induced by all these circumstances, I undertook my voyage to Dalmatia with the most sanguine hopes . . . Having prevailed on Mr. Clerisseau, a French artist, from whose taste and knowledge of antiquities I was certain of receiving great assistance in the execution of my scheme, to accompany me in this expedition, and having engaged two draughtsmen of whose skill and accuracy I had had long experience, we set sail from Venice on the 11th July, 1757,³⁵ and on the 22nd of that month arrived at Spalatro.

" This city, though of no great extent, is so happily situated, that it appears, when viewed from the sea, not only picturesque but magnificent. As we entered a grand bay, and sailed slowly towards the harbour, the Marine Wall, and long Arcades of the Palace, one of the ancient Temples, and other parts of that building which was the object of our voyage, presented themselves to our view, and flattered me, from this first prospect, that my labor in visiting it would be amply rewarded."

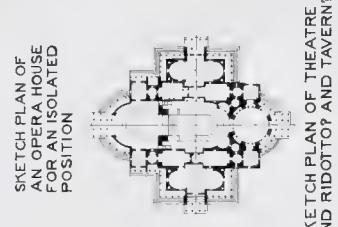
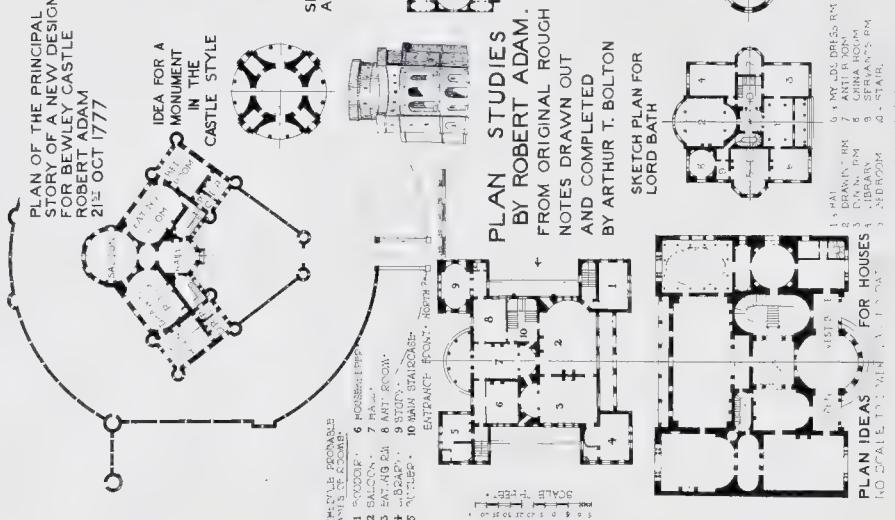
Following on this first rosy vision of success, Adam proceeds to record all the difficulties of access to a ruined palace grown over by a modern town, as well as the spy mania that attacked the Venetian Governor on the spot, who feared that the fortifications of the city were the real object of his survey. General Graeme,³⁶ Commander of the Venetian Forces, and Count Antonio Marcovich of Spalatro, fortunately came to the assistance of Adam at this crisis, and the work was allowed to proceed, but only with an officer in constant attendance.

Every student will realise the drag that this must have been upon the party.

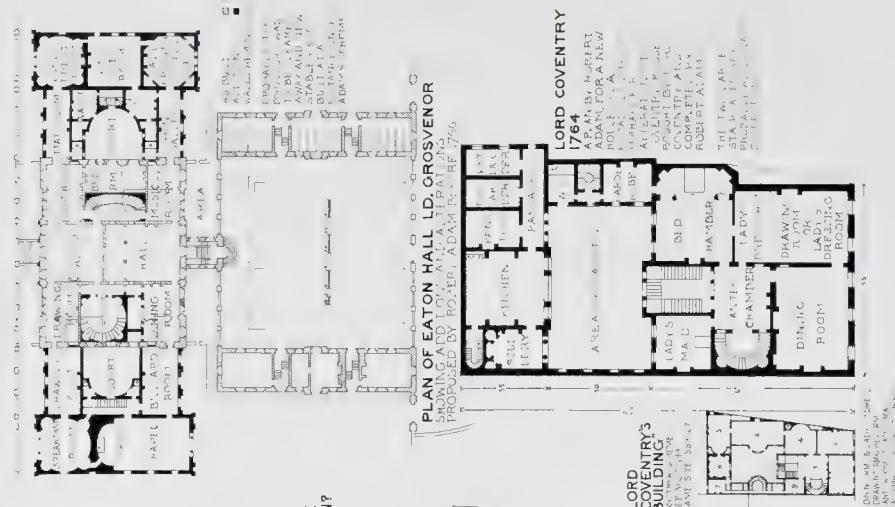
" The fear of a second interruption added to my industry, and, by unwearyed application during five weeks, we compleated, with an accuracy that afforded me great satisfaction, those parts of our work which it was necessary to execute on the spot."

It is desirable to insist strongly on the power of work that lay behind Robert Adam's great achievements, as a vague idea has grown up that in some strange way he owed his fame to an adroit use of the assistance of others. I shall show that his death is to be ascribed to the stress of the work impetuously undertaken even in his last years, and it may be asserted with confidence that he never was at any period other than a most strenuous worker.

Adam, in describing the Palace of Spalatro, reminds us that it was " a work so great that the Emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, who had seen the most splendid buildings of the Ancients, affirms that no plan or description can convey a perfect idea of its magnificence. The vast extent of the ground which it occupied is surprising at first sight ; the dimensions of one side of the quadrangle, including the towers, being no less than 698 feet, and of the other 592 feet, making the superficial content 413,216 feet, being nearly nine and a half English acres." That is to say that it was about an acre larger than our Houses of Parliament at Westminster, a work to which Sir Charles Barry gave over twenty years of his life.³⁷



PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL
STORY OF A NEW DESIGN
FOR BEWLEY CASTLE
ROBERT ADAM
21st OCT 1777



Adam shows that he did not undertake this vast labour in the spirit of a mere archaeological survey, for he dwells on the lessons to be derived from the study of this example of antiquity.

"If from the center of the Crypto Porticus, we look back to those parts of the Palace which we have already passed through, we may observe a striking instance of that gradation from less to greater, of which some connoisseurs are so fond, and which they distinguish by the name of a Climax in Architecture. The Vestibulum is larger and more lofty than the Porticus. The Atrium much exceeds the grandeur of the Vestibulum; and the Crypto Porticus may well be the last step in such a climax, since it extended no less than 517 feet."

We shall see these ideas reappearing in Adam's plans, and the following passage is also particularly significant :

"We may likewise observe a remarkable diversity of form, as well as of dimensions, in these apartments which we have already viewed, and the same thing is conspicuous in other parts of the Palace. This was a circumstance to which the Ancients were extremely attentive, and it seems to have had a happy effect, as it introduced into their buildings a variety, which, if it doth not constitute Beauty, at least greatly heightens it. Whereas Modern Architects, by paying too little regard to the example of the Ancients in this point, are apt to fatigue us with a dull succession of similar apartments." The last phrase is an acute criticism of many an Early Georgian house.

The great John Wesley, whose sole recreation, judging from his "Journals," lay in visiting



DESIGN BY ROBERT ADAM, MADE AT ROME.

show places, expresses a similar opinion of the great houses of the time, as we shall see in the chapter dealing with Harewood.

This book on Spalatro, like Adam's "Works," was most splendidly produced, and its fine engravings by artists like Piranesi and Bartolozzi have always made it a costly acquisition. In many ways this circumstance, like the extraordinarily high value of the "Works," has been detrimental to Robert Adam, as his books have never had the reputation and circulation with and amongst students, architects and the public that other works of very inferior value have obtained by reason of their greater accessibility. Adam's ideas have in this way passed through and become current, only at second hand, and often in very inadequate shapes.

That Robert Adam returned from his Grand Tour early in 1758 is established first by a dated sketch made at Coblenz on the Rhine,³⁸ and secondly by a strip of paper pasted in Vol. IX of the Adam drawings in the Soane Collection after Sketch No. 71.

"The Sketches before this were done abroad, those that follow are done since my return to England Jany. 1758." The contraction is not quite as clear as one would wish, but the month cannot, I think, be read otherwise than January. It is a cut out slip and most probably is not now in its intended place, as many of the sketches that follow seem as if they should belong to the same series as those in the earlier part of the same volume. "Sketches" with Robert Adam mean studies for buildings, plans, and ideas in general, and not merely views of existing work.

Dr. Carlyle, though a close friend of the family, hesitates over the date of Robert's return and says "February or March."



ORIGINAL SKETCH BY PIRANESI.
Probably given by him to Robert Adam at Rome.



ORIGINAL SKETCH DESIGN BY ROBERT ADAM.



FINISHED DRAWING OF THE ABOVE BY CLERISSEAU.

A letter^{38A} from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, written to her daughter, the Countess of Bute, on January 20, 1758, has, perhaps, the earliest existing allusion to Robert Adam. "I saw, some months ago, a country-man of yours (Mr. Adam) who desires to be introduced to you. He seemed to me, in one short visit, to be a man of genius, and I have heard his knowledge of architecture much applauded. He is now in England." This is of interest, because the Earl of Bute was, as we shall see, destined hereafter to be a great patron of Robert Adam, who, later on, undeterred by the depth of unpopularity into which the once all-powerful Minister had fallen, made special acknowledgments to him in his "Works."

Sir William Chambers, R.A., on the other hand, though he owed his introduction to the King to whom, when Prince of Wales, he had been tutor in architecture to his fellow Scotsman, Bute and Home, seems to have laid the stress ever after on the fact of his actual birth having taken place in Sweden. The current attitude towards the Scot is shown by the fact that Boswell found Johnson's raillery good copy, even as late as the time of Adam's death, close upon the end of the century. The feeling, however, must not be over-stated, as there is a good contemporary denial of David Hume's fretful complaints on this very point. Wilkes's base attacks on the Scots were estimated at their proper value by the serious public.

Lady Mary Pierrepont (1689-1762), the mother of the Countess of Bute, was the eldest daughter of Evelyn, fifth Earl and first Duke of Kingston, and had married in 1712 Edward Wortley Montagu, M.P. for Huntingdon, who derived much wealth from coal pits. She had accompanied her husband to the East when he was Ambassador (1716-18) at Constantinople.

A private separation seems to have been the cause of Lady Mary's residence abroad from 1739, and she

only returned in 1762 to die, her husband having died the year before. Her long residence in Italy was enlivened by the great correspondence which she maintained with her connections, and particularly with her daughter, the Countess of Bute. A letter^{38A} to the latter of July 3, 1753, gives an interesting glimpse of the English in Italy, just three years before the time of Adam's stay in Rome.

To the Countess of Bute, June 3, 1753.

The winter I passed at Rome there was an unusual concourse of English, many of them with great estates, and their own masters: as they had no admittance to the Roman ladies, nor understood the language, they had no way of passing their evenings but in my apartment, where I had always a full drawing-room. Their governors³⁹ encouraged their assiduities as much as they could, finding I gave them lessons of economy and good conduct; and my authority was so great, that it was a common threat amongst them, "I'll tell Lady Mary what you say." I was judge of all their disputes, and my decisions always submitted to. While I staid, there was neither gaming, drinking, quarrelling, or keeping. The Abbé Grant (a very honest, good-natured North Briton, who has resided several years at Rome) was so much amazed at this uncommon regularity, he would have made me believe I was bound in conscience to pass my life there, for the good of my countrymen.

This account shows that the characteristics of the English abroad were in those days much the same as at any time since. The value to our purpose is that it lends weight to Lady Mary's judgment of Robert Adam when she met him in Venice at the end of the year 1757, as we have just seen.

From the subsequent tour of James Adam (1760-63) we can gather that Robert had made many foreign acquaintances. The epoch of the Academies in Italy was one which was favourable to strangers who were interested in Art, Literature and Science.⁴⁰ How well Robert turned the great opportunities of his Grand Tour to account the succeeding chapters will show.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I.

¹ Of the Greek colonies on Italian shores, Herculaneum (1719), Pompeii (1748), and Paestum (1750) were now discovered.

² "Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia," by R. Adam, F.R.S., F.S.A., Architect to the King and to the Queen. Printed for the Author, 1764, folio, London.

³ It is very doubtful if Robert would have endorsed the rash and undiscerning anti-Palladian criticism of James, written when visiting Vicenza (1760).

⁴ Master Mason to the King in Scotland, and in that character commenced the building of Fort George, which was finished by his eldest son John, who succeeded him in his office. William Adam, senior, married Mary Robertson of Gladney in Fife, aunt to Dr. Robertson, the Historian. She died 1761, aged 62. He died 1748, aged 59. W. H. L. quoting "MS. Communication," in an article on "Robert Adam," "Biograph. Dict." Vol. 1 (never completed), in the Library Fine Arts Series, 1842. W. A.'s works quoted, Wings to Hopetoun House; Town Hall, Dundee; Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh; Dumfries, Kinnoull and Gray Houses. *Note.*—This article by Leeds is marred by prejudice and contains various mistakes about Robert Adam. Fort George is described by Poccocci in "Scots Tours," as shown to him June 17th, 1760, by Colonel Skinner, who designed it (page 104). Forts William on the west, Augustus in the centre and George on the east, formed a chain from sea to sea.

⁵ Kinross is 9½ miles north to south, by 2½ to 1½ wide. Loch Leven occupies a good part of the area.

⁶ The "Arch. Diet." says it appeared in parts between 1720-40. Title page has "Vitrivius Scoticus, being a collection of Plans, Elevations and Sections of Public Buildings, Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Houses in Scotland. Principally from the designs of the late William Adam, Esq., Architect, Edinburgh. Printed for Adam Black and J. and J. Robertson, Edinburgh: T. Underwood and J. Taylor, London, 1810." A copy appears in the R.A. sale list. *See Appendix.*

⁷ Sir William Bruce of Balaske, Fifeshire, M.P., 1669-74, second son of Robert Bruce of Blair Hall; born about 1630. Prominent in the Restoration; appointed Clerk to the Bills, 1660; bought Balaske, 1668, and made Baronet of Nova Scotia. Master of the King's Works. Restored Holyrood and built Kinross. Died 1710.

⁸ "Playfair Portfolio, Soane Museum." *Note.*—"Arniston House," between Dumbar (?) and Melrose. John Rait, 1785-88, erected house from design, dated 1784.

⁹ In Macgibbon and Ross's "Domestic Architecture in Scotland," Drum is taken as closing the earlier epoch.

¹⁰ It is mentioned as "late erected" in the Rev. Thomas White's "Account of the Parish of Liberton in 1782."

¹¹ "Topographical Dictionary of Scotland," by Nicholas Carlisle, 1813, and Poccocci, "Tours in Scotland, 1747-60," page 311.

¹² "Autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, 1722-1805." Ed. by J. H. Barton. Foulis, 1910, page 223. Rev. Dr. Alex. C., Minister of Inveresk. Son of Minister at Preston Pans (1690-1765). Educated Edin. Univ. 1735, and met Home and Robertson there. Memoirs begun at age of 79 in the year 1800.

¹³ Wm. Adam senior also purchased Dowhill Castle, near the present Blair Adam railway station, the former seat of a branch of the Lindsays, Earls of Crawford, and conferred it on Robert. It is a ruin, oblong in form, with two circular turrets at opposite corners (about 78ft. by 27ft.). See "Fife Pictorial and Historical," by A. H. Millar, Vol. ii, page 403.

¹⁴ More likely, perhaps, the failure of the Scotch banks when Nealy, James, Fordyce and Down stopped payments, June 10th, 1772. *See "H. W. Letters," Vol. vii, page 175.*

¹⁵ There is a tradition that James was two years younger than Robert.

¹⁶ 2 Vols., octavo, 1789.

¹⁷ "A. C. Auto," page 393-5.

¹⁸ John Home, Dramatic Poet, born at Leith, 1722; son of Town Clerk. Related to the Earl of Home's family. Educated Edin. Univ. Preacher, 1745, at Athelhampton, East Lothian. To London with his first tragedy, "Agis," in 1749, to see Garrick, who refused this, and also "Douglas," in 1755. Gave up his living 1757. Joined Bute in London, and "Douglas" is brought out. Married, 1767, retired to villa built in East Lothian. Again married, 1770, but died Sp. 1808. Johnson defied old Mr. Sheridan to show ten good lines in "Douglas." Boswell "Tour to the Hebrides," Oct., Ln., 1908. Vol. ii, page 138.

¹⁹ See Sam Derrick's "Letters from Liverpool, etc., 1767." He visited B. July, 1760. He admires the staircase and smoking room, and "a grate and the furniture belonging to it of bright wrought iron which cost him a round sum." S. D. was Master of the Ceremonies at Bath.

²⁰ "Discipuli Domini Georgii Stuart qui subscriperunt Videsimo quinto die Mensis Febrarii MDCCXLIII." This is the heading of the list in the Matriculation album, in which appears the name of Rob. Adams. George Stuart was Professor of Humanity (Latin). In the entry for 1752, Robert Hunter, Professor of Greek, heads the list. I am indebted to the late Sir William Turner, Principal of the University, for the above valuable information.

²¹ William Robertson who was a relative by marriage of Robert Adam, was appointed Principal of Edinburgh University, 1762. Geo. Husband Baird succeeded him in 1793. Adam Smith, author of the "Wealth of Nations" (1723-1790), of whom Wm. Pitt the second was a pupil. David Hume (*See Index*). Adam Furguson (*see page 27*).

^{21A} No. 146, for instance, is the original Piranesi, reproduced page 21, and 138 is also given in relation to Clerisseau's finished drawing in the Soane Collection on the same page.

²² The plinth in inscription of 1827 by John's son, William, says "Erected 1750 by John the eldest son."

²³ 4. C. "Auto," pages 285-6.

²⁴ D. Hume lodged in the Canongate and acted as Librarian of the Faculty of Advocate's Library.

²⁵ It is doubtful whether John or James is intended. I think the latter, as John appears to have married in 1750. His eldest son was born August, 1751.

²⁶ William Robertson, D.D. (1721-93), son of Rev. W. R. R., of Old Greyfriars Church, who married Eleanor Pitcairn, daughter of David P. of Dreghorn. W. R. descended from Robertson of Gladney, Fife, a branch of the family owning estate of Stean in Perth. Living of Gladsmuir presented to W. R. by Earl of Hopetoun. Married, 1751, his cousin, Mary Nisbet, daughter of Rev. N., minister in Edinburgh. 1758, to London about publication of "History of Scotland" by A. Millar. Came out February, 1759, with great success. Moved to Edinburgh, 1763. King's Historiographer for Scotland. Leader in Church Assembly 30 years, up to 1780.

²⁷ Miscellaneous works of Edward Gibbon," by John Lord Sheffield. Dublin, 1796. Vol. ii, page 40.

²⁸ "Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of Wm. Smellie, F.R.S., F.A.S." by Robert Kerr, F.R.S., 2 Vols. 8vo, Edinb., 1811, Vol. ii, page 261. Famous Edinburgh printer and secretary, Scots Antiquaries (1740 (?)-1795), son of A. S., architect and master builder. Like Adam and Mylne, a family of traditional masons.

²⁹ Carlyle's "Autobiography" tells us that Robert Adam set out for London to go to Italy in the summer of 1754. At the Manse of Inveresk Robert, with some of his brothers, Home and Commissioner Cardonnel (a neighbour) had all dined, and when the party broke up, Robert was found "galloping round the green on his horse like a madman, which he repeated after seeing us, for at least ten times. Home stopped him and had some talk with him, so the brothers at last went off quietly for Edinburgh." It appeared that a set-back by a Scot's lass had put Bob "in a flurry." This glimpse of Robert Adam as a high spirited young man, on the eve of his Italian journey, rejoicing in the possession of a very fine galloway, relieves the tedium of a rather prosy book of memoirs. Robert parted with his horse to John Home. "Though only 14 hands high it was one of the best trotters ever seen, and having a good deal of blood in him, when he was well used, was indefatigable." He could do the journey to London in six days.

³⁰ Madame Bocage, July 8, 1758, writes of the "Tour." "Adrian is said to have caused Plautina's body to be burned on it, which is the loftiest tower in Gaul. However, the eleven fathoms of which are remaining, seem to be more in the taste of a Gothic than a Roman building." "At the foot of the hill on which it stands is a fountain," etc. "Lettres sur Angleterre," Vol. ii, p. 202.

³¹ Wm. Hayward, Staruary and Mason, Piccadilly. List of Artists' arrival; in Rome, 1753-1775. MS. in possession Alex. Finberg, Esq. On April, 1755, "Mr. Capel from London, painter; Mr. Adam, architect from Scotland, these two last rather as gentlemen, rather than students. August (?), 1757, Mr. Adams, architect, gone to Spalatra with assistants in search of antiquities for publication." He left in May, 1757, as he was at Viterbo in May and Venice in July. *See Appendix*, 3 letters from Rome, May 8, 1756; Feb. 26, 1757, and May 5, 1757.

³² See James Adam's Tour. It is hardly possible at present to decide the various authorships as between Robert, James and the assistants engaged to work for them in Italy.

³³ Very important drawings were reserved when the fifty-three volumes were put together as appears from the sale list of 1821, which shows that we have by no means the whole of Adam's work abroad, or probably many important drawings for buildings made by him later in life.

³⁴ Began his reign An. Dom. 284. Resigned, 304. Died, 313, having spent the last nine years at Spalatro. The quotation is from the preface of the Spalatro book, 1764.

³⁵ A volume of tracings, now in the R.I.B.A. Library, and said to have come from Adam's Sale, has a plan of a theatre at Serento, 6 miles from Viterbo, "Measured on the spot, May 9, 1757," and a drawing of the arch at Pola in Istria dated 1757.

³⁶ Of Scottish origin

³⁷ The Bank of England covers three acres

³⁸ Among the sketches for Gothic buildings grouped in Vol. ix is one inscribed, "Fabrique Gothique dessinée en descendant Le Rhin. Idée prise d'une église sur le côté de dit Fleuve, Decem, 1757, proche de Coblenz."

^{38A} Vol. v, page 36. "The Works of the Rt. Hon. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Ll., Oct. 1803," and following passage, Vol. v, page 213.

³⁹ Travelling tutors, such as Adam Furguson, and others

⁴⁰ See "Lettres sur Angleterre, etc." by Madame Bocage, who was in Italy, 1757.



ORIGINAL SKETCH DESIGN BY ROBERT ADAM, ROME, 1756.

PART I. CHAPTER II.

OUTLINE OF THE EARLY PERIOD FROM 1758 UP TO THE START OF
THE ADELPHI SCHEME IN 1768.

UPON his return to England in January,¹ 1758, Robert Adam was elected, on February 1, a member of the new and influential "Society of Arts," which had been founded in 1754. His address is given in their Roll^{1a} as Lower Grosvenor Street, where he remained until 1772, when he removed to No. 3 in the new "Royal Terrace" of the Adelphi. We can tell almost exactly the date of Robert's arrival, as he was proposed by Mr. Ramsay on January 25, when his address is given as "Robert Adam, Cleveland Court, St. James'." His subscription of two guineas was paid on February 7. He must have taken the house in Lower Grosvenor Street^{1b} at once and there James Adam joined him on his return. I am able to give a plan of the house for additions to which James, probably about 1764, made a scheme which, I think we may assume, was never carried out.

The heading of this plan is only "The house in Grosvenor Street with the addition." The octagon shown at the back has very much the appearance of a room designed for the reception of visitors, or possibly of clients, and it was proposed to be elaborately decorated. The drawings have



ROUBILIAC'S STATUE OF GARRICK AS SHAKESPEARE.

just that inconclusiveness which seems to have dogged James' uncontrolled efforts. The pencil alterations, as in the dotted lines on the section, look very much like Robert's suggestions. In the decorative parts these emendations are directed to the better spacing and opening out of the ornament, in a way which is characteristic of Robert's decorative gift.

That William lived here as well is probable, but quite uncertain, as is also the date at which he came to London.² Vol. viii (124) has a sketch marked "Mr. W^m. Adam's ceiling."

For a glimpse of Robert Adam and his brothers and sisters in the spring of 1758, before he became famous, we have again to thank Dr. Alexander Carlyle.³ His prosy and ill arranged

"Autobiography" gives but a very few tantalising and fragmentary allusions, for, unluckily, he was no Boswell to realise the future interest that would centre round "Bob Adam."

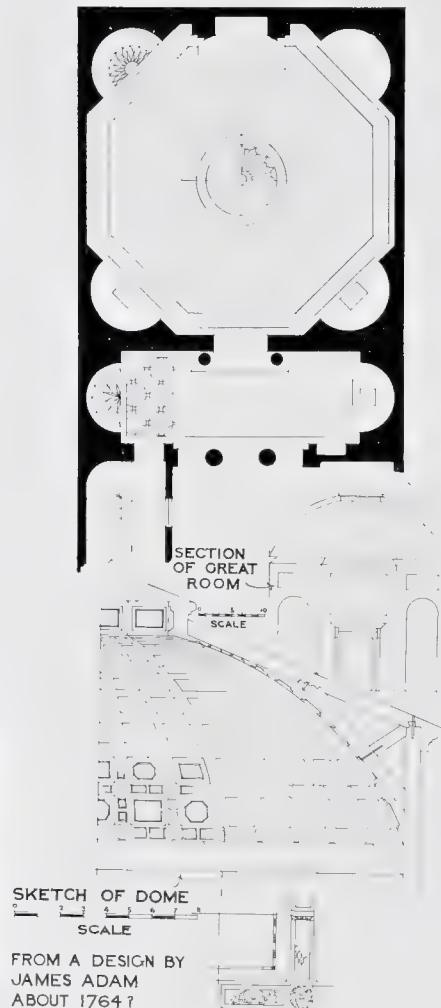
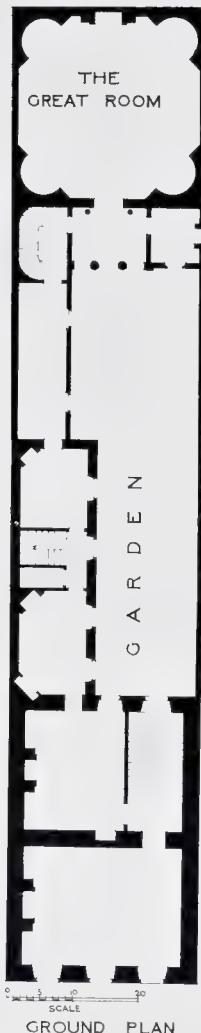
We shall see, however, that we can place the young architect among a group of energetic Scotsmen who were attracted to the Metropolis by the set of the tide, which seemed for a time to be bringing Lord Bute to a position under the new King equivalent to that occupied by Sir Robert Walpole in the early days of George the Second.

Dr. Carlyle's account will explain Miss Burney's inclusion of Robert Adam "with others of the Scotch party" on the later occasion of her visit to the Adelphi sale.

The picture is a very typical one, and as, for the moment, at any rate, Adam Furguson appears to form the nucleus of the little clan, it will be as well to give a brief view of his character, summarised from the "Autobiography."

THE HOUSE IN GROSVENOR STREET WITH THE ADDITION. BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN THE HOUSE OF R. & J. ADAM 1758-72

(FROM THE DRAWINGS IN THE SOANE MUSEUM)



Dr. Adam Furguson was the son of a Highland clergyman. He was much respected and had good connections. He had the pride and high spirit of his countrymen. Educated at St. Andrews, he went early into the world, being a favourite with the Dowager Duchess of Athole, through whom he was appointed Chaplain to the Forty-second, then commanded by her son, Lord John Murray, at that time only twenty-two years of age. Furguson resigned when the Regiment went to America in 1755. He wrote a "History of the Roman Republic." Apt to be jealous of rivals, and indignant against assumed superiority, though he conversed with ease, it was with a dignified reserve. Home and Carlyle kept Smith, Furguson and David Hume on very good terms. When the "History" was published Furguson had lost his health, and, being unable to correct it diligently, those who had been overawed by him easily disparaged it. He wrote also on Civil Society and Moral Philosophy. David Hume had a high opinion of Furguson, but he had died before the "History" appeared.

As Furguson had one day in the week when he could be in town, we established a club at a coffee house in Saville Row, or Sackville Street, where we could meet him at dinner, which we did every Wednesday at three o'clock. There were John Home, Robertson, Wedderburn, Jack Dalrymple, Bob Adam, Furguson, and myself. . . . As Furguson rode back to Harrow, we always parted between 5 and 6 o'clock; and it will hardly be now believed that our reckoning never exceeded five shillings apiece. We had a very good dinner and plenty of punch, etc., though no claret for that sum. Having met we generally went that night to Drury Lane, Garrick being in town.

The first connection of Robert Adam with Garrick might possibly have preceded the former's Italian tour in 1754-8. John Home, the author of "Douglas," went up to London in 1749, and again in February, 1755, the second time on horseback, the animal on which he rode being the famous "Piercy," which Robert parted with to Home before he set out on his Italian tour.

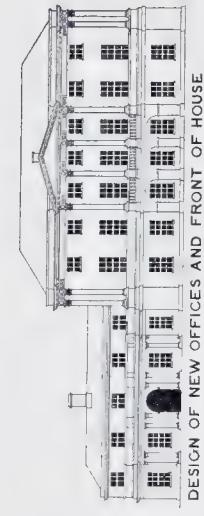
Though only fourteen and a half hands high it was one of the best trotters ever seen, and having a good deal of blood in him, when he was well used, was indefatigable. He carried our bard for many years with much classical fame, and rose in reputation with his master, but at last made an inglorious end. Many a time Piercy carried John to London, and once in six days. He sent him at last to Sir David Kinloch, that he might end his days in peace and ease in one of the Parks of Gilmerton, Sir David tired of him in a few weeks, and sold him to an egg-carrier for twenty shillings.

Dr. Adam Furguson, writing in 1812 to Home's biographer, seems to say that one of the Adam family accompanied Home on his journey to London, and, unless his recollection is at



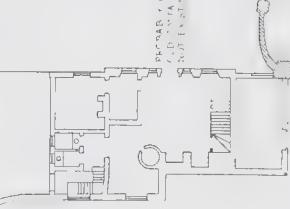
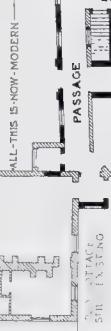
DAVID GARRICK'S VILLA AT HAMPTON: SHAKESPEARE TEMPLE PORTICO, WITH VILLA IN BACKGROUND.

**PLAN OF A HOUSE FOR MR. GARRICK AT HAMPTON
ROBERT ADAM**

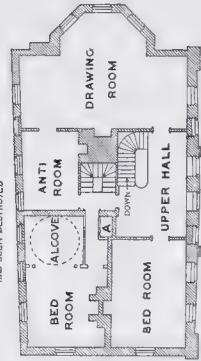


DESIGN OF NEW OFFICES AND FRONT OF HOUSE

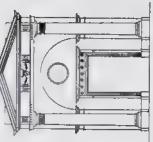
LIAISON OF MUSE AND PROPOSED
OFFICE ADDITION TO THE SCALE OF
THE PLAN FROM ADAM'S ORIGINAL



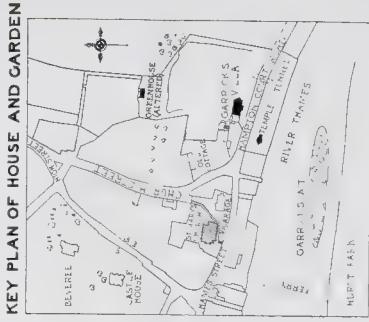
PRINCIPAL STORY
RESTORED FROM A SURVEY



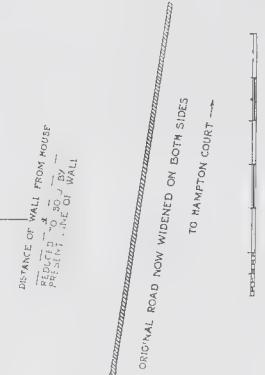
FRONT OF DOOR
TOWARDS THE ROAD



DESIGN OF A DOOR FOR DGARRICK
FRONTING THE HOUSE
REDRAWN FROM ADAM'S DESIGN 1774 TO HALF
THE SCALE



KEY PLAN OF HOUSE AND GARDEN



PLAN OF GROUND STORY

DISTANCE OF WALL FROM HOUSE
REMOVED - 30 Yds.
PRESENT 17 Yds.
OF WALL

THE MATING, &c., ARE SHOWN ON
ADAM'S PAPER AS LAYING DOWN
AT THE DATE IT WAS MADE.
PROPOSED ADDITIONS SINCE
NO MAY HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT

ORIGINAL ROAD NOW WIDENED ON BOTH SIDES
TO HAMPTON COURT

TO HAMPTON COURT

fault, this would show that John or Robert, or both of them, may have visited London in 1749, the year after their father's death.

It is well known that Garrick on both occasions declined Home's plays, and that the dejected poet pencilled his protest on the base of Shakespeare's statue in the Abbey.

Image of Shakespeare ! to this place I come
To ease my bursting bosom at thy tomb
For neither Greek nor Roman poet fired
My fancy first, thee chiefly I admired ;
And day and night revolving still thy page,
I hoped like thee, to shake the British stage.

The statue in the temple at Hampton was a cast of the one formerly at Drury Lane Theatre, and now in the British Museum. The influence of Bute and of the Scotch party, however, in the end overrode the judgment of the actor manager, and in 1758 Garrick was producing "Agis" at Drury Lane. "Douglas," which had been produced in Edinburgh, December, 1756, was given at Covent Garden in 1757.

The beautiful Countess of Coventry is said to have imperatively handed Home's play to Garrick, and it will be shown in the chapter dealing with Croome how early in Robert Adam's career his connection with the sixth Earl must have commenced. The undated Adam design for the Hampton Orangery is earlier in style than that of Croome (1760). It is a gay Corinthian façade of three arched bays, the centre being a Venetian under a pediment. The order has a complete entablature, and all the signs of Adam's early adhesion to Palladianism of the Early Georgian type. Probably the design was executed in wood and stucco on a brick structure, which still survives, though transformed in a Greek Doric style, evidently after Mrs. Garrick's death in 1822. According to the Editor of the Garrick Correspondence the Hampton alterations were completed by February, 1758, while the date of Robert Adam's return from Italy is January of that year.

In March or April a notable gathering occurred at the villa, as related to us by Dr. Alexander Carlyle, who was one of the party of six, which included Robert and James Adam.

Garrick was so friendly to John Home that he gave a dinner to his friends and companions at his house at Hampton, which he did but seldom. He had told us to bring golf clubs and balls that we might play at that game on Molesly Hurst. We accordingly set out in good time, six of us in a landau. As we passed through Kensington, the Coldstream regiment were changing guard, and, on seeing our clubs, they gave us three cheers in honour of a diversion peculiar to Scotland; so much does the remembrance of one's native country dilate the heart, when one has been some time absent. The same sentiment made us open our purses, and give our countrymen wherewithal to drink the "Land of Cakes."

Garrick met us by the way, so impatient he seemed to be for his company. There were John Home and Robertson, Wedderburn, and Robert and James Adam, and Col. David Wedderburn . . . (younger brother of W., after Lord Chancellor Loughborough).

Immediately after we arrived, we crossed the river to the golfing ground, which was very good. None of the company could play but John Home and myself, and Parson Black from Aberdeen (Vicar of Hampton). . . . We returned and



DAVID GARRICK'S VILLA AT HAMPTON :
PORTICO FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

dined sumptuously, Mrs. Garrick⁴ the only lady, now grown fat, though still very lively, being a woman of uncommon good sense, and now mistress of English, was in all respects most agreeable company. . . . Garrick had built a handsome temple, with a statue of Shakespeare in it, in his lower garden, on the banks of the Thames, which was separated from the upper one by a high road, under which there was an archway which united the two gardens.

Garrick, in compliment to Home, had ordered the wine to be carried to this temple, where we were to drink it under the shade of the copy of that statue to which Home had addressed his pathetic verses on the rejection of his play. The poet and actor were equally gay, and well pleased with each other, on this occasion, with much respect on the one hand, and a total oblivion of animosity on the other; for vanity is a passion that is easy to be entreated, and unites freely with all the best affections.

Carlyle having noticed a green mount opposite the archway, or rather tunnel,⁵ surprised his host by offering to drive a golf ball through to the Thames in three strokes, and successfully landed the ball at the second stroke at the mouth of the tunnel, so that it rolled down the green slope into the river, whereupon Garrick at once begged for the club with which the feat had been performed. "We passed a very agreeable afternoon: and it is hard to say which were happier, the landlord and landlady, or the guests."

This friendship between Garrick and Adam outlasted the famous actor's life, and was no doubt continued with his widow⁶ up to Adam's own death in 1792. She continued to reside in the Adelphi, and at Hampton, until 1822, having survived her husband for more than forty-three years.

Garrick and Robert Adam had this in common: that both, like Reynolds, were engaged in a reformation of existing standards of taste. It was claimed for Garrick that "he banished ranting, bombast, and grimaces, and restored nature, ease, simplicity, and genuine humour." Quin, who retired in 1757 and died in 1767, as representative of the old School, had said, "Garrick was a new religion; Whifford was followed for a time, but they would all come to church again."

Garrick's reply to "Pope" Quin, was —

Thou great infallible, forbear to roar,
Thy bulls and errors are revered no more.
When doctrines meet with gen'ral approbation,
It is not heresy, but reformation.

The new actor's famous tenure of Drury Lane commenced in 1747 and lasted until 1776, when he passed it on to Sheridan. It was in the last year of his reign that he employed Robert and James Adam to reconstruct the theatre and add a new façade.

Apparently, however, there had been some earlier alterations by Adam in 1762 as well, for we are told that the value of the House was raised to £335 a night.⁷

It is possible that the remarkable Rotunda erected at Stratford-on-Avon for the Shakespeare Jubilee of 1769,^{7a} by Garrick at his own expense, may have been from a sketch by Adam. In R. B. Wheler's "History of Stratford-on-Avon" (1806), there is a very poor illustration drawn by himself of the exterior, from which it is doubtful whether it had more sides than an octagon; seven are, in fact, visible. The total diameter was 120ft., only 20ft. less than the Rotunda at Ranelagh. It measured 70ft. within the ring of Corinthian columns which carried the dome. "No person that could be conveyed into it without viewing the outside could ever conceive it was a building of boards." It is referred "to the good taste and abilities of Mr. Latimore who came expressly from London to erect it." The latter was probably W. Latimer, who appears as "Labourer in Trust at Somerset House," in the Board of Works list of 1772. James Adam, F.S.A., is in the same list with Robert Taylor as "Architects to the Board." Latimer in fact was probably the Clerk of Works, or foreman in charge on the spot, as was so often the case in distant works under the Adams' control.

The orchestra was placed in the centre within a balustrade, there being 100 performers. A great candelabra of 800 lights was suspended in the centre. Symmetry and elegance are given as the effect of the interior, in which the gilding of the caps and bases, "the paintings of the ceiling and cornice, and the curious pilasters at the angles, and the side ornaments," all called for remark.⁸

The life story of Garrick has been written and canvassed so often that the main outlines are perfectly familiar, and this must be only a footnote, touching on the growth of his villa at Hampton, and his intimate relationship with the Adams.

We have two massive volumes of Garrick's Correspondence, but, as the letters had been selected and arranged by himself, theatrical personalities, criticisms of plays, and details of acting occupy most of the space. Only a few very casual allusions can be gleaned from these letters to help out the story of David's house and theatre building. Apparently he became a tenant of the

Hampton property in January, 1754, and a purchaser the same summer. Horace Walpole writes to R. Bentley in August, 1755, "Garrick is building a graceful temple to Shakespeare."⁹ This

date is confirmed by an old cast lead cistern, still in the house, which bears the initials

G.
D. E.
1756.

It seems most probable that the villa is an amalgamation of some old cottages, no doubt timber constructions, built round large brick chimney breasts. There were two distinct periods of alterations by Garrick, 1755-56,¹⁰ and 1772-74,¹¹ and possibly there was a third contemplated, if not carried out, some time after his retirement, and even possibly his death, in 1779. I believe that the Adam plan now first published, which unfortunately bears no date, relates only to this last period, and therefore is not of much assistance in deciding what Adam may have done at any earlier time. The only dated drawing is for an entrance doorway from the road, which gives us October 20th, 1774.

The portico and its arched podium, like that of the Shakespeare temple, is all of wood, and must, I think, belong to the 1756 period. It will be seen that the southern portico of West Wycombe is of similar construction. Hampshire weather tiling, or mathematical brickwork on studding, has also been used, as well as brickwork, in the construction of the villa. There is a reference in a letter of March 7¹²,

1768, from the Vicar of Egham, the Rev. Thos. Beighton (died 1771),

"Pray let me know when you will be at Hampton. I want to talk with Mrs. Garrick about planting some choice, not very large, evergreens, here and there one, upon the grass before your grand portico, which will have a good effect." In 1772-4, however, this portico may easily have been shifted in its position, in connection with a rearrangement of the façade by Robert Adam. I suggest that he may have revised the capitals of the columns, added the coupled pilasters and the fluted frieze and pateræ, which give to the present façade more of the character of his later period than of that of 1755-56.

The British Coffee House in Cockspur Street, which Robert Adam was to rebuild in 1770, was another centre for all the young Scots in London. Similar private clubs to that just described as meeting in Savile Row used to gather at these places of resort.

Dr. Carlyle's sister¹³ who married Dr. Dickson in March this year was settled into a house in Aldermansbury, while his aunt, Mrs. Lyon,¹⁴ with her sister, Mrs. Paterson, was living in New Bond Street, and John Home, in order to be in constant attendance on his patron, Lord Bute, was lodged in South Audley Street.

Accordingly, Robert Adam, living in London with his sisters Elizabeth and Margaret, who kept house for him in Lower Grosvenor Street, had no lack of social havens in the intervals of his engrossing professional pursuits, even in these earliest days.

Susannah Adam, another sister, married the famous John Clerk of Eldin,¹⁵⁻¹⁶ whose work on Naval Tactics (1779) was a favourite study with Nelson. Sir Charles Douglas, who was afterwards with Rodney, was present at a conference with Clerk at Dr. Blair's house in Westminster, at which William and James Adam and their nephew William Adam (afterwards Lord Chief Commissioner in Scotland) also attended. Clerk advocated the new tactics of "a breaking the



DAVID GARRICK'S VILLA AT HAMPTON: THE EAST FRONT.

line," first exemplified by Rodney in April, 1782, off Martinique, and perfected by Nelson at Trafalgar. Clerk died in 1812. His book was only on public sale in 1790.

From William Adam's will of 1822 we learn that her daughter, also named Susannah, was residing with him at the time of his death at 43, Welbeck Street.

George the Second died October 25, 1760, at the age of seventy-seven. His eldest son, Frederick, Prince of Wales,¹⁷ had died previously, in 1751. The future King, George the Third, was brought up in great seclusion under the care of Lord Bute and the Dowager Princess of Wales at Leicester and Carlton Houses, and at the Old Palace of Kew. Her account of George the Third in August, 1755, from Dodington's¹⁸ "Diary," is that "he was shy and backward: not a wild, dissipated boy, but good natured and cheerful, with a serious cast upon the whole: that those about him, knew him no more than if they had never seen him. That he was not quick; but, with those he was acquainted, applicable and intelligent. His education had given her much pain. His book-learning she was no judge of, though she supposed it small or useless: but she hoped he might have been instructed in the general understanding of things. . . . In Mechanics of all kinds he delighted and indulged himself. Painting, architecture and music, farming and agriculture interested him. His courage was calm, temperate and steady. French, German and some Italian he wrote easily and well. He was between twelve and thirteen when his father died."

Lady Hervey's opinion given in a letter¹⁹ written October 30, 1760, is of interest. "I have the best opinion imaginable of him, not from anything he does or says just now, but because I have a moral certainty that he was in his nursery, the honestest, true good natured child that ever lived: and you know my old maxim that qualities never change: what the child was the man most certainly is in spite of temporary appearances."

Estimates of George the Third will always vary, and largely, perhaps, according to the political bias of the historian. Jesse, in his "History of George the Third," is probably too favourable, but there can be no doubt that the characteristic of "calm courage" saved George the Third from the degeneracy of Louis the Sixteenth, and that the English King's steadfast support of the best tendencies of the time, towards the aims of religion and cautious social progress, helped to carry the nation safely through the revolutionary epoch. Lady Mary, writing from Venice on April 7, 1761, to Sir James Stuart of Coltness, the Jacobite exile,²⁰ alludes, it is thought, to Lord Mansfield as "the real director of Home affairs." Previously, on November 23, 1756, a reference is made to Lord Bute's appointment as Groom of the Stole, or chief over the Lords of the Bedchamber, to the young Prince of Wales. "Lord Bute has attained it by a very uncommon road, I mean an acknowledged honour and probity. I have but one short instruction (pardon the word) to give on his account, that he will never forget the real interest of Prince and People cannot be divided, and are almost as closely united as that of body and soul."

Lord Bute was continued in that office by the new King, until he was appointed Secretary of State on March 25, 1761, William Pitt²¹ having been got rid of at the earliest opportunity. On May 26, 1762, Bute became First Lord of the Treasury, a position which he resigned on April 8, 1763, never after to resume a dominant part in public life. Attacked as a Scotchman, popular hatred declared him to be a favourite of the Princess of Wales, and the "Boot and Petticoat" figured in caricatures and libels.

With the aid of Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, who in October, 1762, undertook to carry the Peace through the House of Commons, Bute had carried one measure, at any rate, on which he had set his heart.

By temperament he seems to have been unfitted for the spade work of politics, infinitely distasteful as it must have been to such natures as his in those even more than in our own times. Wraxall^{21a} says of Bute that he had "a cultivated mind illuminated by a taste for many branches of the Fine Arts and Letters." Much is due to him, certainly, for his artistic patronage of Robert Adam. In literature he seems to have been engrossed with John Home, whom Dr. Carlyle considers to have been an adviser who unduly fed his vanity, though in other respects an honest friend. "Ossian" Macpherson also enjoyed Bute's patronage, which, moreover, can claim the merit of the famous pension of £300 a year granted to Dr. Johnson. Wraxall concludes that "Of disposition naturally retired and severe, he (Lord Bute) was not formed for an extensive commerce with mankind, or endowed by Nature with talents for managing popular assemblies. Even in

his family he was austere, harsh, difficult of access, and sometimes totally inaccessible to his own children. In the House of Lords he neither displayed eloquence nor graciousness of manners. But he proved himself likewise deficient in a quality still more essential in a First Minister, firmness of character."

His resignation, according to Horace Walpole, writing on April 8, 1763, was "Nothing, more or less, than a panic."²² George the Third, in fact, considered he had been abandoned through this premature and hasty resignation and would never employ Bute again.

According to Dr. Carlyle, Robert Adam's longed-for introduction to Lord Bute was a complete fiasco. This was in the first days of May, 1758.

"We had some inclination to be introduced to Lord Bute, which John (Home) promised to do: and for Robert Adam also, who could derive more benefit from it than any of us. Robert had been three years in Italy, and, with a first-rate genius for his profession had seen and studied everything, and was in the highest esteem among foreign artists.

"From the time of his return—viz., in February or March, 1758—may be dated a very remarkable improvement in building and furniture, and even stoneware in London and every part of England.

"The day came when we²³ were presented to Lord Bute, but our reception was so dry and cold that when he asked when we were to go north, one of us said to-morrow. He received us booted and spurred, which in those days was a certain signal for going a-riding, and an apology for not desiring us to sit down. We very soon took our leave, and no sooner were we out of hearing, than Robert Adam, who was with us fell a-cursing and swearing. 'What! had he been presented to all the princes in Italy and France, and most graciously received, to come and be treated with such distance and pride by the youngest earl but one in all Scotland.'"

Carlyle, as a cleric, was no doubt greatly rejoiced by this effective lay assistance in the expression of his feelings. His verdict on Bute, resembling that of Wraxall and Walpole, is that "he proved himself unfit for the station he had assumed, being not versatile enough for a prime minister; and, though personally brave, yet void of that political firmness which is necessary to stand the storms of state."

For Lord Bute
Robert Adam built the great London mansion, first Shelburne and now Lansdowne House, and also a palatial country seat, Luton Hoo, to which the baffled statesman retired to spend the remainder of his life.²⁴

Lord Bute, moreover, subscribed for ten sets of Adam's work on Spalatro. His eldest daughter married Sir James Lowther, afterwards first Earl of Lonsdale,²⁵ who, however, does not seem to have proved a desirable husband, and there were no children.



DAVID GARRICK'S VILLA: HALL, STAIRS AND DECORATION ON LANDING.

For Lowther, Adam prepared various grandiose schemes in the early years 1766-7, as well as later on. The Butes acquired immense wealth, mainly from coal. Fanny Burney gives a pleasant account of Lady Bute²⁶ in 1786:

"Lady Bute, with an exterior most forbidding to strangers, has powers of conversation the most entertaining and lively, where she is intimate. She is full of anecdote, delights in strokes of general satire yet with mere love of comic, not invidious, ridicule. She spares not for giving her opinions and laughs at fools as well as follies with the shrewdest derision. Lady Louise Stuart, her youngest daughter, has parts equal to those of her mother, with a deportment, and appearance infinitely more pleasing: yet she is far from handsome but proves how well beauty may be occasionally missed when understanding and vivacity unite to fill up her place. They seem both to inherit an ample portion of the wit of their mother and grandmother, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu."

We do not know in detail how Robert Adam employed the earliest days of his practice. That he very soon had important clients is evident from such schemes as those of a proposed internal casing of the hall at Castle Ashby for the Earl of Northampton, for which the original sketch elevation (No. 56 in Vol. LIV) is dated June 4, 1759. Charles Compton, the seventh Earl (1737-63), was a nephew who succeeded to the title on December 6, 1758. Lady Mary writes about him to her daughter on December 31 of that year: "The young Earl of Northampton is now at Florence, and was here last year. I believe he is of a humour likely to marry the first agreeable girl he gets acquainted with. He is lively, good-natured, with what is called a pretty figure."

This shrewd guess was ratified by his marriage on September 13, 1759, with Lady Anne Somerset, eldest daughter of Charles Noel, fourth Duke of Beaufort. Horace Walpole sends news of this impending marriage to Horace Mann on June 1, 1759, with the comment: "She is rather handsome. He seems to have too much of the coldness and dignity of the Comptons."

Unfortunately, the Earl and his Countess died in 1763, within a few weeks of each other, the one at Lyons and the other at Naples. He had been sent to Venice as an Ambassador (1762-63), and made a formal and magnificent entry into that city. Horace Walpole refers to this tragedy, writing to the same correspondent on June 7, 1763:

"I am much concerned at the melancholy accounts you give me of both Lord and Lady Northampton. They are young, handsome, and happy, and life was very valuable to them. She has been consumptive some time, but he seemed healthy and strong."

This seems sufficient reason most probably why nothing came of Adam's scheme. It was one of an unusual character, quite out of sympathy with the old building, being a conversion of the old hall into an interior of a Roman type. The drawings are not carried very far. If Adam did any work at all at Castle Ashby,²⁷ the most likely thing would be the internal finish of the Inigo Jones gallery, which is certainly of the eighteenth century or later.

No. 148 in Vol. XXI shows that on April 23, 1759, Robert was at Harewood in Yorkshire in connection with a scheme "to add a finishing touch to the top of the steeple in the Gothick taste," and he was probably asked at that time to make designs for the intended great house in competition with Carr of York, and Chambers, who seems to have already built the massive stable block. Shardeloes in Buckinghamshire is Robert Adam's earliest definite and important work,²⁸ the influence of which remained and is strongly felt in subsequent undertakings. It is a starting point to which later works can be traced back.

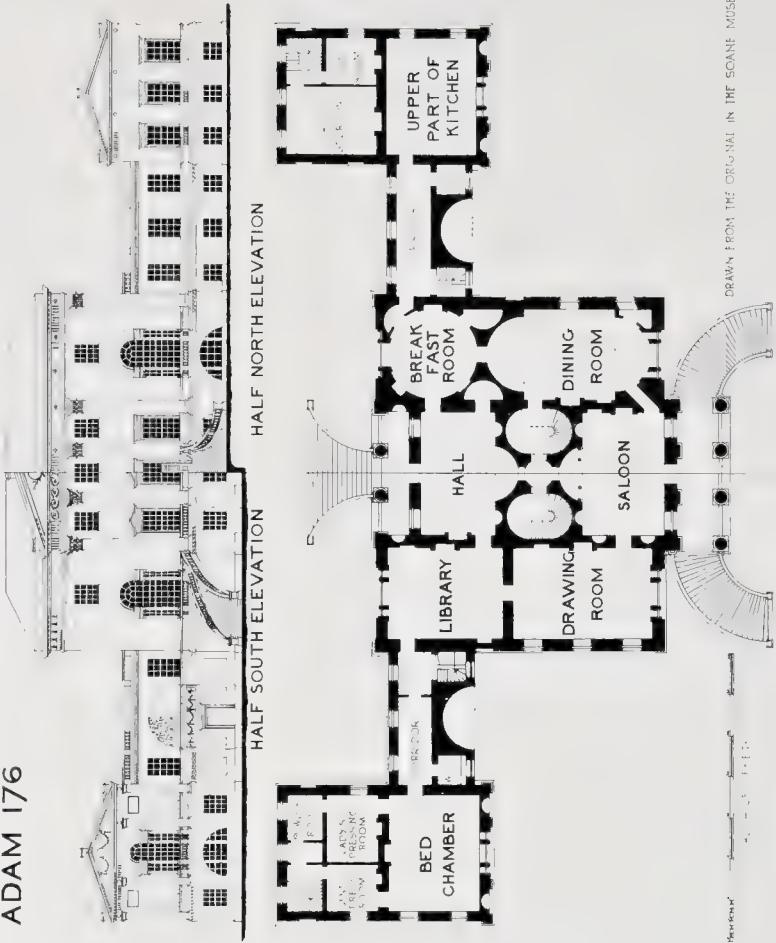
That Adam was consulted about the completion of Croome Court for the Earl of Coventry in 1759 seems fairly proved, and thus it is possible that the new Gothic church in the Park may be one of his earliest works. It was consecrated in 1763, to which year belongs the dated Adam drawing for the wrought iron gate of the porch (No. 167, Vol. LII).

There is a dated design (No. 108 in Vol. IX), "Building which may be contrived to answer for the Firework at a General Peace, 1759. R. A." This is a regular composition. Some time in the same year, or even possibly in 1758, Adam was invited to complete certain rooms in Admiral Boscowen's new house, Hatchlands Park, near Guildford in Surrey, of which Ripley, the carpenter, who died in February of that year, was most likely the original architect. Admiral Boscowen, the hero of the Surrender of Louisberg (then considered to be the Gibraltar of the West Indies) to the English in 1758, died January 10, 1761. As he was a Lord of the Admiralty,

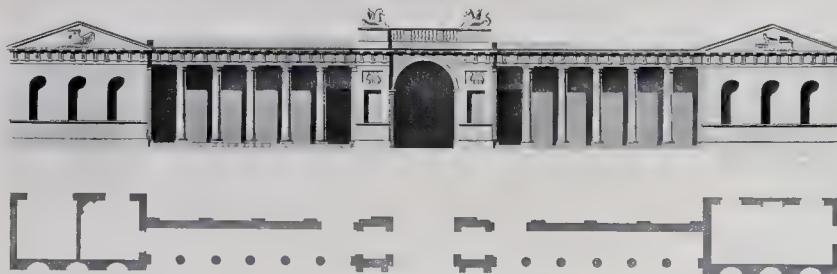


THE SHAKESPEARE TEMPLE IN THE GROUNDS OF DAVID GARRICK'S VILLA AT HAMPTON.

PLAN AND ELEVATION OF A NEW DESIGN
FOR HIGH DOWN NEAR HITCHEN HERTS.
FOR JOHN RADCLIFFE ESQ.
ROBERT ADAM 176



DRAWN FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE SCOTTISH MUSEUM



ELEVATION OF THE ADMIRALTY SCREEN IN WHITEHALL BY ROBERT ADAM
from his Print issued at the time, inscribed Robert Adam, Architect, Invit., Delinr., 1760. F. Polton, Sculp. Published by the Author, February the 20th, 1761, and sold by A. Millar in the Strand, price 2s. 6d.

1751-55, it may have been partly through his influence that in 1759 Robert Adam made his designs for the famous Admiralty screen in Whitehall.²⁹ This is one of the earliest and most admired public works of the young architect.

In 1760 James Adam was still in Italy and correspondence went on between the brothers.^{29a} There is a memorandum in Vol. vii from James, dated "Venice, August 24, 1760," relating to some contemplated design for a new Houses of Parliament, data being asked for regarding various arrangements in the existing building. "Lord Mansfield" is one of three names noted in a different hand, probably by the recipient, upon the memorandum as persons to be applied to for information.

Quebec had surrendered on September 18, 1759, five days after the victory of the Plains of Abraham, where Wolfe had gloriously fallen.



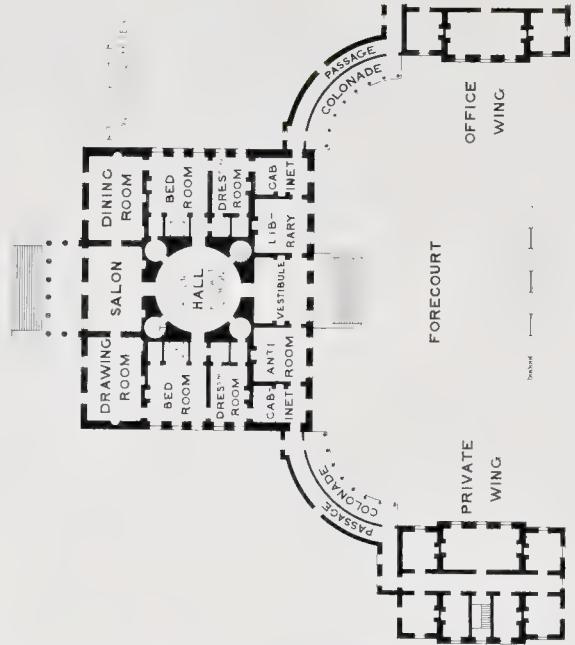
VIEW OF THE ADMIRALTY WITH THE NEW SCREEN BY ROBERT ADAM.
View of part of Whitehall, showing the Admiralty Office, with the new Gateway, designed and executed in the year 1760, and also part of the Horse Guards, &c. Published 1775. D. Currego, sculpsit.

DESIGN BY R. ADAM
1759
LOCALITY UNCERTAIN



ELEVATION FOR THE DUKE OF RICHMOND

GOODWOOD
SUSSEX
DESIGN BY COLIN CAMPBELL
1724



PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL FLOOR

PLAN FOR THE DUKE OF RICHMOND

PLAN FROM VITRUVIUS

Horace Walpole, writing to Sir Horace Mann³⁰ at Florence, about the proposed Abbey monument to the hero, on August 1, 1760, says :

" Apropos to Wolfe, I cannot imagine what you mean by a design executing at Rome for his tomb. The designs have been laid before my Lord Chamberlain several months ; Wilton,³¹ Adam, Chambers,³² and others, all gave in their drawings immediately ; and I think the Duke of Devonshire decided for the first. Do explain this to me, or get a positive explanation of it—and whether anybody is drawing for Adam or Chambers."

Mann's reply is given by Dr. Doran as " a bas-relief done by one Berton, a Frenchman by order of Mr. Adam but pray don't mention it lest it might do him a prejudice : though indeed Berton makes little difficulty to show it, and most of the English, and they are very numerous, have either seen, or heard of it, at Rome."

The following interesting note from the MS. list of arrivals of artists in Rome, 1753-75, kept by Wm. Hayward, sculptor, gives the outcome of this affair :

1761. Adams the Architects brother with his Director Mons^t Clarisseau set up a Manufactory of Virtu employing painters engravers architects &c. Britton a french studiant employ'd by them to model a Basso relievo for Gen^l Woolf's Monument, they found fault with it on which he threw it down and broke it all in pieces after eight or ten months labor.

This was one of the first of Robert Adam's designs for monuments, a subject to which he gave much attention, but not one in which he ever achieved an outstanding success. There is an elaborate design in the Soane Collection for a tomb for Robert Wood, the author of "Baalbec" and "Palmyra," to be placed in the cemetery at Putney. This was apparently carried out in the form of a sarcophagus, and not as the drawing. For this monument Horace Walpole composed an epitaph.

In 1760 the work at Compton Verney was taken in hand, and it is possible that at Bowood, besides the Mausoleum of 1761 and some important internal work, a new façade to the main house, on which H. Keene, architect, had been previously engaged, was also under consideration, if not in actual work. The year 1761 marks the beginning of designs for Osterley, a work which was to extend over nineteen years, and Adam was shortly to be deeply engaged at Syon and Alnwick. Syon must have been the predominant work for a considerable period.

Robert Adam was not engaged at Northumberland House until 1770, when he fitted up and decorated a very beautiful drawing-room in one of the wings which Robert Mylne had previously built. In 1682 Charles, Duke of Somerset, had married the Lady Elizabeth Percy, daughter and heiress of Joceline, Earl of Northumberland. On his death the estate passed to his son Algernon, who succeeded to the estate and title in 1748.

At Northumberland House alterations were begun at once in some of the rooms and also to the street façade, but as Algernon died in 1749 the work was not finished. The house then passed to his son-in-law and daughter, the Earl and Countess of Northumberland, for whom Robert Adam did so much work from 1760 onwards.

In these earlier alterations "the street was made wider, and the front next to it compleated." "The four sides of the court were new faced with Portland Stone, and finished in the Roman

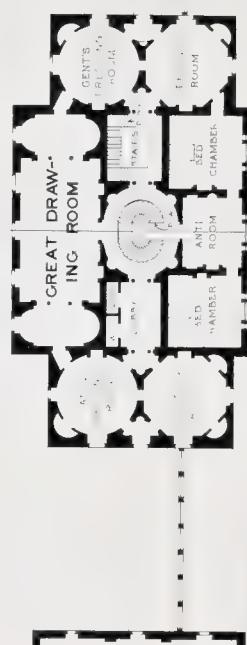


THE QUEEN'S TRANSPARENCY.

CREAT SAXHAM HOUSE IN SUFFOLK. THE SEAT OF HUTCHINSON MURE ESQ.
FIRST DESIGN - ROBERT ADAM 1762-3



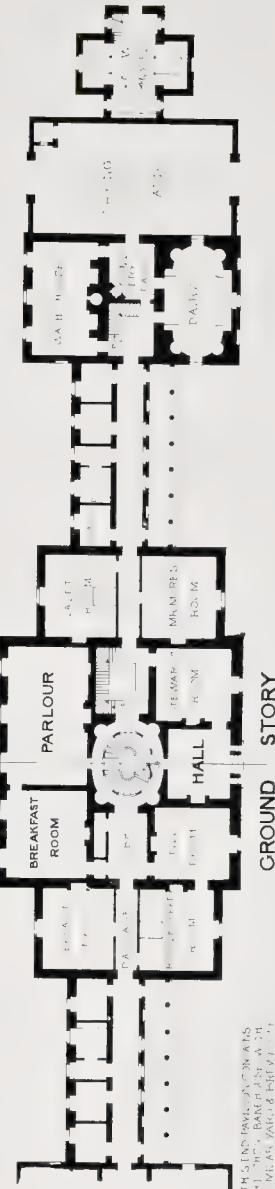
FRONT ELEVATION



PRINCIPAL STORY



FIRST FLOOR



GROUND STORY

THE STYLING PAPERS, & C. MANATS
M. J. THOMAS, BAKER, J. & S. W. 1764
W. ALCOCK, & CO. PRINTED.

style of architecture, so as to form as it were 4 stately fronts. Two new wings were added, being above 100 feet in length, and extending from the garden front towards the Thames. By these additions Northumberland House is more than twice as large as it was, when first built by Lord Northampton."

Count Frederick Kielmansegge,³³ who came over for the Coronation and was at a party of 600 persons held at the house on November 6, 1761, says :

The house is well adapted for so large a party, and is rightly considered one of the best houses in London, particularly on account of its large saloon and gallery. . . . The great gallery is situated in one of the wings, and deserves especial description. It measures 106 feet in length, a quarter of this in width, and the height is equal to the diagonal of the square of its width, which is a line drawn from one angle of such a square to the opposite one. This is considered the best proportion for a gallery. The ceiling is decorated with gilt stucco, and divided into five parts, in which are painted Fame on the wing, a Diana, a triumphal chariot drawn by two horses, a Flora, and Victory with a laurel wreath. Over the nine windows on the garden side are small ones, which are hardly noticeable, and serve only to give more light to the ceiling. The opposite wall is divided into three parts by two valuable marble chimneypieces, the corners being supported by figures of Phrygian prisoners, which are said to have been copied from those in the Capitol at Rome; over them are life-size portraits of our host and hostess in their peers' robes. The wall-spaces between the chimneypieces and the two end walls are occupied by five pictures, copies of famous Roman paintings. In the middle and largest division is Raphael's famous "School of Athens," copied by Raphael Mengs from the original in the Vatican. On the two side divisions are the "Meeting and the Feast of the Gods," after the original of Raphael in the small Farnese Palace in Rome by Pompeo Battoni. On one of the end walls is Annibale Carracci's "Triumphal Procession of Bacchus and Ariadne," from the Farnese Palace by Felice Costansi, and at the other end Guido's "Aurora," from the Villa Rosseglisi, by Masuccio, a pupil of Carlo Maratti.

Walpole, with some justice, thought the idea of such direct copies of Italian masterpieces was rather stupid, and the lesson involved is one which has some little bearing on present day practice in the matter of decorative art. The work that Robert Adam carried out in 1770, on the other hand, was marked by great originality and beauty of decoration, and it is much to be regretted that it was involved in the destruction of the old house in 1874, when Northumberland Avenue was made.

Some work at Alnwick was done in 1760³⁴

to which may refer the earliest undated and rough drawings, all of very bad Gothic, which alone remain in the Adam Collection in the Soane Museum. An old diary of a visit in October, 1760, describes Alnwick as "Built round a small court with an enclosure in the inner court. Two grand rooms fitted in the finest Gothic style. Dining room adorned with small arches and the drawing-room in a most elegant taste of small arches intersecting each other, and the ceilings of both are richly ornamented. The Earl has made a Gothic Gateway to the South. He is also making a Park one of the gates of which is almost built. He is proposing to take up his constant summer residence there."

Alnwick in 1787 was also visited by the anonymous author of the "Tour to the Western Highlands," who tells us that "the apartments are elegantly finished in the gothic style." "The Baron's Hall is a noble room." "The drawing room is full of sculptured beauty and imitation beyond description. The Chapel, for superb elegance and adornment may vie with every private place of worship in the world. The tree of the family is beautifully painted on the walls."³⁵ He adds: "Perhaps here may be found too great a display of costly elegance and finery for so serious a place."

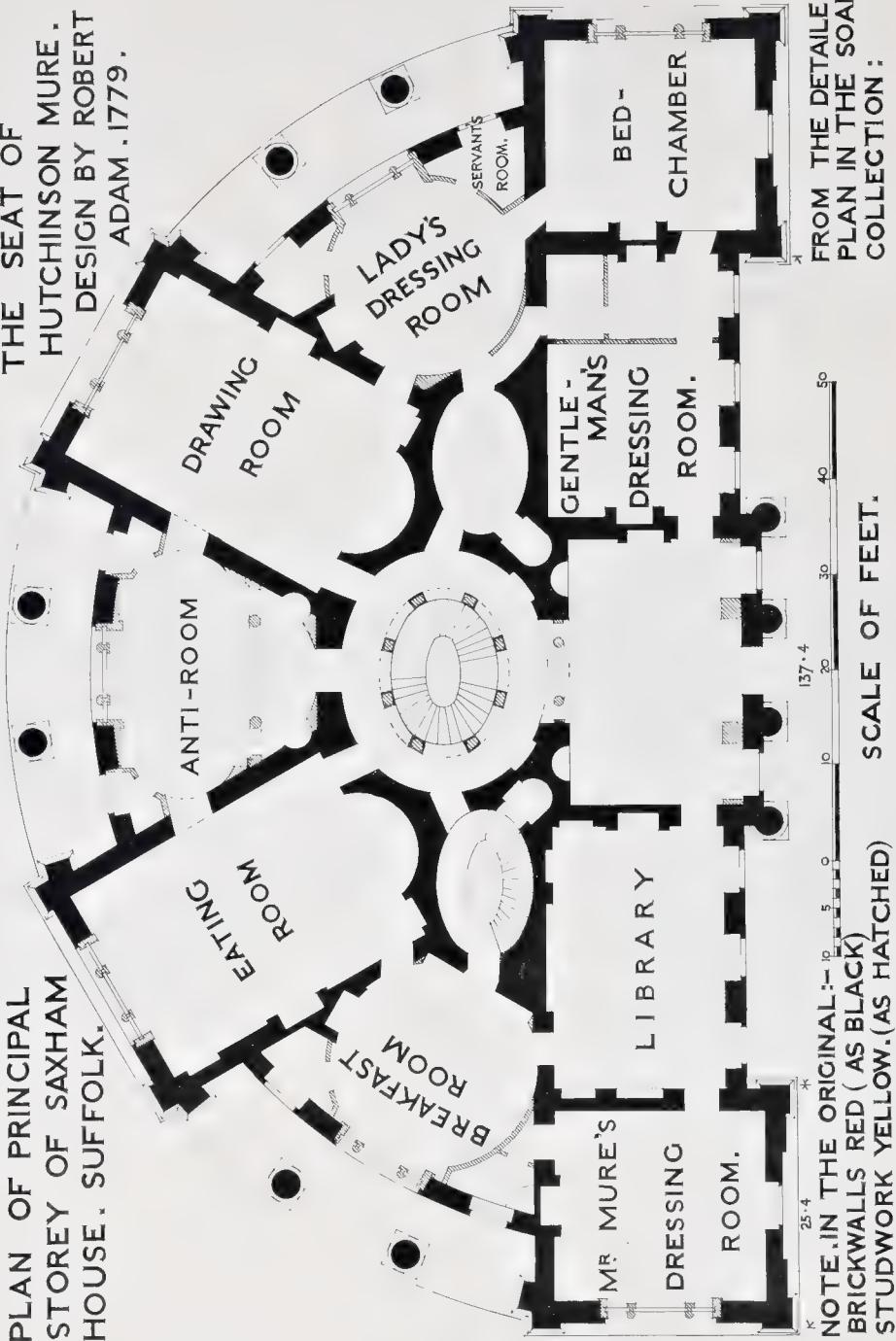
"From the leads of this castle we had a fine view around us; and to the east, about three miles, we plainly saw on an eminence a piece of architecture in a pyramidal form, which is 90 feet high, and of excellent workmanship. This has been finished only three years. On a similar ascent



VIEW OF PROPOSED HOUSE AT GREAT SAXHAM FOR
HUTCHINSON MURE, ESQ.
Robert Adam, Architect, 1779.

PLAN OF PRINCIPAL
STOREY OF SAXHAM
HOUSE. SUFFOLK.

THE SEAT OF
HUTCHINSON MURE.
DESIGN BY ROBERT
ADAM. 1779.



FROM THE DETAILED
PLAN IN THE SOANE
COLLECTION :

SCALE OF FEET.

NOTE. IN THE ORIGINAL :-
BRICKWALLS RED (AS BLACK)
STUDWORK YELLOW. (AS HATCHED)

to the west is also another object, resembling an old ruin, but within is a most charming room for the reception of company. . . . Not far from hence rises another gothic tower, very curious and beautiful, on the spot where King Malcolm was killed. The Duchess erected this to his memory but a few years since."

"The town has a Gothic Gateway and Clock and Shambles."

Warner, in his later "Tour" of 1802, is rather more detailed. He says that at Alnwick £200,000 was spent. "All within and without the mansion points out the judgment as well as taste of Messrs. Adams and Paine, who were employed to regenerate this magnificent place. The dwelling apartments form a castellated fabric, raised upon an artificial mound in the centre of the enclosed area." He mentions a State bedchamber and a grand staircase, "singular but beautiful in plan, expanding like a lady's fan, and ornamented with a chain of escutcheons running round the cornices, displaying 120 quarterings." Salon, 42ft. by 37ft. by 20ft. high. Drawing-room, an oval, 47ft. by 35ft. by 22ft.; dining-room, 54ft. by 20ft., "of a Gothic superlatively beautiful." The library, 64ft. by 23ft.; and lastly, "The Chapel an apartment in which expense has reached its utmost limits. It is 50ft. by 21ft. by 22ft. . . . The great window of York Minster was the model for the eastern opening. The ceiling of King's College Chapel is followed for the coving." Armorial bearings are again noted as a feature of the Chapel decorations.

These accounts bear out the general character of the Adam drawings, no doubt incomplete, which alone remain. The appearance of the work was no doubt much better than it seems in the rough outlines now in the Soane Collection, which are largely office copies. The mention of James Paine is singular, because, if correct, it would appear that Robert Adam was working



MOOR PARK AS IT WAS BEFORE THE REMOVAL OF THE ADAM COLONNADES IN 1785.

with him earlier than their meeting at Kedleston. Although the work at Alnwick has all been swept away, it deserves mention as an important incident in Robert Adam's opening career, when he seems to have been attracted by the possibilities of Gothic.

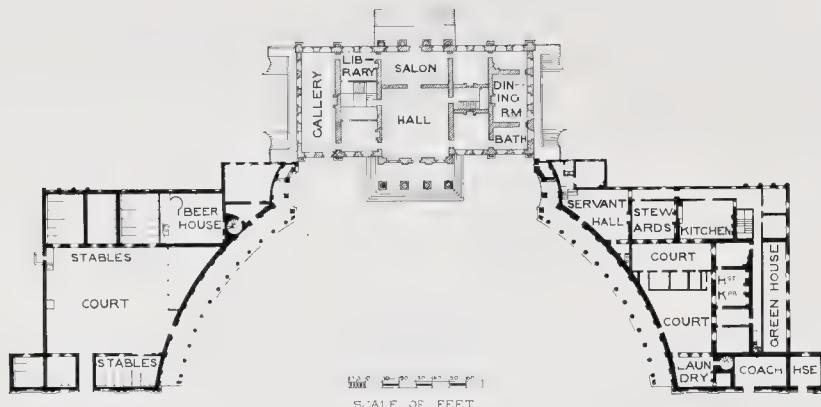
An early scheme of Robert Adam's first days was a grandiose design of the Kedleston-Gosford type, entitled "Hightown, near Hitchin, Herts., for John Radcliffe." The proposal seems to have ended in an addition, now forming the southern front of the existing house, Hitchin Priory. The first design, which is interesting and noteworthy from the obviously early date, was evidently for a new site.³⁶

There is a large and well coloured bridge design with picturesque surroundings, signed "Robert Adam, 1761," for Kedleston, and a sketch elevation headed "Stables for Sir Nath. Curzon (created Lord Scarsdale, 9th April, 1761) to be about 200 ft. long." A pavilion design is also signed "R. A. Archt. 1760." A rough sketch, in Vol. ix (No. 207), which might be an idea for a garden room, has been pencilled on the back of a letter originating from a sympathiser at Kedleston. This sketch, the margin of which has been clipped when it was pasted into the book, has no date or signature, and some of the lines are now imperfect. It reads as follows:

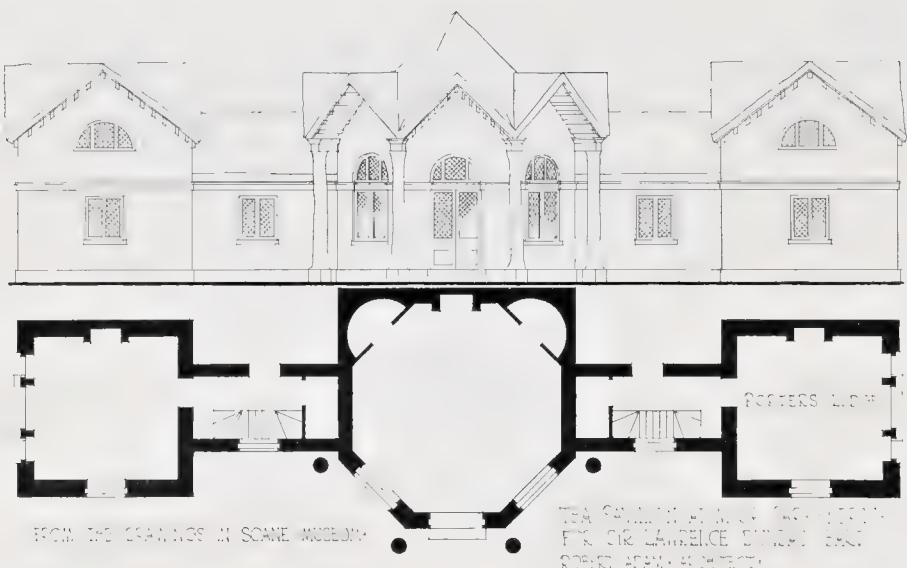
SIR,

We are informed and hear you give the designs for . . . which give me real pleasure to hear for which reson
Take it amis what I am going to say so as you may be on your . . . The roun seaches of the capes you sent down
I heart one . . . In accoumpney Let your capes to nothing and sour that he . . . One of them takin h sepe to such

PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL FLOOR OF MOOR PARK HERTS
 THE SEAT OF SIR LAWRENCE DUNDAS BART
 WINGS ADDED BY ROBERT ADAM 1763? NOW PULLED DOWN
 THE HOUSE BY LEONI AND SIR JAMES THORNHILL 1720-39



PLAN FROM VIT. BRIT. VOL. 5.



FROM THE SKETCHES IN SCENE MUSEUM

FOR SIR LAWRENCE DUNDAS BART.
 1763. ROBERT ADAM, ARCHITECT.

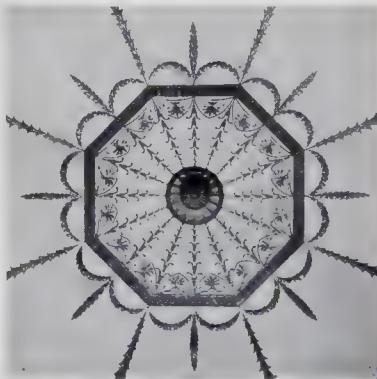
times as Sir Nathaniel . . . But they know nothing of me being in strings so I thought . . . I knew a littel of the afeare whls Sir Nel. C. is with y . . . There will be opposition if they can make it when he c . . . Disregard you or your desenes but they are aferetd . . . Work that have they doun Sir It is imprence.

This curiosity by internal evidence can be connected with a letter of October, 1760,³⁷ from Robert Adam to Sir Nathaniel Curzon about the alabaster caps for the great hall, which Grosvenor, the carver, had in hand. "Capes" must surely be the capitals in question. About this time Adam was making several alternative designs for pavilions or garden buildings on behalf of various clients, and that this is the only notice apparently taken of this officious letter seems a characteristic trait in Robert's nature. We may also probably place in this early period an undated design for "Eyton, a seat of the Earl of Bute." This, I think, may be the first work entrusted to Robert by Bute, because a scheme of the current Early Georgian type, possibly by a local architect, for this same house, exists, one which has evidently been handed over to Adam to be redrawn. Adam's new design is clearly an early effort, and in type of plan is related to Harewood. An undated design by Adam for Richard, Earl Grosvenor, made apparently for a proposed enlargement, amounting almost to a rebuilding, of the earlier Eaton Hall (attributed to Vanbrugh), belongs also to this period.

It is also probable that an ambitious unexecuted design for the "Lock Chapel and Hospital" in Grosvenor Place (?), based on the Pantheon at Rome, but with an internal peristyle of columns and a gallery, belongs to the early days of Robert's practice. The notorious Rev. Dr. Dodd,³⁸ who was executed on July 27th, 1777, for a forgery contrived by him at the expense of his ex-pupil, Lord Chesterfield, was at the height of his fashionable notoriety in 1760, when Horace Walpole attended a service in the Lock Chapel and wrote his lively account of the proceedings.³⁹

Dr. Alexander Carlyle's later account belongs to February, 1769. He speaks of his visit as something memorable, remarking that it being very much the fashion to go of a Sunday evening, he and Mrs. Carlyle attended, and had great difficulty in securing a seat. "The fellow was handsome, and delivered his discourse remarkably well for a reader. When he had finished there were unceasing whispers of applause, which I could not help contradicting aloud, and condemning the whole institution, as well as the exhibition of the preacher, as *Contra bonos mores*, and a disgrace to a Christian City." James Boswell, who was fascinated by Dodd's fall and attended his execution, no doubt played a considerable part in procuring Dr. Johnson's strenuous efforts made to save the unhappy man from his fate. The King, however, stood firm, and insisted that the law should take its course. It is not likely that Adam's design was anything more than a *ballon d'essai*, but it is interesting as one of the many instances of his close connection with the men and events of the day.^{39a}

More interesting and important was a "Plan for the Duke of Richmond," which it is to be assumed was for Goodwood, Colin Campbell (died 1734) having already made a design, which was not carried out, in 1724. This earlier proposal is given here to the same scale as Adam's, forming a very instructive comparison between the Old School and the New. The Adam scheme



CEILING IN THE TEA ROOM AT MOOR PARK.

is probably as early, or earlier than the plan for Syon, while the elevation illustrates the early Doric manner of the Bowood Mausoleum, the Admiralty Screen, and the intended façade of Bowood, as first proposed to be altered by Robert Adam.

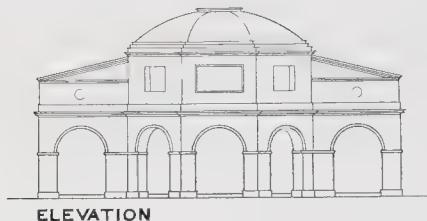
Charles Lennox, third Duke of Richmond, born in 1734, had succeeded in 1750. He entered the army in 1753, and married in 1757 Lady Mary Bruce, eldest daughter and co-heir of Charles, last Earl of Aylesbury. Her mother was Caroline, daughter of General John Campbell, afterwards Duke of Argyle.

"It is the perfectest match in the world : youth, beauty, riches, alliances, and all the blood of all the kings from Robert Bruce to Charles 2nd. They are the prettiest couple in England, except the father and mother."

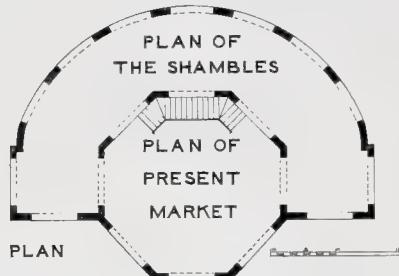
Such is Walpole's¹⁰ enthusiastic comment. The Duke loved the arts, and in proof founded a Gallery in a room in the garden of his house, No. 1, Privy Gardens, Whitehall,¹¹ an early stage in the establishment of an Academy of Arts in England. Horace Walpole writes on February 9, 1758, "I was pleased yesterday with a very grand seigneurial design of the Duke of Richmond, who has collected a great many fine casts of the best antique statues, has placed them in a large room in his garden, and designs to throw it open to encourage drawing." Wilton the sculptor and Cipriani the painter were appointed as joint directors of the infant academy, and no fees were allowed. Unfortunately Mars eclipsed Minerva, for in June the Duke joined the expedition to St. Malo and subsequently was present at the Battle of Minden, fought on August 1. The deserted students, not receiving their promised awards of medals, gave way to humours, more witty than polite, and the Gallery was closed, the casts being eventually presented by the Duke to the Society of Artists in 1765, from whom they eventually came to the Royal Academy on its foundation in 1769.

The Duke returned in 1760, taking part in Lord Ferrers' trial, and was appointed, in October, a Lord of the Bedchamber. It is probable therefore that this Adam design belongs to the last half of 1760, unless we are to suppose that it was made between February and June of 1758. The Duke was sitting to Sir Joshua Reynolds for his portrait in April and again in October of

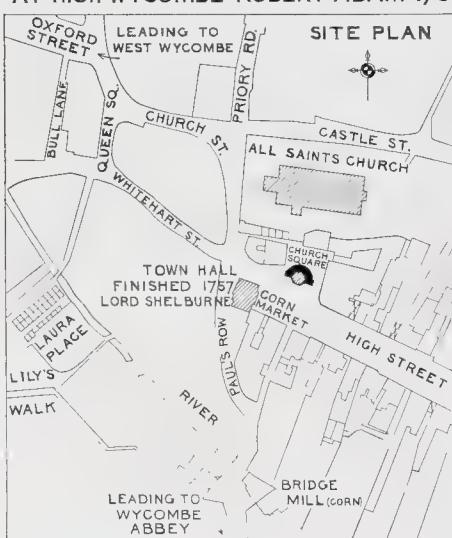
PRINCIPAL FRONT OF A NEW DESIGN FOR THE SHAMBLES & BUTTER MARKET



ELEVATION



AT HIGH WYCOMBE ROBERT ADAM 1761



that year. It is worthy of remembrance that Lady Holland, wife of Henry Fox, was a daughter of the Duke of Richmond. On May 7, 1761, Robert Adam was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

In June, 1761, Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, wrote to Lord Shelburne, "I see that you have ordered Mr. Adam to look out for a space to build an hotel upon," and he then proceeds



WEST WYCOMBE: WITHIN THE WEST PORTICO.

to recommend the site in Berkeley Square, on which eventually Lansdowne House was built. His own "Piccadilly House" he sold in 1770 to Sir William Chambers, acting for Lord Melbourne.⁴² At some time between these two dates Henry Fox caused Adam to make a design for a new and important mansion on this site, of which scheme the plan for the house, and an elevation for an imposing screen wall to face Piccadilly, still exist. I incline to an early date for this interesting Adam design, say before 1765, when Lord Holland was forced to resign the Paymastership, and broke with his former political associates.

The marriage of the King and Queen took place on September 8, 1761, and the coronation on the 22nd of the same month. Early in November took place the only interview between Robert Adam and the King of which there is any record. James Adam, at Sorrento, notes on Monday, November 30, 1761, "Received Betty's letter informing me of Bet's interview with the King." A meagre record of what might have been an event as fateful as that which united Wren and Charles II -Robert Adam received a formal appointment as Architect to the King which he took occasion to resign on being elected a Member of Parliament. On May 25, 1762, Horace Walpole (Vol. v, page 207) notes that "The King and his wife are settled for good and all at Buckingham House (recently purchased for the Queen) and are stripping the other palaces to furnish it."

In June, 1762, Adam designed for the Queen an illumination and transparency which is an interesting architectural composition, and is not, I think, without relation to his ideas of "A Forecourt enclosure for a Royal Palace." The affair was a surprise by the Queen for the King, in honour of his birthday, and of the Peace. Advantage was taken by the Queen of the King's temporary absence at St. James's Palace to erect this framework in the garden outside the windows of her own room in the "Queen's House" (Old Buckingham House). With the aid of stage



WEST WYCOMBE: THE WEST PORTICO AS CARRIED OUT.

carpenters, this was done in a very brief space of time, so that on his return the King should unexpectedly see the transparency at night time, in its fullest display. George III is described as being much affected by this tribute of wifely and loyal devotion. Adam's plate in the "Works" here reproduced is an interesting record of the design and the event. For this Queen's House Adam designed some ceilings and chimney-pieces which he has also illustrated in the "Works." From the colour print in Pyne's "Royal Residences," this Adam work appears to have been in existence in 1819, before the Queen's House was so extensively reconstructed by Nash, as the new Buckingham Palace (1825-27).

Robert Adam made a few pencil notes of a plan for a Royal Palace (as in Vol. LIV, 135), but evidently never went into it seriously, as he must have felt that counter influences were too strong.

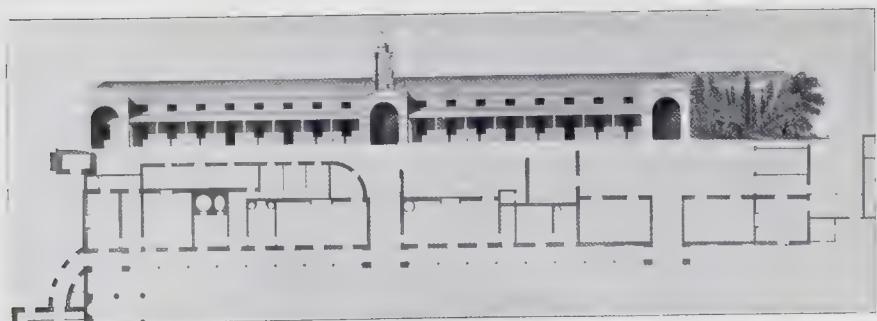
Horace Walpole writes in July, 1761, to George Montagu,^{42a} "The great apartment at St. James is enlarging and to be furnished with the pictures from Kensington; this does not portend a new palace." Even in 1763, however, as we shall see from his letter to Lord Kames, Robert Adam still hoped that a new palace would be undertaken. To this same year, 1762, belong the drawings for Witham,⁴³ in Somerset, for William Beckford, the city magnate who was to become so notorious later on by reason of his threatening speech to George III. This effusion may still be seen cut upon the pedestal of the monument erected to the popular Lord Mayor in the Guildhall. As reproduced in "Vitruvius Britannicus" (1767) justice is hardly done to the originals of Adam's design for Witham, owing to the coarse style of engraving. The letterpress implies that the house is built, but this can hardly have been the case. Fonthill was burnt down in February, 1755, and Adam was consulted about some decorative interiors at that house. The scheme for Witham is Palladian in character and very extensive, 284ft. in extent. Though Beckford did not, in his own phrase, mind an "odd £50,000," he must have found Fonthill itself a sufficiently costly undertaking.

Somewhat on the same lines as the Witham design, only smaller in scale, is an early scheme "for Mr. Hutchinson Muir⁴⁴ at Great Saxham, Suffolk," which may be probably placed at the commencement of 1763, because the following has been accidentally preserved on the back of a sketch. (Vol. xxi, 228.) The endorsement on the sheet of paper is :

Note concerning Hutchinson Muir Esq's house at Great Saxham, Suffolk.
On the reverse headed,
London 29th Dec. 1762.
For Mr. Muir.
In the body of the house, principal story.
Hall, Parlor, Dining Room, Drawing Room, Bed Chamber, and one Dressing Room.
Half Sunk Story.
Housekeeper's Room, Still Room and Plate,
Servants' Hall, Butler's Room and Pantry.
Powdering Room.
Cellars in the body of the house
betwixt the body of the house and wings,



ROBERT ADAM'S DESIGN FOR THE WEST PORTICO AT WEST WYCOMBE.



ROBERT ADAM'S DESIGN FOR KITCHEN AND STABLE WING AT WEST WYCOMBE PARK.

Yards for Fowls with buildings against the walls.

*One of the wings to contain
Kitchen, Sculleries, and Larder,*

One Wing,

Kitchen, Scullery, bakehouse, Brewhouse in the end building.

*One wing to contain
Washhouse, Laundry, Dairy, Scullery, etc. Cow house in end building.*

The Adam drawings are marked only "First Design," and are not signed, or dated, but in view of the Palladian character of the exterior, which show a three-storey main house, the ground floor being rusticated, and the other two combined in a Corinthian order of two storeys with a full entablature and pediment and having in addition half pedimented supporting blocks, an early date seems a certainty. The plan goes beyond the schedule of accommodation it is true, but the general correspondence seems sufficiently exact.

Of the proposed interior the large drawing room is shown very fully in a separate detail drawing, which reveals the early Shardeloes-Syon style. Nothing came of the design at the time, but later on schemes of a very different character were made, and one in particular, dated 1779, is also illustrated, on account of its original plan.

An important letter by Robert Adam on Architecture has most fortunately been preserved by the biographer of Lord Kames, and is given in the Appendix of his works.

In this we have an outline of Robert Adam's position as it was to be more fully developed hereafter, in the "Prefaces" of "The Works." This letter shows very clearly that the authorship of these "Prefaces" is due to Robert, and not to James, and in addition the most interesting allusion to the latter's proceedings in Italy, 1760-3, shows how well Robert understood his younger brother. The whole of this miniature architectural essay has so much value that it is given in full.

Letter from Robert Adam, Esq. to Lord Kames.⁴⁵

London, 31st March, 1763.

MY LORD,

I am ashamed to say I have had the honour of your letter of the 2d. ult. so long, without its being in my power to answer it sooner. The practice of architecture rushes so fast upon me, that I have but few moments to dedicate to theory and speculation. Your Lordship's ideas with regard to the improprieties of the Doric and Corinthian Orders, seem at first to be too well founded: But upon considering the nature of these orders more fully, and reflecting how an architect of superior abilities would dispose of them, I am convinced the strength of your objections would vanish;—I may say, entirely as to the first, and in great measure be removed as to the second of these orders.

If you wish that the *Doric* Order should appear simple and solid, you ought not to flute your columns, nor carve any of the mouldings of your *capitals* and *bases*; keep the *entablature* of the plainest kind, no *guttae* to your *mutules*, no ornaments in your *metopes*; in which case you will find no one part too much or too little ornamented for the others; and I have already experienced this in many buildings I have executed.⁴⁶ If you flute your columns, you must then enrich your *capitals* and *bases*, carve your *cornices*, and put ornaments on the *metopes of the freeze*. This degree of enrichment I would seldom use without doors; but it is very proper in halls, insides of temples, &c. I have ventured to alter some parts of this order, particularly in its *mouldings*, rejecting some of the common ones, and adopting or substituting others in their stead. These alterations most people have allowed to be much for the better: but I have always been very cautious in this way; and it is a dangerous license, and may do much harm, in the hands of rash innovators, or mere retailers in the art, who have neither eyes nor judgement.

The *capital* of the *Corinthian* order demands delicacy and richness in every other part belonging to that order; and when that necessary profusion of ornament cannot be afforded, the architect ought to reject this order altogether. The Fable of Callimachus, the basket with acanthus leaves, I never had any faith in. The Egyptians had a kind of *Corinthian* Order,

and in many parts so similar to that which the Grecians used, that we cannot doubt of the latter having only changed and improved (as they imagined), many parts of the Egyptian capital. If your Lordship will look into *Norden's "Antiquities of Egypt,"* you will see the capitals I refer to. I own that there appears an absurdity in supporting any weight by a combined cluster of light foliage : But if you suppose a column to represent a tree, I shall suppose a palm tree, which grows of a pretty equal thickness, and of which the branches grow near the top, and that part of the top of this tree is cut off, and the branches or leaves left : you will find that tree able to support a weight, and these branches by no means impairing its strength, nor in any danger of being broken off : they will bend down their heads with the beam or entablature that lies upon them and connects them together, as those of the Corinthian capital do, but the main weight will still rest for its support upon the upright stem. This I take to be the true origin of the Corinthian order. Some other leaf has been substituted as being more beautiful than that of the palm, or any other which grows in that manner, and by degrees the acanthus has prevailed. Many trees grow 20 or 30 feet high in one stem : then split into two or three large boughs. If you cut the tree two or three feet above the separation of these boughs, it occasions that swell at the top which gives the appearance of the basket or vase your lordship mentions which all architects have split upon, resorting to this foolish fable, when the thing may be accounted for in the simple and natural manner I have mentioned.

As to the proportions of the column, we might suppose these to be taken from the proportions of the human figure ; and the leaves at the top to correspond to the hair. The introduction of *Caryatides* and *Terms* among the Greeks, gives at least a degree of plausibility to this conjecture : though I own the analogy extends little farther than to the general proportions of columns, but not at all to the particular parts of the order.

The *Ionic* order ought only to be used in gay and slight buildings, as the meagreness of its capital never fills the eye sufficiently, on the outside of a mass of solid architecture. I have always thought this order destined for the insides of houses and temples : but the universal practice to the contrary in all countries, shows how much I stand single in this opinion.⁴⁷ The false and destructive prejudice in favour of lightness in buildings, I imagine is the cause of this custom. I would only ask any man, if the buildings of the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans had been light, according to modern ideas, whether we should have seen any remains of them in our day ?

If a building were not so immensely great as to demand a variety of orders, I would omit entirely the two mongrel orders, the *Composite* and *Tuscan* : and God knows, our confined ideas of magnificence in building do but little require that variety. The *Composite* Order is by no means so fine as the *Corinthian* : and the *Doric* Order can, without great variation, supply every purpose of the *Tuscan*.

These are my real sentiments with regard to the orders of our art. I shall be happy if any of these observations are worth your Lordship's attention.

I flatter myself, that the arts in general are in a progressive state in England. If the King builds a palace in a magnificent and pure style of architecture, it will give a great push at once to the taste of this country ; as it will not only furnish ideas for lesser buildings, but show effects both of external and internal composition which this country as yet is entirely ignorant of. If it is done meanly, or in bad taste, I should apprehend the worst of consequences. Painting and sculpture depend more upon good architecture than one would imagine. They are the necessary accompaniments of the great style of architecture ; and a building that makes no provision for them, and does not even demand them as necessary adjuncts, I would at once pronounce to be wretched.



WEST WYCOMBE : HOUSE AND PORTICO FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

WEST WYCOMBE PARK, BUCKS.
THE SEAT OF THE RIGHT HON.
BARON LE DESPENCER.
RONIC PORTICO AT WEST END, AND
PROPOSED OFFICES AND COVERED
PASSAGE.
ROBERT ADAM, ARCHT.

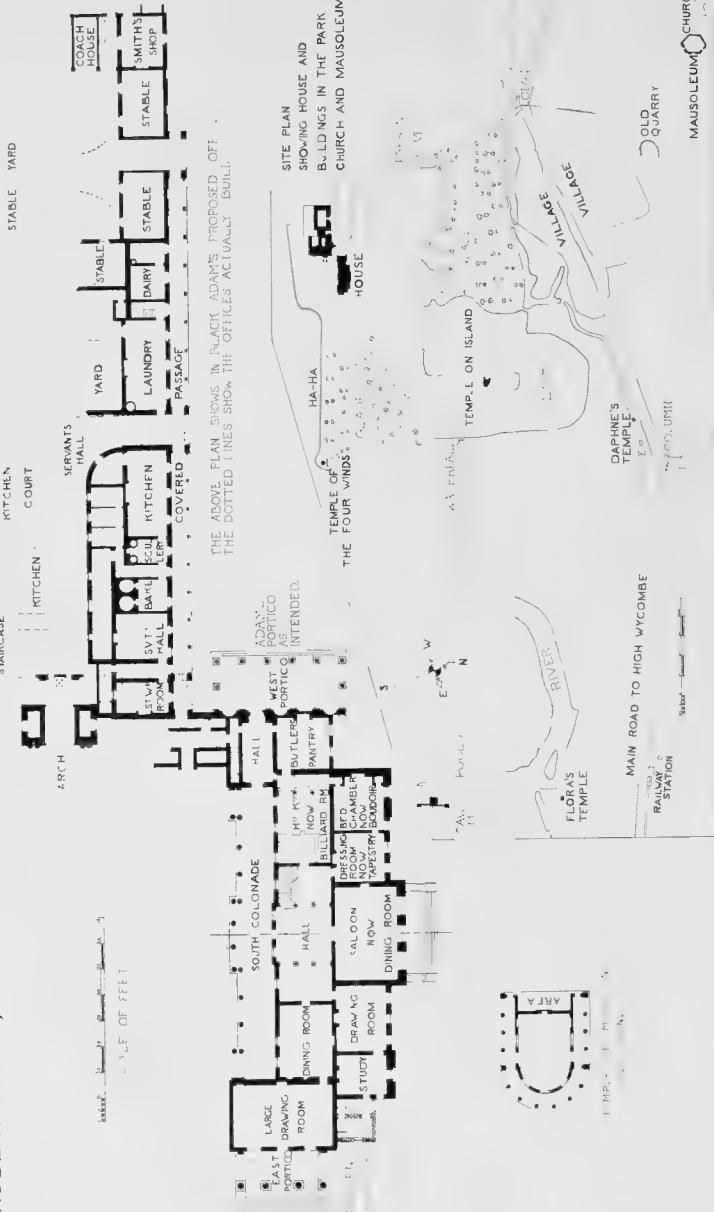
OLD WALL AND BANK AREA

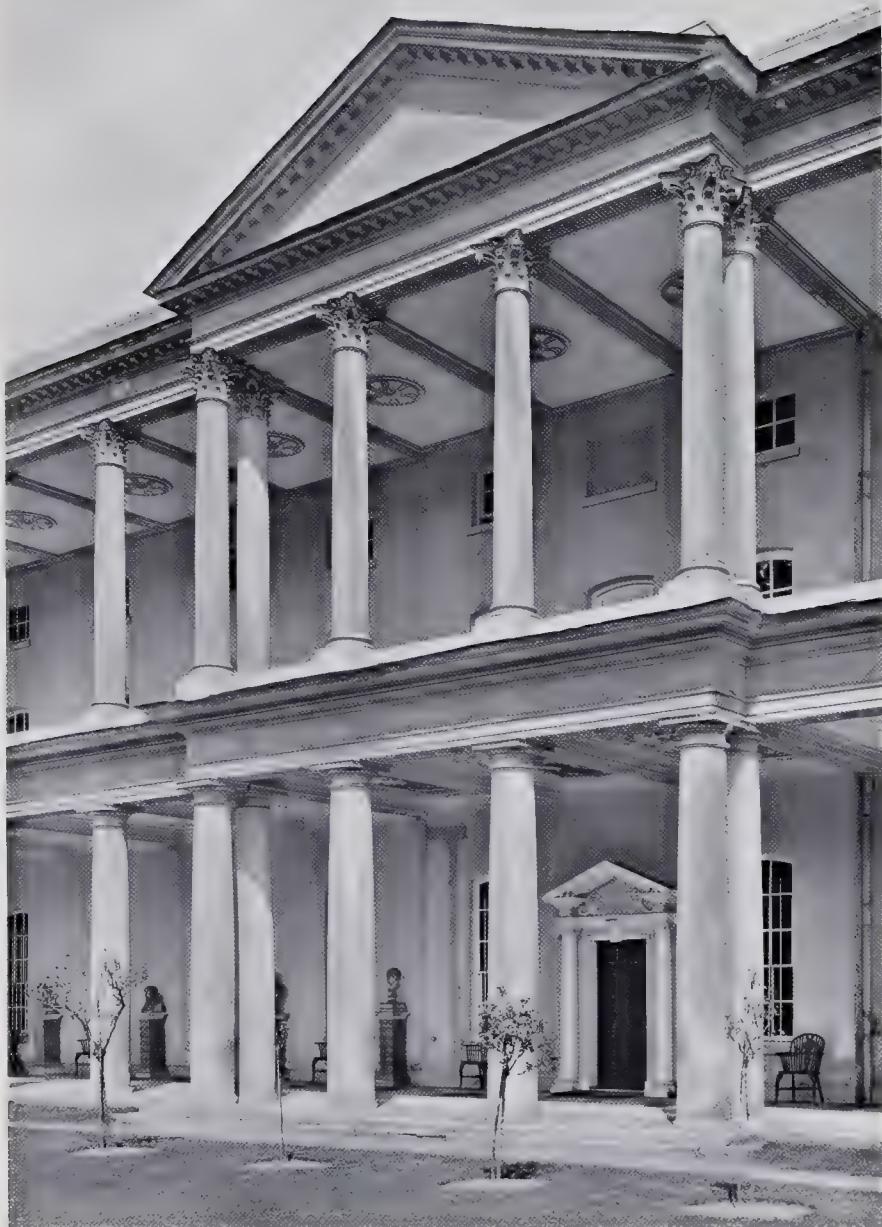
DRYING | LAUNDRY

WEST WITCOMBE, THE RIGHT HON.
THE SEAT OF BARON DE SPENCER,
WITCOMBE, WEST END, AND
WITCOMBE, WEST END,

IONIC PORT CO AT WES | END' AND PROPOSED OFFICES AND COVERED

PASSAGE.
ROBERT ADAM, ARCHT:





CENTRE OF SOUTHERN COLONNADE AT WEST WYCOMBE.

Design possibly based on a suggestion by Robert Adam. See Design for South Bridge, Edinburgh (Chapter xxxi).



WEST WYCOMBE FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

My brother James writes with that love and enthusiasm of architecture which no one could feel that has not formed very extensive ideas of it.⁴⁸ It is easy to tame and bring under proper management those large views ; and the detail of our profession comes naturally to the man who understands its great principles in the laws of beauty and grandeur : But the architect who begins with *minutiae*, will never rise above the race of those reptile artisans who have crawled about and infested this country for many years.¹⁹

I have been twice in the country since I received your Lordship's letter ; and if I may judge by my own employment, private buildings go on apace. I expect to be very little in London all this summer, having business in various quarters of England, which I am with difficulty able to get managed with honour to myself and satisfaction to my employers.

I hope you will forgive the length of this epistle, and believe me to be most respectfully, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and very faithful humble servant,

ROB¹ ADAM.

Probably with the curious speculation as to the palm tree may be connected the tea pavilion at Moor Park, which is illustrated here as an instance of a class of building much in demand at the time.

Sir Lawrence Dundas had bought Moor Park, an old house, originally built by Cardinal Wolsey, but recased and almost rebuilt between 1720-39 by Leoni, the Italian architect who came to England in 1715-16, through Lord Burlington. Clandon, Surrey, is also by Leoni, who died in 1746. The owner of Moor Park was B. H. Styles, of the South Sea Company, who died in 1739. £150,000⁵⁰ is said to have been spent on the house, which was sold by order of the Court of Chancery to Lord Anson in 1754. The new owner spent £80,000 on the park and gardens under the auspices of Capability Brown. Lord Anson died in 1762, and his brother, Thomas Anson, sold the estate to the successful army contractor who was second son of Thomas Dundas, a baillie of Edinburgh. He was created baronet in 1762, with remainder to his elder brother, Thomas Dundas of Fingask. The latter's son, born 1741, succeeded to the baronetcy in 1761, and was created Baron Dundas of Aske, County York, in 1794. The extensive wings, added by Adam about the year 1763-4, were pulled down again when the house was once more sold in 1785 to Thomas Bates Rous. Without these wings the house looks like an isolated block, somewhat ungainly in shape, and Adam was certainly justified in his attempt to spread out the building upon its site. Dodsley's "Environs of London, 1761," Vol. v.⁵¹ says, "The offices are joined to the house by a beautiful circular colonnade of the Ionic order, which terminates very elegantly with domes on each side their entrance," and adds that the site is awkward. "Part of one of the wings is hidden by the rising ground."

Some early Adam furniture was designed for Moor Park between 1764-65. The tea house or pavilion drawings are not dated, no doubt they belong to this period. They are a very fair specimen of sham rusticity, a fashion which has a recurring tendency as we know to our own cost. The more highly organised the architectural tradition the greater will be the revolt, and the more passionate the insistence on the return of Nature, however difficult it may be to give a satisfactory philosophical basis to that enigmatical demand.

A working compromise has been established since the advent of Nesfield and Shaw, through which the older traditional methods of rural building have been found to provide an artistically satisfactory basis. If Adam had anticipated that discovery he might have given a more satisfactory form to his picturesque imaginings. As it is, mainly on the grounds of inadequate detail and inappropriate proportion, his efforts in the cottage style are upon the whole merely detrimental to his reputation.

There can be no doubt that at this time Robert Adam had some, probably brief, relations with the fast set⁵² of which Sir Francis Dashwood, Baron Le Despencer was the chief. George Bubb Doddington (1691-1762), created Baron Melcombe in 1761, left a legacy for the building of the Mausoleum at West Wycombe. He commissioned designs for an elaborate garden room from Robert Adam in 1762.

There is a striking picture in Richard Cumberland's Memoirs⁵³ of a group of Adam's clients at Doddington's House, Eastbury, at about this time. Cumberland, who was born in 1732, was private secretary to Lord Halifax at the Board of Trade, and he describes Doddington as one of the most extraordinary men of his time.

"During my stay at Eastbury, we were visited by Mr. Henry Fox and Mr. Alderman Beckford: the solid good sense of the former, and the dashing loquacity of the latter, formed a striking contrast. To Mr. Fox our host paid all that courtly homage, which he so well knew how to time and where to apply; to Beckford he did not observe the same attentions, but in the happiest flow of his raillery and wit combated this intrepid talker with admirable effect. It was an interlude truly comic and amusing. Beckford loud, voluble, self-sufficient, and galled by hits, which he could not parry and probably did not expect, laid himself more and more open in the vehemence of his argument; Doddington, lolling in his chair in perfect apathy and self-command, dosing and even snoring at intervals in his lethargic way, broke out every now and then into such gleams and flashes of



WEST WYCOMBE: ISLAND TEMPLE FROM BELOW THE CASCADE.

wit and irony, as by the contrast of his phlegm with the others' impetuosity, made his humour irresistible, and set the table in a roar."

He says that Doddington, being a man of humble birth, seemed to have an innate respect for titles, and none bowed with more devotion to the robes of high rank and office. "Within the period of my acquaintance with him, the Earl of Bute in the plenitude of his power, was the god of his idolatory," and Cumberland adds that Bute gave Doddington his coronet, which proved only to be a ticket for the coronation procession.

In view of the two designs reproduced it is probable that Robert Adam was consulted to some extent, in reference to the works at West Wycombe. The Market Hall, or "Shambles," at High Wycombe,⁵⁴ two miles away, shows moreover that Robert was carrying out work on the spot in 1761, while Shardeloes (1759-61) is only five miles or six miles distant across country. The scheme of the "New Shambles" is an ingenious development of an older brick octagon which had a steep tile roof, probably surmounted by a bell turret. Adam converted it into an octagon of open arches, with a bold sweeping arcaded addition, on a half circle plan. He added an attic and a lead dome, with two half pediments as supporting terminals. About twenty years ago this interesting structure was very roughly altered to the detriment of its original proportions. There seems to be no doubt that the dome has been raised by about 3 ft. and the pitch of the side gables altered to agree with it, as the original upper floor, now a room, is only marked "Loft" on his plan.

Adam's original sketch plan and elevation and the other drawings in the Soane Collection explain the scheme when the nature of the site and the form of the earlier octagon are understood.

Charles Dormer, second Earl of Carnarvon, sold West Wycombe to Thomas Lewis, Alderman of London, who, in 1698, granted it to his brothers-in-law, Sir Samuel and Sir Francis Dashwood. The latter who became the owner of the property, was born in 1659, and created first baronet in 1707. He was a member for Winchelsea from 1708 to 1712, and he was twice married, the second time to Mary, daughter of Vere, fourth Earl of Westmoreland, and eventually co-heiress of the Barony of Le Despencer. She died 1710, but her son Francis, born 1708, who became the second baronet in 1724, on the death of his uncle John, seventh Earl of Westmoreland, succeeded in 1762 to the Barony of Despencer, by her right. In May that year he was Chancellor of the Exchequer up to April of the next, after which he was one of the Postmasters-General for several years. He married in 1745 Sarah, daughter and heiress of Thomas Gould of Ivor, Bucks, widow of Sir Richard Ellys. Her death took place in January, 1769, and his, without issue, in December, 1781, when the barony fell in abeyance, and the baronetcy went to his half brother, Sir John Dashwood King, M.P.

Baron Le Despencer figures largely in Georgian memoirs owing to his association with John Wilkes, John Montagu, fourth Earl of Sandwich (1718-92) and others, members of the Medmenham Abbey Club, which was established about 1755. As the owner of that property and the president of the club, his responsibility could not have been a light one. It was the time when Gay's Opera was still in the public mind, and arising out of these scandals the Earl of Sandwich gained the nickname of "Jemmy Twicher," which never left him, even when its origin had been forgotten.

Horace Walpole has various allusions to Sir Francis Dashwood, with whom he seems to have been desirous of remaining on terms, despite the fact that the latter had formed part of the powerful group which had brought about Sir Robert's fall. He writes to Mann at Florence in 1741 that Dashwood had asked him to have six Etruscan urns from Volterra, of a chimneypiece size, sent with his own things from Italy. In connection with the Dilettanti Society⁵⁵ we hear that Dashwood and Lord Middlesex were in Italy together, and after their return they seem to have engaged, in 1742, in the fashionable sport of opera production, one in which so much money has usually been lost. Walpole dismisses the first wife of Dashwood as "a forlorn Presbyterian prude." The good side of Dashwood as a man appears in his plucky effort to save Admiral Byng from being shot, as the scapegoat of the Minorca failure, in 1757. In 1762 the Barony of Despencer was given to him, and a year later, November 15, 1763, the trouble of Wilkes's parody⁵⁶ of Pope's "Essay on Man" came to a head.

Lord Le Despencer appears to advantage in 1778, when, as Chatham remarked, he alone called upon the dying Statesman between his seizure in the House of Lords and his death. By

such things as this Dashwood ended his troubled career with the epitaph of 1781, "Revered, Respected, and Beloved by all who knew him." The stress no doubt was on the last word but one.

West Wycombe itself we may well believe stood for the more serious side of Despencer's life. In 1763 he rebuilt the church on the hill overlooking the estate, crowning the old tower with an Italian Belfrey Stage, which as a design is effective at a distance. The building of the great mausoleum which adjoins the church was due to a legacy by George Bubb, Lord Dodington,⁵⁷ whose diary is so often quoted for the sake of the detailed account of the first year of the reign of George III.

West Wycombe at this time must have presented a gay scene to judge by the old prints of the grounds, which show cascades and garden features reminiscent of Versailles.

The story of West Wycombe as a house is far from easy to disentangle. The apparently simple classic structure hides the history of various transformations, from the time when it was a simple, brick, three-storeyed house, surrounded apparently by other buildings, which later on gave place to the present park.

There is an old maplike plan in existence showing an improved approach to the house on its southern face, with an oval turning space and a regular forecourt. On the north side appears a long and wide terrace, while at the east end is a formal garden enclosed by walls. At the west end are office and stable buildings, through which the road makes an oblique line, as would, in fact, be the case if the drive went straight up to the house, instead of as at present making a bend to the west.

The hesitation as to which was to be the entrance side of the house ended in a compromise by the selection of the west end, the southern face being eventually decorated and screened by the great two-storeyed colonnade, which now is the unique feature of the house.

Unfortunately the family papers have been destroyed, and though there are numerous drawings of schemes relative to the house, they are neither signed nor dated, and very often are not even



WEST WYCOMBE: TEMPLE ON THE ISLAND IN THE LAKE.

headed by any descriptive title. From amongst these I have picked out two drawings which, by their method and finish, can be identified as from the office of Robert Adam. One of these drawings is represented in the Soane collection by an unfinished duplicate. The other is quite new.

In "Vitruvius Britannicus," Vol. v., published in 1771, a plan and elevation of

the house as altered are given, and the unknown name of "J. Donowell"⁵⁸ appears as the architect. I have seen no plans at the house suggesting his name, and the Italian Borgnis who decorated the ceilings of the house and of the church seems the most likely person to have assisted Baron Le Despencer in his building operations.

That a good deal of the work was amateurish the story of the office block suggests. It differs entirely from Adam's proposals, while agreeing with a very rough and much altered draft in pen and ink, which is clearly not the work of an architect. The plan is very extravagant, with long brick vaulted corridors, a feature the purpose of which is far from clear. The transformation of the house itself appears to have begun on the northern side, for which many schemes were made prior to the adoption of the design of the present suitable, if unexciting, façade. Possibly the large drawing-room was then added, with the east or Doric portico, a feature which itself has little relation of scale to the present house as a whole. Here stood the original enclosed formal garden, according to the old plan. In the pediment of the east portico, Apollo and the Muses were represented, while below stood busts of Augustus and Livia and statues of Annibale Caracci⁵⁹ and Correggio. In a like spirit the western portico was styled the "Temple of Bacchus."

The south front appears to have been the subject of innumerable experimental designs, directed chiefly towards screening the existing three-storeyed elevation, by a colonnade of one order of columns. One sketch of an interesting character shows such a colonnade interrupted by a central feature of some boldness, the inspiration of which appears to be Italian. It would be very interesting if it could be shown that the idea for the two tier colonnade and for the characteristic doubling and grouping of the columns, came from Robert Adam. It is very like the treatment he suggested later on for the street architecture of a great projected public improvement, the South Bridge at Edinburgh. The executed work is mainly of wood, as in the case of the portico to Garrick's villa and the Shakespeare Temple at Hampton.

The portico at the west end of the house presents a difficult problem.⁶⁰ It is claimed for Nicholas Revett, Stuart's partner in the "Antiquities of Athens," in the account of the former's life given in the fourth volume of that work, which appeared in 1816. Revett died in 1804 at the age of eighty-four, and except for a church in the Greek style at Ayot St. Lawrence, near Welwyn in Herts, built in 1786, very little actual building can be traced to him. In May, 1764, he went to Ionia with Dr. Chandler for the Dilettanti Society, having returned from Athens in the beginning of 1755. His time, while in England, was taken up with the first volume of the "Antiquities of Athens," which appeared in 1762.

Apart from the actual Adam drawing for the portico here illustrated, Robert, as we have just seen, was engaged at Shadeloes and High Wycombe in 1759-61. It is possible, however, that Revett was really employed in some capacity at this time, and that in view of Despencer's prominent position and interest in the Dilettanti Society, which had promoted Stuart and Revett's



THE SAW MILL, WEST WYCOMBE.

book, the detail of the portico as designed by Adam may have been modified by Revett and Dashwood in a Greek sense. As built it differs from Adam's drawing, in that there are no niches, the two doorways are altered, and the upper series of panels is omitted. The general effect, however, is that of Adam's proposal and the portico measures only 1ft. less in width. As it is most inaccurately shown in Donowels plan of 1771, as given in "Vitruvius Britannicus," the latter could not have seen it.⁶⁰ The only drawing at the house with Revett's name is one (undated) for an unimportant cottage. It does not seem likely that Revett was responsible for the eastern Doric portico, which is not of a Greek character, but there is a small alcove of Greek design attached to the offices, near the west portico, which may have been by him.

It has to be further remembered that Despencer had a large house in Hanover Square, at the north-west angle, which has since been rebuilt as the Oriental Club. For this house Robert Adam, at an early but unknown date, made designs for a single storey, narrow wing addition, at the back of the house. This annexe was to be about 95ft. long, and to border upon the side street, on the northern flank of the house. It was to contain a library, about 60ft. by 14ft., consisting of two octagonal ante-rooms and a central, double-apsidal apartment. The decoration shown on the drawing is of the early Shaddeles type, and the date is probably earlier than 1765, and more likely to be of 1763. It anticipates crudely the first idea of the gallery of Shelburne House. It is uncertain if the work was ever done. Probably Adam's connection with Despencer had terminated before the church at West Wycombe was undertaken.

As an early instance of the use of Greek detail the west portico of West Wycombe is of great interest. Robert Adam certainly entertained a brief idea of such direct use, as there is a pencil note, Vol. ix (195), "Ionick of Le Roi," on the design of the screen wall for the proposed house on the Albany site made for Henry Fox, Lord Holland. Adam also made a slight note of a Greek cornice as used by his friend Stuart at Spencer House, Vol. liv (40), "for the Dressing Room of Mr. Spencer's House by Mr. S." This, however, was a passing mood and he fortunately proceeded on his own lines.

It cannot be said that there is anything definitely characteristic of Adam in the interiors of the house at West Wycombe, which display sumptuous Italian decorations more in sympathy with the traditional Georgian than anticipatory of his innovations.

The park of West Wycombe owes much to the river, which threads its way through a depression, below the more rising ground on which the house stands. The large area of the lake affords space for the diversion of two islands, one of which is connected by a bridge to the bank.



DESPENCER'S MAUSOLEUM ON THE HILL AT WEST WYCOMBE.

while the other is only accessible by boat. There is a sense of remoteness in a pavilion isolated by water, giving more point than usual to the island temple. At a distance this structure, dedicated to music, might be regarded as Adam work, from the graceful elegance of the columns with their plain bell capitals. The general scheme is certainly in accordance with Robert Adam's ideas of such buildings, but the carrying out could not, I think, have been in his hands.⁶¹ Apart from any question of detail, the adjustment of the colonnades is so crude, from an architectural point of view as to argue with greater probability that it is the work of a dilettante, rather than that of an expert in classic art. There is a low basement, half sunk in the ground, which provides a good podium for the order. The colonnades are clumsily prolonged to enclose an area at the back, from which access and light is provided, doubtless for the service of a kitchen. There is a notable absence of repose in the roof lines of this pavilion, arising out of this curious disposition of the encircling colonnade. The whole structure is very slightly built, the columns and entablature being of lath and plaster.

The fine saw mill in another part of the grounds is quite Adamlike in grouping, having a square centre block with extended arched walls as links to the end pavilions. It is a very pleasing building in flint and brick, an eighteenth century development of the older methods of building.

It is a pretty stiff climb up the hill, partly covered by a wood, to reach the mausoleum and church, under which the village lies, just outside the park gates.

Mausoleum in this case is rather a misleading term for a structure which is really an enclosed private graveyard, of a type more customary in Scotland than in the south. This vast hexagonal enclosure is surrounded by walls of Roman massiveness. They are flint faced, with columns and entablatures in stone and stucco. The disposition, and the Roman Doric idea, are quite analogous to early Adam designs, but the mausoleum is probably not his actual work. A fragmentary drawing, that has been preserved, suggests that the building has originated from a design based on San Michele's architecture, as seen in the fortified gateways of Verona. There was at first an idea of having a raised centre feature, or attic, with a great panel, on which a Latin inscription of the Roman type was to be cut.

On the north wall of the church, which lies behind the mausoleum on the actual summit of the hill, is the inscription, "Hanc Aedem Conditit Franciscus Baro Le Despencer, 1763."

It is a curiously shaped structure outside, owing to a great indecision, as the drawings existing show, in regard to its architectural treatment. The internal plan consists of a nave, almost square in effect, one large room with engaged columns, carrying a full entablature with a richly decorated frieze below a flat ceiling. The latter is painted in the same chiaroscuro style that is found in the house. The older chancel, preserved, but refitted with a flat ceiling, is awkwardly adjusted to an arched opening, squeezed in between the columns of the later nave.

An old account states that the pulpit and reading desk are mahogany armchairs, and that there are no pews, only forms. These chairs, which are finely executed, might be Chippendale work. The nave is 60ft. by 40ft., a spacious hall. The plasterwork detail, such as the swags, etc., is characteristic of the stucco work done by Italians in England at the time, and the style is not personal to Robert Adam.

The group on the hill, the massive mausoleum and the tower behind it, relieved against masses of trees, arrests attention, and arouses curiosity. Church and house alike are a page in the history of a troubled transition, marking the change from the earlier to the later epoch of the Georges.

Letters from Robert Adam to his clients are very rarely to be met with now, a few are preserved in the Caldwell Papers,^{61a} and the following, relating to a scheme for building a riding house at Edinburgh, will be read with interest.

Robert Adam to John Fordyce, Esq.

London, 21 May, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

I have at last finished, and sent you, by Capt. Thomas Pringle, the designs of the Riding House. I proposed to have shewed them to Sir Sydney Meadows and Mr. Berenger; but, in order not to delay longer, and tire out your patience and long

suffering, I have laid hold of the first opportunity since they were finished, and, as I keep copy's, I shall show them to these gentlemen, and if they make any remarks, *pro* or *con*, shall most faithfully transmitt them to you. I have avoided all extra ornament, and used no more than what was necessary to make the façade decent and genteel. Mr. Mure approves much of it, only says it is too little ornamented. He particularly likes my having put the exercising pillar in the lobby, which all the Commissioners recommended. The niches within may be formed in the rough walling, and afterwards plastered; but many of the riding houses here having nothing but rough walling within; though I am persuaded the additional look would overbalance the expense of plastering. I have put windows over the niches; but after the building is up, you may then judge if there won't be sufficient light, if every other window was blocked and made a pannel, both without and within, especially as I have made 3 large windows at that end which fronts the entrance. Mr. Mure and I have had many conversations on the extension of our scheme, and forming a complete academy for fencing, dancing, &c., and having houses for the different masters, all formed on a regular plan: making this Riding House the centre building.

If you have considered and approve such a plan, I would endeavour to make out the whole for you: but I ought to have an exact plan of your ground, so as to extend or contract my building to answer the shape of your ground. I don't think it necessary for me to explain any thing more of the plans sent, as they are all figured. The rooms I call for the Gentlemen, at each end of the lobby, are proper for dressing and undressing in. The closets in these rooms will hold boots, whips, &c., and as there is a communication twixt them and the stables, in bad weather the horses may go that way from the Riding House



INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH ON THE HILL, WEST WYCOMBE.

to the stables, and the chimneys may be used for boiling drinks for the horses: and I would have these rooms with Dutch Clinkers.

The rooms above would answer for the clerks to keep your accounts, or for a person to sleep who has the care of the Riding House, till such time as a proper house is built for the riding master.

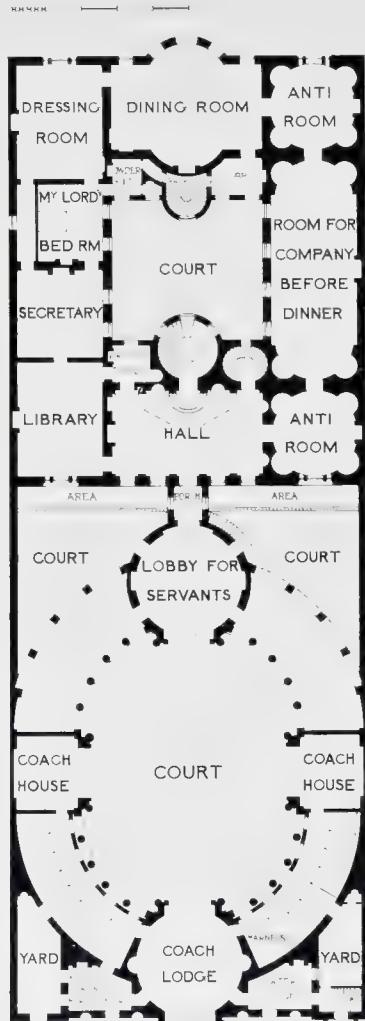
But these things I only fling out as they occur. I wish my plans may please, and you will make me happy by letting me hear from you when they have been inspected.

I ever am, Dr Sir,
Your's very truly,

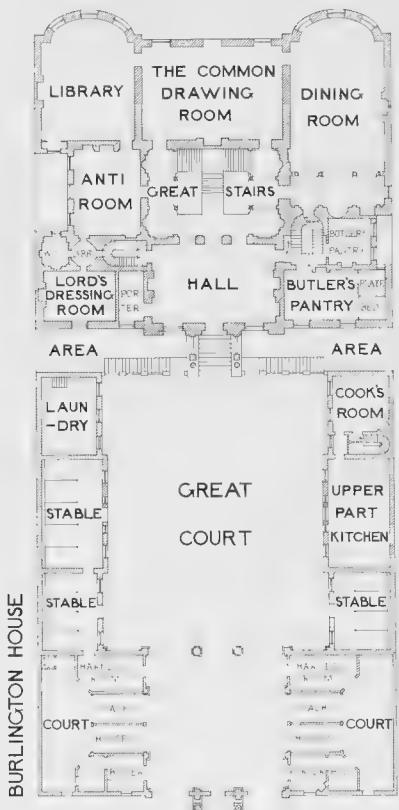
ROB^T ADAM.

A rough memorandum (back of (93) Vol. LIV) can be dated by this letter and shows that Adam was enquiring about alabaster for Kedleston and was to examine and send the plans for the coach-house offices, the bridge of three arches, farm offices and hall and portico ceilings. For Conyers at Copped Hall sections were wanted. On the 31st he was to go to Audley Street, this last no doubt an engagement with Lord Bute.

PLAN FOR LORD HOLLAND'S HOUSE
PICCADILLY 100.0. FRONTAGE
ROBERT ADAM
BEFORE 1765



"ADAM'S DESIGN FOR MELBOURNE HOUSE"
FROM A COPY MADE BY SIR W. CHAMBERS



CHAMBERS'S PLAN OF MELBOURNE HOUSE
NOW THE ALBANY ADJOINING BURLINGTON
HOUSE ON THE NORTH SIDE OF PICCADILLY
BUILT 1771-4

Whether this design for Edinburgh was carried out is uncertain. Wm. Creech⁶² says, "In 1764 a Riding School 124 long x 42 wide, was built by subscription." This institution afterwards received a Royal Charter, with a salary of £200 per annum to the master. The riding house at Nostell is an existing instance of an Adam building of this type.

James Adam might have been expected to return towards the end of 1763, as was the usual custom of tourists to Italy, but the available record of his tour does not tell us more than that he commenced his return from Rome in May of that year.⁶³ The arrival of James must have been a great reinforcement to Robert, who had already in these preliminary five years achieved such a remarkable success.^{63a} Works of great importance had been done or were in hand, and the book on Spalatro must have been far advanced for its publication to have taken place in 1764. Robert's power of concentrated effort was no doubt the reason for the superior results of his travels over those of James. It seems likely that William Adam, the youngest of the brethren, was up in London with Robert, rather than with John in Edinburgh, but this is only a supposition based on the fragment of a letter signed W. A. and written to James while in Italy in 1760.^{63b} It reads, in fact, as though it might nearly as well have been written from Edinburgh as from London. The chief point in favour of a London address is that he speaks of a remittance received from Johnie (John Adam), who might reasonably be assumed to have been in Edinburgh.

Robert Adam's drawings for the fine entrance gateway and screen block of buildings in front of Kimbolton Castle are unfortunately not dated. George Montagu (1737-88), Viscount Mandeville, eldest son of the second Duke of Manchester, succeeded in May, 1762.



Robert Adam, Architect, 1764.

ELEVATION OF SCREEN WALL FOR A HOUSE FOR LORD HOLLAND IN PICCADILLY.
One hundred feet frontage.

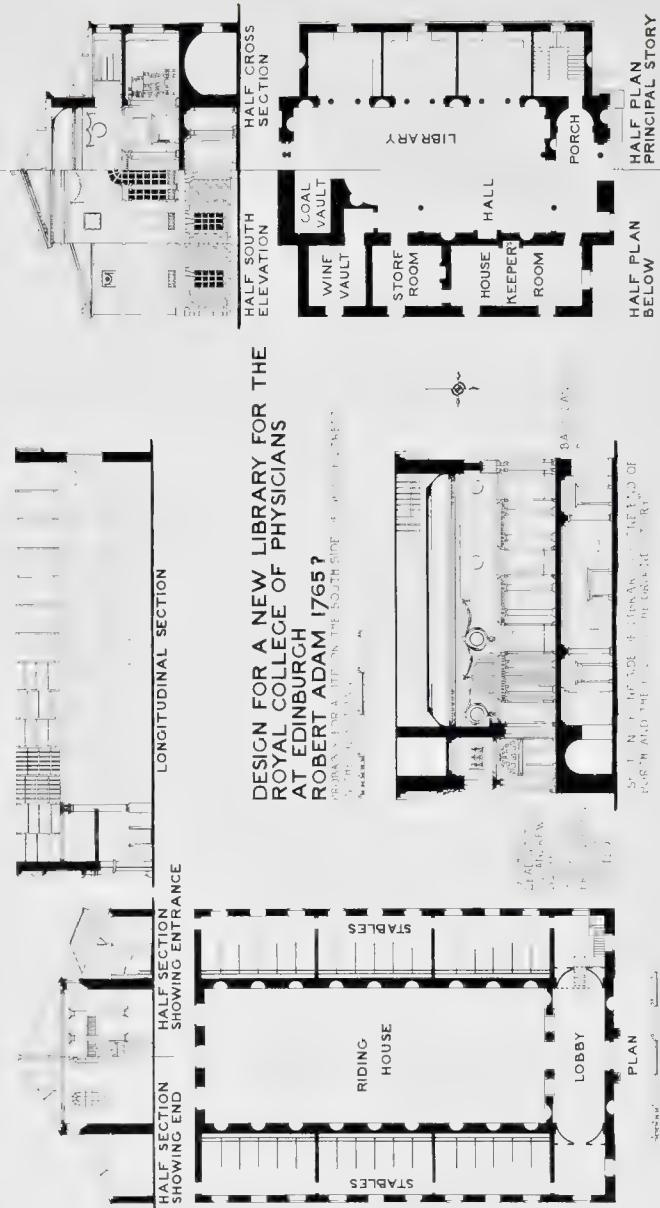
As Horace Walpole notes in May, 1763,^{63c} that "the walls round the house are levelling," we have good grounds for assigning an early date to this work at Kimbolton, apart from the architectural aspect of the design.

It is always interesting to meet with Robert Adam acting as successor to Sir John Vanbrugh. In this instance that great architect had been dealing with an older castle, which had recently undergone alteration by Coleman in a decorative style which did not at all appeal to Vanbrugh's massive imagination. In origin the castle was a strong place, guarding the roads from St. Neots to the north-west and from Bedford to Huntingdon. This castle was selected in 1533 by Catherine of Aragon as a place of retirement, and the rooms she had occupied up to her death in 1536 were respected by Vanbrugh in his later alterations.

The great architect wrote persuading Charles, the first Duke and fourth Earl, who had been Ambassador to Louis XIV, in 1699, and in 1707 was on a mission to Venice, to build a great room of parade in the centre of the south front, on the axis of the canal and the then existing formal garden.

Van's idea was to retain "something of the castle air," and he thus combines battlements with his Doric. Coleman fell into line and found something unexpected in the "gusto" of his powerful colleague. Earl Charles returned from abroad in December, 1708. He was a Lord of the Bedchamber to George I, and created a duke in 1719. He died 1721. With his architect he had a great point of sympathy over the opera, which was then being transplanted, and nursed into being, at the New House, built by Van in the Haymarket.

DESIGN FOR THE RIDING HOUSE AT EDINBURGH
JOHN FORDYCE ESQ.
ROBERT ADAM 1763



DESIGN FOR A NEW LIBRARY FOR THE
ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS
AT EDINBURGH
ROBERT ADAM 1765?

THIS DESIGN WAS DRAWN IN 1771 FOR THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS AT EDINBURGH. IT WAS NOT EXECUTED.

Robert Adam had already continued Vanbrugh's work at Compton Verney, as we shall see in the chapter describing that house, and here at Kimbolton, using the Roman Doric of his own earliest designs, he has erected a very reasonable propyleum to the massive castellated design of his predecessor.

The Earl of Manchester is noted by Walpole as short of the means to carry out all his desires, and thus no doubt Kimbolton escaped any extensive internal alterations in the newer manner. Born in 1737, the fourth Duke and eighth Earl of Manchester married on October 22, 1762, Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Sir James Dashwood, Bart., of Northbrook, and Kirtlington in Oxfordshire. There is thus another link with West Wycombe. He had succeeded the third Duke in 1762, and died in 1788. The stable block for Kimbolton designed in 1771⁵³ is of the same simple and suitable character as the probably earlier entrance gateway. As we shall see in the case of the stable block at Newby, Adam was distinctly successful in plain architecture of this type.

In 1764 a great town house for Lord Shelburne must have been one of Robert Adam's pre-occupations. As early as 1761, as we learn from Henry Fox's letter, Adam had been looking out for a suitable site. The scheme of 1764 was for a position at Hyde Park Corner, but it is clear that it had not proceeded very far, no doubt because Lord Bute, who had already begun the present Lansdowne House in Berkeley Square, was contemplating its abandonment, and in 1765 Lord Shelburne bought the unfinished structure, which he at once proceeded to complete between the years 1765–68, from Adam's designs. The earlier scheme, which will be given in the chapter on Lansdowne House, is, however, very important as marking a stage in the development of Robert Adam's ideas of house planning.

Bute agreed to sell the unfinished house (now Lansdowne House), in Berkeley Square, in October 1765, to Lord Shelburne. "Covenanting that he will pay Messrs. Robert and James Adams who will completely finish the house and building as specified in Description and Inventory." The price was £22,500, Lord Shelburne to pay £900 interest for eight years and the principal after that time.

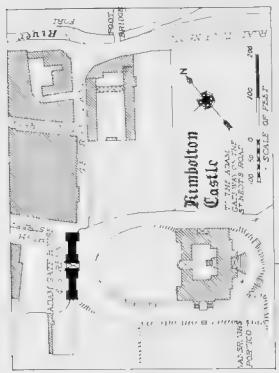
This very important work, Shelburne House, is dated 1765–68 on Adam's plates in the "Works," and belongs to this first period; it was probably begun for Bute in 1762 or 1763.

The interior drawings for Harewood begin in 1765,⁶⁴ and those for Osterley Park, the earlier rooms, at about the same date. This year, like that of 1774, the year of the "Fête Pavilion," is an important landmark in Robert Adam's career.

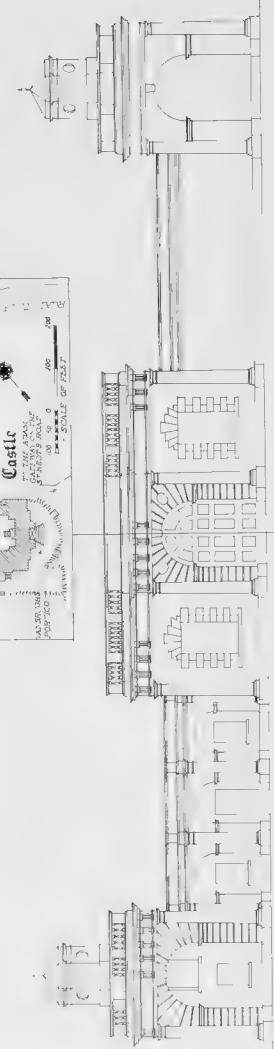
Of 1766, there is a plan for a village at Whitehaven for Sir James Lowther, afterwards first Earl Lonsdale (No. 69, Vol. XXXIII), which shows a vast lay-out of single storey cottages surrounding a 100ft. circular "place," with a central market house. With this centre are connected two other "places," each of a Greek cross plan. This scheme was apparently built, as Richard Warner, in his "Tour through the Northern Countries" (1802), gives the following account. He says that they stopped near the new village of Lowther "to smile at the fantastical incongruity of its plan, which exhibits the grandest features of city architecture, the Circus, the Crescent, and the Square, upon the mean scale of a peasant's cottage. These groupes of houses were built for the labourers of Lord Lonsdale, but from their desolate deserted appearance it should seem that no sufficient encouragement had been held out to their inhabitants to continue in them. In the adjoining carpet manufactory, belonging to Lord Lonsdale, and carried on for his exclusive use, we were gratified with the sight of some exquisite work in this line: the produce of the joint labour of Mr. Bloom and his apprentice. These carpets are worked in frames, in the manner of tambour, and their surface afterwards sheared. Nothing can exceed the beauty of their patterns, the brightness of their colours, and the strength of their texture; but these advantages are well paid for since the cost of one only 16 x 24, if sold, would be 350 guineas. Mr. Bloom was then employed about one worth £500."⁶⁵ Lowther Hall was seen to the right of the road on which they were travelling. Immense castle designs were made in the following two or three years by Robert Adam for Sir James Lowther, but very little appears to have been accomplished. It seems probable that this was the beginning of Adam's incursions in the "Castle Style."

In 1767 began the important house building at Luton Hoo,⁶⁶ for the Earl of Bute. Adam, in publishing the second part of the "Works," places this house first and writes, "We are happy in having this opportunity of expressing to the world that gratitude which we never ceased to feel, for the protection, favour and friendship with which we have always been honoured by his

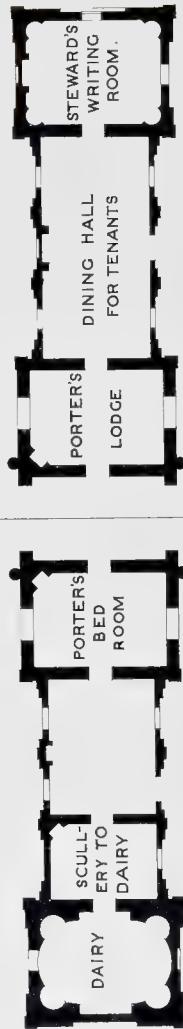
GATEWAY FOR KIMBOLTON CASTLE,
HUNTINGDONSHIRE. FOR HIS GRACE
THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER.
ROBERT ADAM, BEFORE 1766.



NOTE. DESIGNED AS
AN APPROACH TO
VANBRUGH'S MASSIVE
DORIC TREATMENT
TO THE OLD HOUSE
1707-9?



ELEVATION OF GATE HOUSE & SCREEN



PLAN

ARMSTRONG, SOLICITOR & S.A.
FRED. ADAMS, PUBLISHER,
SALISBURY, 1822.

Lordship." In view of the great unpopularity into which Earl Bute had now fallen, this manly tribute does honour to Robert Adam.

From the character of his remarks in his "Preface" to the Luton plates, Adam evidently felt that this house was a landmark in the development of the style of his own day. His description implies that the earlier work of the preceding ten years had now reached the public, and was being incorporated into the general stock of the ideas of the time.

Luton Hoo, about a mile out of Luton, which, though in Bedfordshire, is like an enclave taken out of Hertfordshire, was known as the manor of Hoo from a family of that name, prior to the conquest. Sir Robert Napier purchased the property in 1601, and from the Napier family it passed without occupation to a Mr. Herne, who shortly after sold it again to the Earl of Bute in 1762. The house on the site was an old brick mansion, built by the Napiers, and it had probably little importance. It was, however, destined to play a great part in hampering the full development of Robert Adam's new creation for the Earl of Bute.

The property was sold in 1844 by the Bute family, and the house has since been entirely reconstructed. In view, however, of the importance of Luton as a stage in the development of Robert Adam's style, it is illustrated here from the "Works."

"The capital to the screen of Greek columns in the great stairs is also new. These having

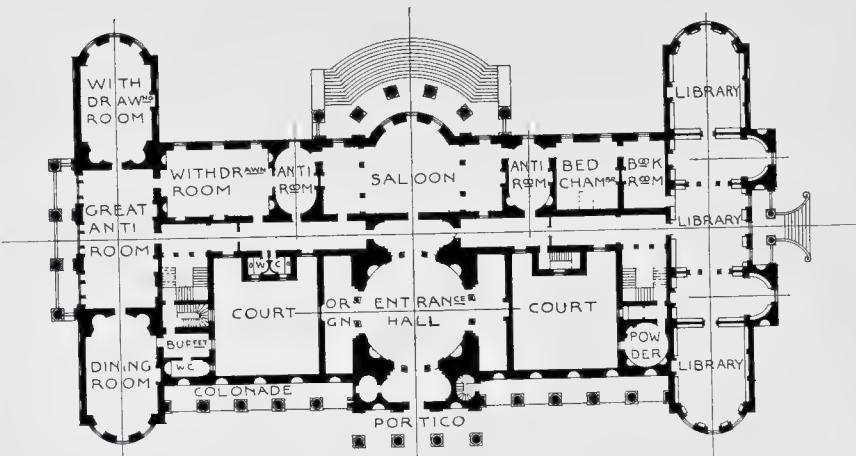


KIMBOLTON CASTLE: THE GATE HOUSE, BY ROBERT ADAM.

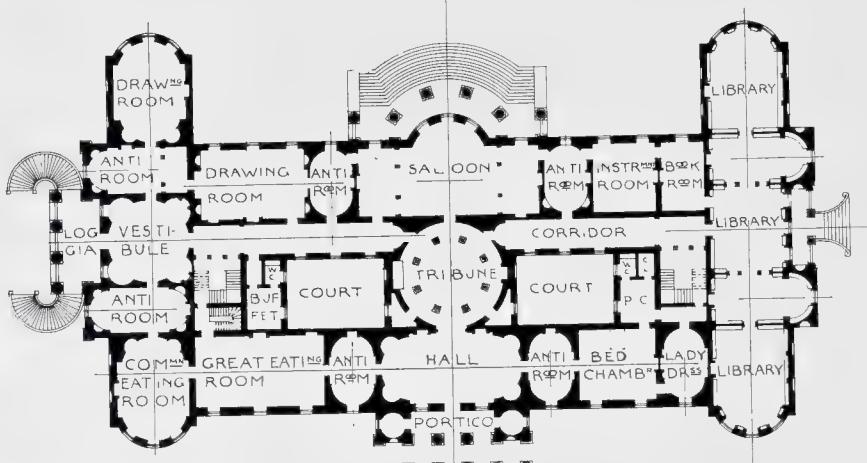
been very closely imitated in various places, particularly in the Pantheon in Oxford Street, show the approbation they have met with from the public."

The third part of Vol. I of Adam's "Works," published 1775, was, of course, written subsequent to the opening of James Wyatt's masterpiece in January, 1772, and too much has been made by Horace Walpole and others of this mild protest against the extensive Adam copyism that was current at the time, as may be seen in Stratford Place (1771), Boodle's (1775) and elsewhere. Robert Adam, while giving (plate 8, part 3, 1775), "Designs of different pieces of furniture done for this House" (*i.e.*, Luton), makes the interesting comment that "the stove-grate designed and executed for his Lordship in the year 1768, as it was the first decorated in this manner, seems to have given the idea of those in this form which now prevail so much both in public and private buildings." This remark would seem to imply a slow progress in the finishings at Kedleston, which still retains a great variety of grates of this Adam type, all of which are of different design. Of Luton, Adam also says that, "The cornices for window-curtains, with a great variety of other

LUTON PARK BEDFORDSHIRE
 THE EARL OF BUTE
 PLANS FOR AND OF THE PRINCIPAL STORY
 ROBERT ADAM ARCHITECT 1771 AND 1772



THE PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL STORY OF LUTON 1772



PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL STORY FIRST INTENDED TO BE EXECUTED 1771.

SCALE OF FEET

designs for this purpose, which we shall have occasion to give hereafter, were intended as an attempt to banish the absurd French compositions of this kind, heretofore so servilely imitated by the upholsterers of this country." This is the claim of having reformed interior architecture in England which Sir John Soane, R.A., later on so fully endorsed. Of the design of the house itself we are told that "The alterations of the plan, from what was originally intended, have produced a singular effect upon this (the principal) front, in which, there being no apartments, and consequently no windows required except in the bows towards each end, that circumstance has permitted the introducing a kind of exterior decoration, which resembles that of a publick work rather than of a private building, and gives an air of dignity and grandeur, of which few dwelling-houses are susceptible."

There are a great number of drawings for the house in the Soane Collection, starting with survey plans dated 1764. The design was probably settled between 1766 and 1768, when his Lordship went abroad⁶⁶ and the work must have been fairly complete by his return. An interesting letter,^{66A} to another friend and client of Robert Adam's, reveals Bute in the unexpected character of an amateur architect.

The Earl of Bute to Baron Mure.

London, February 25, 1772.

I have sketched out my idea of a house for you, on the principle of those in town, with a *Mezzanine* story, which in my opinion is worth half a house.

Nesmith has not drawn it neatly, but it will show my meaning. The staircase is particular; but having seen it executed in Italy, I know its good effect. I put kitchen, bakehouse, etc., in the sub-basement story, out of economy; but they would be better in small wings on either side, which may be done without affecting the *Mezzanine* windows, that are, I think 18.0 above ground. This, joined to 13.6, height of the sunk story and floor, gives 31.6 more than would be wanted.

In my rough way of calculation that I mentioned to you, by the square, it comes to £4,500, decently finished, allowing £70 per square.

If you dislike the *Mezzanine* omit it; add 3.0 to your principal story, and four to your garrets; that will then be an excellent attic; tho' I think you would then lose the essential part of the building.

If you build, I present you with my labours; if not, pay me for my plan. It goes by Sir Alexander Gilmour in a tin case, sealed.

Adam's plans for a house for Baron Mure's seat at Caldwell are given on page 132 and are chiefly remarkable for their practical character. Evidently the client was a shrewd business man, one on whom Robert relied for advice in the Adelphi crisis.

From the accounts of visitors it appears that the design for Luton House was never completed.⁶⁷ Dutens, in 1773, visiting Lord Bute at Luton, 1775, writes: "In a short time he had built a superb house there, the plan of which was a double 'T.'" In particular he notices the library, 150ft. by 40ft. and 20ft. high, containing 30,000 books, and the Botanical Garden.

Fortunately there is a good descriptive account of a visit by the Duchess of Portland and Mrs. Delany to Luton Hoo, September 5, 1774. Dealing first of all with the position and the grounds, Mrs. Delany makes the caustic comment that, from the point of view of the house, "It would be better if there were a greater command of the river, and if Mr. Brown had not turned all the deer *out of the park*."

The house, tho' not entirely finished according to the plan, is very handsome and convenient; but, as part of the old house still remains, it does not appear to advantage, nor is the best front completed; & this makes it very difficult to describe, as there is no regular entrance. You go in at the hall of the old house; from thence to a parlour, then into a large dining room, all this the old house. You then go up some steps, cross a stone staircase, which leads you to a gallery, or rather passage, from which you go into an anteroom. On the left a large Drawing Room with a coved ceiling, on the right a very fine Saloon,⁶⁸ with a large bow window opposite the chimney. The room is 64ft. by 24ft. in the bow; 33ft. wide, 20ft. high. Out of the Saloon you go through two small rooms⁶⁹ with cases of MSS., over which are cork models of Roman ruins. Then into the Library . . . It is in effect, three or five rooms, one very large one well proportioned in the middle, each end divided off by pillars, in which recesses are chimneys: & a large square room at each end, which, when the doors are open, make it appear one large room or gallery. I never saw so magnificent & so pleasant a Library, extremely well lighted & nobly furnished with everything that can inform & entertain men of learning & virtue.

The only objection to the house is 42 stone steps⁷⁰ which you must ascend whenever you go up to the lodging apartments. When you are there there is no fault to find, as they are fine rooms and very commodious; five complete apartments, a bed-chamber, two dressing rooms, & rooms over head⁷¹ for a man & a maid servant to each. One of these apartments is Lord & Lady Bute's, & four for strangers. . . Above is the attic, with as many apartments as complete, but not as lofty. The furniture well suited to all. The beds damask, & rich satin, green, blue, & crimson; mine was white satin. The rooms hung with plain paper, suited to the colour of the beds, except mine which was peagreen, & so is the whole apartment below stairs. The curtains, chairs & sofas, are all plain satin. Every room filled with pictures, many capital ones; & a handsome screen hangs by each fireside, with the plan of the room, & with the names of the painters. The chimney pieces in good taste; no extravagances of fancy; indeed, throughout the house that is avoided. Fine frames to the pictures, but very little gilding besides, & the ceilings elegant, and not loaded with ornament. A great variety of fine vases, Foreign & English, & marble tables.

A feature which Mrs. Delany particularly remembered was a clock organ which could play for an hour and a half with one wind, the music being Handel, Geminiani and Corelli. It was of

vast size and had many stops. There is still an organ in the hall at Newby, which perhaps is of the same type.

From the above it is evident that of Adam's scheme only the centre of the garden front, and the right hand wing containing the library, had been built in 1774. Mrs. Delany's account can be followed exactly, if it is understood that the old house still occupied the site of the intended circular hall shown on Adam's plan. The left-hand wing, with dining-room, great ante-room and withdrawing-room had also been omitted, and formed the unbuilt portion of the plan.

On November 4th, 1775, Isabella Elliot writes to Hugh Elliot⁷²: "Luton is the finest and most expensive palace I ever saw, pictures, & every other refinement of taste that can be collected, but it shows plainly that these things are no way conducive to cheerfulness, or happiness, as it is a kind of melancholy grandeur that is inexpressible. He himself struck me very much, he is now the gayest of the family, & amuses himself with his Library, & Vertu, & seems to have in a degree forgot past times, but has a sort of horror of all the world, and we are the only visitors, except his own family, that have seen this magnificent fabric."

Six years later, on Monday, June 4, 1781, a lively visitor, the intrusive James Boswell, accompanied the elder Dilly, brother of the publishers in the Poultry, and Squire of Southill, on a visit to Luton Hoo with Dr. Johnson, Boswell having obtained a ticket through Lord Bute's eldest son :

As we entered the Park, I talked in a high style of my old friendship with Lord Mountstuart, and said, "I shall probably be much at this place." The Sage, aware of human vicissitudes gently checked me: "Don't you be too sure of that." He made two or three peculiar observations: as when shown the botanical Garden, "Is not every garden a botanical garden?" When



Robert Adam, Architect, 1771.

T. Miller, Sculpt., Published June, 1774.

ELEVATION OF THE PRINCIPAL OR WEST FRONT OF LUTON PARK HOUSE.

(One of the Seats of the Earl of Bute)



Robert Adam, Architect, 1767.

Newton, Sculpt., Published Jun , 1774

ELEVATION OF THE EAST FRONT OF LUTON PARK HOUSE TOWARDS THE RIVER.

(Extending 244 feet.)

told that there was a shrubbery to the extent of several miles : " That is making a very foolish use of the ground ; a little of it is very well." . . . He said, " this is one of the places I do not regret having come to see. It is a very stately place, indeed ; in the house magnificence is not sacrificed to convenience, nor convenience to magnificence. The library is very splendid ; the dignity of the rooms is very great ; and the quantity of pictures is beyond expectation, beyond hope."

This was an ample amends to Robert Adam for the onslaught made by the great Cham of Literature on Kedleston, the fact being, of course, that it was the extravagant nature of Paine's original scheme of that house which had aroused the fundamental common sense of Johnson and caused the utterance of his well known and weighty criticism. Robert Adam, however, was at all times a great house builder, and all his own plans are most remarkable in this respect, especially when we consider that he was following immediately upon the age of Holkham, Houghton and other characteristic early Georgian attempts at an unsuitable scale of grandeur and magnificence in the domain of domestic architecture.

Robert Adam, who had been appointed architect to the King in 1762, resigned that position in 1768⁷³ on becoming a Member of Parliament for Kinross.

The Adelphi scheme was at this time, also, being somewhat hastily launched. An undertaking which was destined to affect his fortunes very deeply, both for good and ill.

Before, however, taking leave of this period of Robert Adam's career, a glimpse of his private life at about this time is given us by Carlyle, who, with his uncle, was in London from February 11 to the end of March, 1769. He had come up to oppose the extension of the window tax to Scotland. " Though our residence was at my sister's in Aldermanbury, as I had occasion frequently to dine late in the West End of the town, I then lodged in New Bond Street with my aunt, and resorted often at supper to Robert Adam's,⁷⁴ whose sisters were very agreeable, and where we had the latest news from the House of Commons, of which he was a member, and which he told us in the most agreeable manner, and with very lively comments."

Pursuing his mirage of a grand and dominating building, Robert Adam may well have hoped that, failing a Royal Palace, a new Houses of Parliament, or a Palace of Justice, might be hoped for. The bold venture of the Adelphi was calculated to impress the public



Robert Adam, Architect, 1767.

T. Vivares, Sculpt., Published June 1774.

ELEVATION OF THE NORTH END OF LUTON PARK HOUSE.



Robert Adam, Architect, 1767.

T. Vivares, Sculpt., Published June 1774.

ELEVATION OF THE SOUTH END OF LUTON PARK HOUSE.

of the building.

imagination in a way which might secure the lasting fame of the Brethren. For all its disasters it has in fact achieved this very result, for, to the public mind, Adam and the Adelphi are even now inseparable terms.

The work seems to have poured in from 1768 onwards, and it becomes almost impossible to keep count of the amazing practice of the Adelphi Brethren. In the next chapter, therefore, we will turn to a consideration of the character of Robert Adam's work and of his ideas on architecture, before setting out upon a detailed consideration of his principal achievements in the several chapters devoted to his leading works.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II.

¹ As the entry is alphabetical it must have been made up at the end of the session

^{1a} On back of (147) Vol. ix is "Copy letter to Barazzi, Banker, Rome about Piranesi's print and dedication of the *Campus Martius* at Rome." London, Jan'y. 25. 1758. "(Letter is missing). "The *Campus Martius*," by Piranesi, Rome, 1762

^{1b} A pencil sketch (first idea for Whitehall screen?) (185) in Vol. ix, has on back an address, as, "for Mr. Adam, near Mount Coffee House, Lower Grosvenor Street."

² "William Adam, merchant, York Street, St. James Square." Society of Arts, May 10, 1762. Proposed by Mr. Pogle, this entry is probably not that of the fourth brother

³ A. C. "Auto," page 293, etc.

⁴ Carlyle already had met Eva Violetta, the dancer from Vienna on her first voyage to England. She married David Garrick, June 22, 1719. Garrick's first appearance in London was on October 19, 1719, at the Goodman's Fields theatre

⁵ The Ghost of D. G. emerges from the tunnel in a dark blue coat, bound with gold braid, a small cocked hat edged with lace, and a white waistcoat, free and open

⁶ There is a pencil sketch-design by Robert Adam, undated, for an alcove seat for the garden, which bears a note, evidently written by himself as follows: "Mrs. Garrick wished to have a small seat for the lawn behind the house at Hampton. Could not one be made with the whole ornament cast of Lizard to put upon a nine inch wall of brick and stucco" (Vol. xxi, page 125.) The design has a rather theatrical air with its festooned curtains to an opening about 6ft. wide, flanked by coupled Doric pilasters, or columns, with statues on a plinth of about 3ft. Above there is a cresting of sphinxes and vases, the whole structure being about 11ft. wide by 10ft. high. There is nothing to show whether it was ever carried out

⁷ The O. P. riots followed in 1761 upon these alterations

^{7a} D. G. had been elected a freeman of the Borough, Oct. 11, 1768, and the form was sent May 3, 1769. His Ode for the Jubilee was set to music by Dr. Arne.

⁸ The account in the *Scots Magazine* was written by Boswell, whose exertions at the Festival bordered on the ludicrous. D. G. and B. were in fact the two live men of the occasion

⁹ Garrick's statue of Shakespeare, by Roubiliac (d. 1762), which is now in the British Museum, has 1758 cut on it. It is in marble and costs 300 guineas. D. G. himself is said to have posed for the figure. H. W. Letters, Vol. iii, page 329, August, 1755

¹⁰ In 1763. An entry in the rate book. "D. G. pays £3 5s. 6d. now on each rate," marks an increase in the extent of his Hampton property. (Quoted in Ripley)

¹¹ In the R. A. Exhibition, 1771. "Two views of Mr. Garrick's seat at Hampton, by Mr. J. Barralet." Judging by other exhibits he was a painter

¹² "D. G. Correspondence," Vol. i, page 287

¹³ Margaret Carlyle brought up at Dumfries by her aunt, Mrs. Bell. She married in London in 1758. Dr. Thomas Jackson, M.D., nephew of George Bell, her uncle. He had studied medicine and had met Carlyle at Leyden in 1745, where he took his degree in 1746. "A very honest fellow, but rather dull, and a bad student." In London, 1746; Dumfries, 1755. Appointed physician, London Hospital, May, 1759, which post he held for twenty-five years. Died of consumption, June 1, 1784. "A. C. Auto," page 59, 185 and 215.

¹⁴ Carlyle's father's sister married Mr. Lyon of Easter O'Gill, a branch of the Strathmore family. Captain Lyon of the Horse Guards, Carlyle's cousin married Lady Catherine Brydges, a daughter of the Marquess of Carnarvon, and grandchild of the Duke of Chandos. They were living in New Bond Street in 1746. He died in 1754, and his widow married Mr. Stanhope. Her eldest sister married Captain Laterson who was living in the Bannockburn family, cousin of Sir Hugh Paterson. These two aunts of Carlyle lived together, and Captain Lyon was also living next door to them. "A. C. Auto," page 194

¹⁵⁻¹⁶ Sixth son of Sir John C. of Pennineck Bt., Baron of Scots Exchequer, 1707-55, who married Janet Inglis, daughter of Sir John Inglis of Crannond. (Chamber's Bio. Dict. Em. Scots) In Part 2, Vol. ii, page 23, of the Caldwell Papers, it is stated that Drysdale Minister in Edinburgh married a sister of Adam, the architect. "An accomplished prudent woman." Drysdale was recommended by Robertson, to take charge of Lord Percy, as "a sensible, well bred man of a good temper and an excellent scholar." This was in March, 1754.

¹⁷ "Here is Fred who was alive and is dead," etc. Born 1707, died March 20, 1751. Married 1736. Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, who died 1772. His eldest son George William Frederick (1738-1820), after George III, was created P. of W. 1751

¹⁸ See Index of Chents. Lord Melcombe

¹⁹ Letters of Mary Lepel, Lady Hervey, 1781, page 272

²⁰ Born 1713. Educated for Bar. Married 1743, Lady Francis Wemyss daughter of Earl of Wemyss, and sister of Lord Elcho in 1745 while residing in Edinburgh was involved in the rising. Escaped to France, 1763, allowed to return. Pardon, 1771. Died at Coltness, 1780. Author of "Inquiry into Principles of Political Economy"

²¹ Lord Chatham. 1708-78. Pitt's letter to Beckford, "I resigned the seals on Monday, the 5th of this month (October, 1761), in order not to remain responsible for measures which I was no longer allowed to guide."

²² Page 260. "Historical Memoirs of My Own Time, 1772-84." Sir N. W. Wraxall Bt. Ed. by R. Askham, Ln. Oct. 1904.

²³ "H. W. Letters" Vol. v, page 301. Pinkerton, in his "Walpoliana," makes Walpole, in his old age, say "Lord Bute was my schoolfellow. He was a man of taste and science, and I do believe his intentions were good. He wished to blend and unite all parties." Further explaining that the Whigs, intoxicated with past successes, were not willing to share their power

²⁴ Apparently John Home, Robertson, Carlyle and Robert Adam. Robertson and Carlyle had agreed before setting out on this call to stay an extra day, if asked to dinner. It is not clear if James Adam was also present. "A. C. Auto," page 375.

²⁵ Lord Bute had also a Marine Villa, Highcliffe, at Christchurch, Hants, for which, perhaps, he made the plans himself. His death took place in the same year (1792) as those of Lord North, Robert Adam, and Sir Joshua Reynolds

²⁶ Hailed by Boswell as a mighty patron until he lapsed into "The brutal fellow." See J. B. Letters to the Rev. Temple. Carlyle, who tells us that he had heard many stories of Lowther, adds that "he was a madman, too influential to be locked up."

²⁶ Page 237, Vol. III. "Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay." Edited by her niece 1842.

²⁷ July, 1763. H. W. visit and comment. "Most magnificently trist, and has all the formality of the Comptons. I should admire it if I could see out of it, or anything in it, but there is scarcely any furniture, and the bad little panes of glass exclude all objects." "H. W. Letters," Vol. v, page 351. Previous references above. Vol. iv, page 268, and Vol. v, page 338.

²⁸ There is an unsigned plan of the principal floor of the house dated May 2, 1759, on which certain pencil alterations are almost certainly by Robert Adam. The author of the plan itself remains unknown.

²⁹ Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, would also be a friend, see Carlyle's "Auto," page 353. Boscowen took command of the Mediterranean 1759. See Chapter on Hatchlands.

^{30A} "Letter of Wm. Adam." See Note below (63B).

³⁰ H. M., 1701-86, appointed 1740, British resident in Florence. Maintained forty years correspondence with H. W. Never returned to England, but died in Florence November 17, 1786, buried at Linton, in Kent, to which he had succeeded on death of elder brother in 1755, when he was created Baronet, and K.C.B. 1768. The father was a successful London merchant who bought Linton and erected a small, but elegant seat on the site of the old mansion of Capell's Court. He died 1751. H. M.'s sister, Catherine, married Cornwallis, Bishop of Lichfield. H. W. Letters, Vol. iv, page 411.

³¹ Joseph Wilton, born London 1722, father a stuccoist. J. W. was pupil of Delvaux at Nivelles. 1744 Paris, 1747 Italy, eight years Rome and Florence, staying at H. Mann's house. Won Papal Gold Medal 1755. Return with Chambers and Cipriani. 1768 Director Duke of Richmond's gallery for students, opened in February in garden room of his house in Whitehall. State Coach for George III. 1760, Wolfe monument in Abbey at cost of £3,000. 1768 R. A. Later keeper and librarian, Studio, Queen Anne Street, now Foley Place. His daughter, admired by Johnson, married Sir Robert Chambers (lawyer). J. W. died 1803. Principal works, statues and monuments also chimneypieces, etc.

³² Sir Wm. Chambers, R.A.

³³ Diary of a journey to England, 1761-62, by Count Frederick Kielmansegge.

³⁴ Dutens "Ami des Etrangers," 1789; new edition, 1794. "The Drawing Room decorated by fine pictures by Angelica Kauffmann and ornamented by the richest productions of the arts, only needs to be seen to be admired."

³⁵ "A. C. Auto," page 391. On his visit to Alnwick, May, 1758, he says, "Alnwick Castle had not then been repaired or beautified." John Wesley, May 21, 1766, says, "We spent an hour in the Castle and gardens where the Duke raised to the highest rank of the peerage this year, is enlarging and improving daily, and turning into a little paradise. What a pity that he must leave this and die like a common man!" Wesley's *Journals*, Curnock, Vol. v. "Tour to the Western Highlands, 1787" (Shaw, Stebbing), Oct., London, 1788, page 216.

³⁶ One Robert Adam pedigree drawing is dated 1777. The account in the "Beauties of England," 1777, implies that all the work was finished.

³⁷ Hightown is a chalk plateau about two miles out of Hitchin on the way to Hexton. The ascent is sharp and the view, whether to north or south is very fine. On the northern face in a ledge is a small Elizabethan house of Clunck, built in 1504, and added to in 1613. The heiress of the Docwra family married Warburton, who sold the property to Radcliffe. The most probable site of the intended Adam house is a commanding position on the edge of the plateau, where there is now a plantation.

³⁸ R. A. Letter to Sir N. Curzon, Bt., quoted in *Country Life* Kedleston articles, 1914. "It gives me great pleasure to hear that Grosvenor has done the alabaster capitals so well. I hope if he is now convinced of his former erroneous way he will improve every day when he sees the difference between the Simplicity and Elegance of the ancient manner from the confusion and littleness of the present style."

³⁹ Wm. Dodd, born 1729, at Bourne, Lincolnshire, where his father was Vicar. Educated, Clare College, Cambridge. Married at 21. Ordained at 24, and at once became a popular preacher. (Note in Curnock's *Wesley's Journal*, Vol. v, page 196).

⁴⁰ H. W. Letters, Vol. iv, page 347. "The chapel is small and low, but neat, hung with Gothic paper, and tablets of benefactions." Dodd had a house on Hounslow Heath (see Hawkins' "Johnson," page 434). According to Dodd's "Account of the Present State of the Magdalen Charity," 1761, it was started in 1758, and opened in Prescott Street, the Earl of Hertford being President and Lord Romney one of the Vice-Presidents. In 1769 the charity was incorporated and the hospital commenced on 6½ acres of St. George's Common fields, now Grosvenor Place.

⁴¹ Carlyle's visit. See "Auto," page 528.

⁴² H. W. Letters, Vol. iv, pages 43 and 122-3.

⁴³ This house was burnt December, 1791. Richmond Terrace, Whitehall, built about 1828, occupies, in part, the site

⁴⁴ Rigby to Lord Ossory, December 6, 1770. "Lord Holland has sold 'Piccadilly House' to Lord Melbourne, and it is to be called 'Melbourne House.'" 1771. 74 is given as the date of Melbourne House as built by Sir W. Chambers, which is now "The Albany." Adam's Plan for Lord Holland has survived, thanks to a copy made by Chambers, and preserved with the latter's drawings in the Soane collection. Chambers' estimate £30,000 and £20,000 extra, grew into an outlay of £100,000, including £16,000 given for the old house and site and the furnishing. Vol. ii, page 204. Mrs. Bellamy "Memoirs." Lady Holland speaks of "coming to our new house in Piccadilly," May 1, 1764. Le Roi's book, 1758. Stuart's *Athenae*, 1762. (1st Vol. only.)

⁴⁵ "H. W. Letters," Vol. v, page 75.

⁴⁶ Pococke "Tour," Vol. II, page 42. "Witham is a large house, but a low situation. The old chapel and some of the nunnery remain. Lord Egremont has lately removed all his furniture from it not proposing to live there any more. The park rises finely." ("H. W. Letters," Vol. III, page 280.)

⁴⁷ In the Caldwell Papers the name is given as Mure, and he is described as Baron Mure of Caldwell's uncle, and as an unsuccessful candidate for Galloway Burghs, 1761, against Captain Keith Stewart, brother of the Earl of Galloway.

⁴⁸ Henry Home, son of George Home of Kames, County Berwick, born 1696, Advocate 1723. Vol. of "Decisions," published 1728. Married, 1724, Agatha Drummond of Drummond Blair, Perth. "Essays," 1751; "Elements of Criticism," in three Vols., 1762. Appointed Judge April, 1763. Succeeded to Blair Drummond estates 1776. Died December 27, 1782. "Chambers Bio. Dict., E. S." R. A. letter in Appendix (Vol. II, page 50). "of Memoirs, Life, etc., Lord Kames," by A. F. Tytler, 2 vols., 4to, Ednbs., 1806.

⁴⁹ Probably R. A. had in mind the Admiralty Screen, Bowood Mausoleum, and, perhaps, the design for Goodwood

⁵⁰ This must have been only a passing phase of R. A.'s opinions, as it is safe to say that most of his designs are in the Ionic, like Mamhead, Newlston, etc.

⁵¹ See James Adam's Tour, 1760-61. A diary partly published in the "Library of the Fine Arts." Vol. II, Nos. 9 and 10, Oct. and Nov., 1831. Arnold, publisher. MS. has been lost.

⁵² "Building, I am told is the King's favourite study; I hope our architects will not be taken from the erectors of turnpikes": Horace Walpole, January 3, 1761. "H. W. Letters," Vol. v, page 16. Compare with this Gwynn's. "How different is the state of this noble art at this time when carpenters, masons, or upholsterers whose utmost knowledge is the price of timber, the value of stone, or the goodness of ticking and feathers, have the superintendence of those works in which elegance of design ought only to be consulted." Gwynn complains of the "borrowed title of Surveyors," and states that he had been asked to meet "a coffin maker." "London and Westminster Improved," John Gwynn, 1766.

⁵³ The interior, etc., is illustrated in *Country Life*, January 13, 1912. Sir James Thornhill (1675-1734), painted the frescoes and has been described as the architect, but the design, etc., was really by Leoni.

⁵⁴ Possibly Doddsley's fifth volume is later than the printed date, but the text says, "Now Lord Anson," otherwise it might be taken that the colonnade was there before and that Adam only altered it.

⁵⁵ See Leslie and Taylor's "Life of Reynolds" on the same point, and in relation to Angelica Kauffmann, who came to London in 1765 under the protection of Lady Wentworth. It is curious that no record of any relations between Reynolds and Robert Adam appears to exist. Wilkes is stated to have been an intimate of Reynolds, and through Garrick he may have had some slight connection with the Adams, subject, however, to his early verbal indiscretions against the Scots.

⁵⁶ "Memoirs of Richard Cumberland," written by himself, 4to, London, 1806, page 144.

OUTLINE OF THE EARLY PERIOD.

⁵⁴ The following extract from the Corporation records has been kindly made for me by Mr. Thomas Thurlow of High Wycombe. The Burrough of Chepping Wycombe in the County of Bucks, this eleventh day of August, 1761. "Be it remembered that at a Common Council duly summoned and then held and mett at this Guild Hall in the said Burrough has ordered that the New Shambles be built in the Hog Market within the said Burrough according to the design of Mr. Robert Adams, Architect by us whose names are hereunto set and subscribed being the Mayor and major part of the said Council. Richard Welles, Mayor, Thos Shrimpton, Sam Welles, Thomas Rose, James Price, Will Morton, William Ruff."

⁵⁵ Dashwood was a leading member 1736 and Arch Master 1746.

⁵⁶ Condemned in the King's Bench February 21, 1764

⁵⁷ Created Baron Melcombe 1761. Died April, 1762. He bequeathed his house at Hammersmith, by Morris and Servandoni, to Thomas Wyndham. Adam made important designs for a garden room there in 1762. J. H. Servandoni, of Lyons (1695 1766), was principal scene painter for the Opera and architect of the façade of St. Sulpice (1733-45) at Paris.

⁵⁸ "Rainyday" Smith says, page 57, 1761, "an excellent half sheet engraving after a drawing made by J. Donowell published this year represents Marylebone Gardens probably in their fullest splendour." Probably J. D. was not actually an architect at all.

⁵⁹ A. Caracci, painter (1560-1609), Antonio Allegri da Correggio (1494-1534). Both figure in Reynold's discourses

⁶⁰ "Passages from the diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys" (1756-1808). Edit. E. J. Climenso, 1899, page 155. "The house which we first saw is nothing remarkable tho' very habita'bly good; you enter it sideways through a portico,—odd and uncommonly pleasing, some good pictures, the gardens and park pretty, those and the houses much improved since we were here before." Dated, 1775. Vpparently the previous visit was in May, 1767, when the church is described. See page 117

⁶¹ It has been also claimed by Nicholas Revett, but only at a late date and no authority is given.

⁶² "Caldwell Papers," Part II, Vol. I, page 179. Sir Sidney Meadows, mentioned below, was a famous Master of horses. See Angelo's "Reminiscences," Vol. II, page 140. His Riding House faced Half Moon Street and his own house was at the corner of Bolton Street, Piccadilly

⁶³ Letters to Sir John Sinclair, Bt., respecting Edinburgh in 1763 by Wm. Creech, 1793. Pamphlet.

⁶⁴ A ceiling drawing for Bowood, however, might be held to imply that he had returned by June, 1763. The month, however, has been written in at some later time over a month or an initial (?) which is now indecipherable. It is doubtful if he could have got back so quickly. James was proposed by Sir Thomas Robinson, Governor of Barbadoes and a Commissioner of Excise, at the Society of Arts on the 11th and elected on the 18th of January, 1764, and gave his address as Grosvenor Street; but there can be no doubt it was the same house as Roberts, in Lower Grosvenor Street

⁶⁵ "H. W. Letters," Vol. V, page 336. A curious passing note on the back of a rough sketch (Vol. IX, page 230) records the high-spirited young architect's elation. It must have been made at the end of 1760 or the beginning of 1761; it is as follows: "The Bishop of St. Asaph says the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Lincoln, Lord Holderness, Duke of Leeds and that the Duke of Portland is engaged to Bob de la chaise of the watercolours." Thomas Pelham Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle, resigned May 28, 1762. Lord Lincoln, would be the Earl of Lincoln, his nephew-at-law, and successor as second duke. Robert Darcy, 4th Earl of Holderness, one of the two Secretaries of State, was dismissed March, 1761. He had a house near Sion. See "Count K.'s Visit" (page 54). "Tapestry and a mantelpiece of Carrara marble, with yellow pillars of the same, the workmanship of which cannot be surpassed." Thos. Osborne, 4th Duke of Leeds, was Collector of the Household and lost this post at the same time. William Bentinck, born 1709, the 2nd Duke of Portland, died May 1, 1762. His daughter was one of the bridesmaids at the King's marriage, September, 1761. Evidently in 1759-60 Robert was visiting his works, in hand and projected, by chance. The large watercolour for Kedleston Bridge, 1st design, Vol. XL (41), is dated 1761; the second design, in three arches as built (?) is dated May, 1763. Obviously, Adam's note is previous to the overthrow of Pitt and Newcastle and the coming in of Lord Bute. The Bishop of St. Asaph (1748 to May 1761), was the Hon^{ble} Robert Hay Drummond, D.D. (1711-1776) (See Index of Chents.)

⁶⁶ Vol. VII, page 110. On back of a schedule to a site plan of old Houses of Parliament. Part of a letter from William Adam junior in London (?) to James Adam in Italy (?). "Contradictory to what I last wrote you is from learning that the Levant in the winter season is not less liable to storms than any other sea. I shoud therefore think it advisable for you to make all the dispatch you can if you are resolved to go there this season. I suspect the pictures by the Mercury had been hurt before they were put on board of that ship, perhaps in the carriage to Civetta Vecchia or from that to Leghorn as the case seemed in perfect good order when delivered here and the Capt assures me that it was absolutely impossible for them to have reed any wett in his ship. I have received by last post a further remittance from Jolune on Cooper for £900 on your acc^t as you will see by the state of your draft that all the former supply is exhausted. The Ordinance have been very long of paying him his money this year, which amounts to above 8 thousand. I am always most sincerely and unalterably yours, W. A. We have been in expectation of a letter from You by this day's mail but it has brought none."

⁶⁷ H. W. Letters, Vol. V, 336

⁶⁸ Edwin Lascelles returned from Paris August, 1765. G. W. to G. S. August 22, 1765. See Jesse's "Selwyn Correspondence." Horace Walpole was in Paris September, 1765, to April, 1766. He notices (Vol. VI, page 392) that "In their dress and equipages they are grown very simple. We English are living upon their old gods and goddesses. I roll about in a chariot decorated with cupids and look like the grandfather of Adonis?" David Hume and Richardson were the fashion, and the mania extended even to the garden. "Their houses in town are all white and gold and looking glass; I never know one from another." H. W. Letters, Vol. VI, page 298, same page 47, "à la Grecque" rage at Paris (1764). Wilkes (after his outlawry), Sterne and Foote were all in Paris 1765. Sterne attributes the "enmity" of his day in France to a too great similarity of character and an absence of individuality amongst Frenchmen.

⁶⁹ "The History of Luton" by Fred Davis (1855), says that a fire in 1771 destroyed the old mansion. He also states that in 1843 another fire destroyed "all except the Library" (built in 1707).

⁷⁰ Lord Bute went to Italy July, 1768, and was in Venice October, 1770. His stay abroad was marked by great retirement

⁷¹ "Caldwell Papers," Part II, Vol. I, page 195

⁷² W. H. Leeks in 1842 states that "it has since been altered by Smirke." For Dutens, see "Memoirs of a Traveller," Vol. III, page 113, and "Amis des Etrangers en Angleterre," 1787 (new ed., 1794), page 164. He fancies that Luton was built after the model of the Palazzo del T. Mantua

⁷³ In the centre of the garden front.

⁷⁴ Probably the corridor, 10ft. wide, behind the bed-chamber, etc.

⁷⁵ Probably a double revolution of the stairs (see plan)

⁷⁶ Probably a servant's mezzanine bedroom over the dressing rooms, the bedrooms being very lofty. Mrs. Delany "Auto. and Correspondence," Vol. II, 2nd series, page 33, 1862 edition.

⁷⁷ Memoirs, Rt Hon. Hugh Elliot (1752-1820). By the Countess of Minto, 1808

⁷⁸ R. A. Exhibition, 1760. Catalogue entry. "Wm Chambers, Knight of the Polar Star, Comptroller General of the Works to the King, Architect to the Queen and H.R.H. the Princess Dowager of Wales, and Treasurer of the Royal Academy" "Elevation of one of the Flanks of a Royal Palace." This comprehensive description would not leave much room for anyone else

⁷⁹ Whose house was close by in Lower Grosvenor Street. The sisters were Margaret (Peggy) and Susanna, as from Lansdowne papers, July, 1765. To James Adam, duty on statues and busts and custom's duty, freight, etc., £151 17s 6d. Wm. Adam & Co., Insurance £2,250, of above on the Susanna and Peggy Capt. Ed. Pain. Civita Vecchia to London. Premium, £1 1s. per cent. (Names of underwriters follow) "A. C. Auto," page 544

PART I. CHAPTER III.

ROBERT ADAM'S IDEAS.

ASOCIATED as he had been with Italian and French artists, and acquainted with Italian methods and workmen, Robert Adam approached the problem of Domestic Architecture and Decoration from a fresh standpoint. Even without conceding the whole of his own claims, overstated doubtless from a sense of competition and possibly also of detraction, the candid critic will find it impossible to deny that Robert Adam created a distinctive style of Decorative Architecture. The name of Adam stands for a type of decoration which, in various forms, is found the world over. It is the drawing-room style which no change of fashion permanently displaces. It satisfies Major Pendennis's instincts which, as readers will remember, were shocked by the "middle aged" style of Lady Clavering's town mansion.

No artist must ever be judged by the degradations of his copyists. The quality of his own personal work in relation to his own times and in reference to that of other original masters is the sole ground of judgment.

The fury of imitation to which Adam has been exposed, renders it far from easy to estimate the degree of his own original contribution to domestic interior architecture. If, however, the reader will take three well known examples in London, Lord Burlington's¹ rooms at the Royal



THE SOUTH FRONT, KEDLESTON.

Robert Adam, Architect

Academy (1718), those at Chesterfield House² in Mayfair (1749), and the interiors of Lansdowne House (1765), and consider each in succession, the main direction of the tide can be clearly appreciated.

Robert Adam's ideal was to replace the massiveness of the semi-constructional architecture of the earlier Georgian interiors by a system of low relief ornamentation devoid of constructional significance. He was far from averse to the semi-constructional which builds up an interior, whether of plaster columns or of depressed barrel vaultings, so long as the effect produced was of a light and elegant character. It was to be the mood of Fragonard³ replacing that of Michael Angelo.

One of Adam's best designs was for a temporary ballroom for a garden fête given by the Earl of Derby in June, 1774. This interior in architectural effect is allied to the conceptions of Piranesi in his gentlest and most decorative mood. Adam had associated with the great Italian draftsman in Rome, and four of the plates of Syon House were engraved by him, but the origins of the fête pavilion design can be clearly traced from Robert's own early studies and ideas.

If there is any correspondence at all between architectural and social conditions, we must grant that Adam was reflecting in his art a courtly phase of his own age, such as Burke endeavoured to convey in "Reflections on the Revolution in France" (1790). Burke's daring and much



EARLY DESIGN BY ROBERT ADAM FOR THE BRIDGE AT KEDLESTON.

criticised pronouncement, to the effect that the elegance of the time redeemed its vices, is very much the position in which Adam places the severe and logic loving critic of architecture.

Robert Adam's façades, in Fitzroy Square and elsewhere, are often simple negations of the interior structure. He was prepared at any time to sacrifice such facts in the interest of his general composition, and has thereby incurred the bitterest censures of the logical and serious minded historians of architecture. To the artist, however, these judgments must seem overstated and unjust to Adam's personality where no allowance is made for the aims, the character, and the ideals of his own times. It is an interesting point that Robert Adam believed in the English aptitude for architecture. Concluding a brief survey of the arts in England he says (Part V, 1st Vol., 1778):

If, however, we were to distinguish any one of these arts as more cultivated and more successful in England, we should not hesitate to say it was Architecture. Inigo Jones, who had long studied in Italy, rescued this art in a considerable degree from the Gothicism of former times, and began to introduce into this country a love of that elegance and refinement which characterise the productions of Greece and Rome. . . .

Vanbrugh understood better than either (Inigo or Wren) the art of living among the great. A commodious arrangement of apartments was therefore his peculiar merit. But his lively imagination scorned the restraint of any rule in composition; and his passion for what was fancifully magnificent, prevented him from discerning what was truly simple, elegant, and sublime.

Architecture has already become more elegant and more interesting. The parade, the convenience, and social pleasures of life, being better understood, are more strictly attended to in the arrangement and disposition of apartments. Greater variety of form, greater beauty in design, greater gaiety and elegance of ornament, are introduced into interior decoration: while the outside composition is more simple, more grand, more varied in its contour, and imposes on the mind from the superior magnitude and movement of its parts.

Adam has been laughed at and treated as a quack for this characteristic verdict. But the standpoint of the critic is wrong if he assumes any one age as a final standard of right and wrong in domestic architecture.

If, as we believe, the greatness of the art is bound up with the life of the people who practise it, then obviously we have to ask ourselves how far the work in question held up the mirror to that age of which it purported to be the reflection.

Adam stands this test triumphantly; only the prejudiced can fail to find in his work the tone and colour of the society of which he was a distinguished ornament.

Like all artists Robert Adam was both leader and led. There is a side of his work which is the reflection of the sentimentality of Rousseau's return to Nature, and of Gray's musings on the feudal ages. This aspect of Adam's work can be reconciled with his real love of classic art by taking it as a part of a Romanticism that was in-born. It would be idle to pretend that Adam's classic is the true southern static art; there is always an infusion of the northern dynamics. He strives to express this idea in his characteristic note on "Movement" (1st part, 1773).

"Movement is meant to express the rise and fall, the advance and recess, with other diversity of form, in the different parts of a building, so as to add greatly to the picturesque of the composition. For the rising and falling, advancing and receding, with the convexity and concavity, and other forms of the great parts, have the same effect in architecture, that hill and dale, foreground and distance, swelling and sinking, have in landscape; That is, they serve to produce an agreeable and diversified contour, that groups and contrasts like a picture, and creates a variety of light and shade, which gives great spirit, beauty and effect to the composition."

Robert Adam was a great student of landscape. Several of his designs are shown with surroundings which recall the sentiment of Gainsborough's pictures.⁴ A trestle bridge for Dr. Turton at Brasted, in Kent, is a case in point. This timber structure is shown in a valley, the sides of which are clothed with trees, there are figures seated on the banks and a donkey is being driven up the slope. Apart from such incidental sketches there are about forty semi-architectural landscapes or compositions of buildings and scenery by him in the Soane.⁵ This element in Adam's nature led him to acquiesce in the castle building phantasy that heralded the Gothic revival.

Robert Adam is to be regarded as a forerunner of that stirring of the romantic spirit which was to dominate the succeeding century. The northern races, whether under the Caesars or the Italian Papacy, have ever been restive in the course of their education, through the glory of the art of Greece and the grandeur of the law of Rome.

The true classic spirit that can rest itself in the gradual refinement of form evolved by a continuous effort that is social rather than individual, seems alien to the vigorous individuality



A SKETCH BY ROBERT ADAM.



THE BRIDGE AS BUILT.

J. T. 1796.

⁴ See the sketch of the bridge for Dr. Turton at Brasted, in Kent, in the Soane Museum.

⁵ See the sketch of the bridge for Dr. Turton at Brasted, in Kent, in the Soane Museum.



LANDSCAPE COMPOSITIONS BY ROBERT ADAM, 1782.

firmly to the fact, even at so early a time as the middle of the eighteenth century, that progress in domestic architecture was only possible if architects and the public decided at once to break with the dead tradition of the Orders, as derived and systematised from the extant remains of the temple architecture of Greece and Rome.

As a general statement of his position in contrast to the official attitude of Sir William Chambers in his "Civil Architecture," and the actual practice of architects like James Gibbs and his followers, Adam's "Preface" to the first part of his "Works" clearly states :

The great masters of antiquity were not so rigidly scrupulous, they varied the proportions as the general spirit of their composition required, clearly perceiving, that however necessary these rules may be to form the taste and to correct the licentiousness of the scholar, they often cramp the genius and circumscribe the ideas of the master.

It is not always that such variety can be introduced into the design of any building, but where it can be attained without encroaching upon its useful purposes, it adds much to its merit, as an object of beauty and grandeur.

The effect of the height and convexity of the dome of St. Peter's, contrasted with the lower square front, and the concavity of its court, is a striking instance of this sort of composition. The college and church *des quatre nations* at Paris, is, though small, another of the same kind; and with us, we really do not recollect any example of so much movement and contrast, as in the south front of Kedleston House in Derbyshire, one of the seats of the Right Honorable Lord Scarsdale, of which building we shall have occasion to speak more at large hereafter.

of the northern races. Consequently, everywhere outside the immediate sphere of influence of the true southern race the local architecture, though based on classic originals, has to be designated as Romanesque, Renaissance or Free Classic. Terms which, of course, only signify that there is in such work an element of compromise, between the Classic and Romantic states of mind.

St. Paul's Cathedral owes its importance in the history of architecture to the fact that it is a wonderful marriage of the two, a fusion of the mediaeval church and the pagan temple. It is something more than a mere reflection of the intellectual temper of the Renaissance.

In the work of Robert Adam the spirit of revived antiquity, which Goethe recognised as embodied in the Palladian masterpiece, the Villa Rotunda, so that the dwelling house was dominated by the temple, is met and diverted into a fresh channel.

It is to Robert Adam's lasting credit that he grasped and held

Adam in this passage catches the spirit of the age of Bernini who, at least once in the great forecourt of St. Peter's, with its wheeling colonnades in four columns abreast of an Order 40ft. high, touched a very high level of architectural composition. Later times have preferred the eastern effect of St. Peter's, where the great dome is seen in a more direct relation to the supporting masses of its own plan. The second building mentioned is the same to which Sir Christopher Wren refers in his celebrated letter from Paris. It is a very favourite building with English students of architecture as having an Italian character, more of Palladio and less of Vignola, than perhaps any other French example. Its position on the quay opposite the Louvre, with the broad footway, the "Pont des Arts," leading straight to it, makes it a well known and delightful object of interest to all visitors to Paris.

The promise here made to illustrate Kedleston in the "Works" was never destined to be fulfilled, possibly for one reason, because the south front was never completed by the outlying wings and quadrant connections which were essential to the realisation of Robert Adam's conception.

The centre block of this intended south front is by itself a fine and characteristic piece of Robert Adam's work, but as may be imagined, it looks detached and isolated in the absence of the wings, which were intended to spread out its mass in relation to its surroundings.

Robert Adam concludes his brief essay by a remarkable tribute to Sir John Vanbrugh, which as it is given in the chapter on Compton Verney need not be repeated here. It was written long before Reynold's thirteenth discourse, delivered December 11, 1786, which contains the painter's much quoted appreciation of Vanbrugh. It is safe to assume that Reynolds was merely following Adam's earlier lead. This is an incident essential to the understanding of Robert Adam's position, and answers Horace Walpole's gibes at Adam's lack of modesty in his "Works." Every artist who challenges the traditional set in the ideas of his own time will be made to pay for his originality, and must be allowed the spirit that conflict unhappily generates.

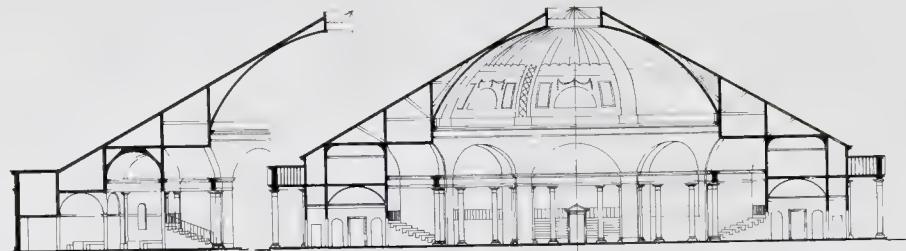
In order to develop the ideas of Robert Adam it will be as well to draw upon these "Prefaces" in the absence of any other published work by him. The following passages, to which explanatory headings have been put, will give an adequate idea of his general position. Adam believed in "Palladio and the Ancients," but with an open mind. He held his course between the official Palladian school and the extremists who found a refuge in Italian Baroque or French Rococo. Robert Adam claims that he is guided by "the result of much experience and of careful search into the purest sources of antiquity."

OF ARCHITECTURE, NATURE,
AND THE STANDARD OF
TASTE. (Part II, 1774.
Preface.)



COMPOSITION BY ROBERT ADAM, 1782.

Architecture has not, like some other arts, an immediate standard in nature, to which the artist can always refer, and which would enable the skilful instantly to decide with respect to the degree of excellency attained in any work. In architecture, it must be formed and improved by a correct taste, and diligent study of the beauties exhibited by great masters in their productions:

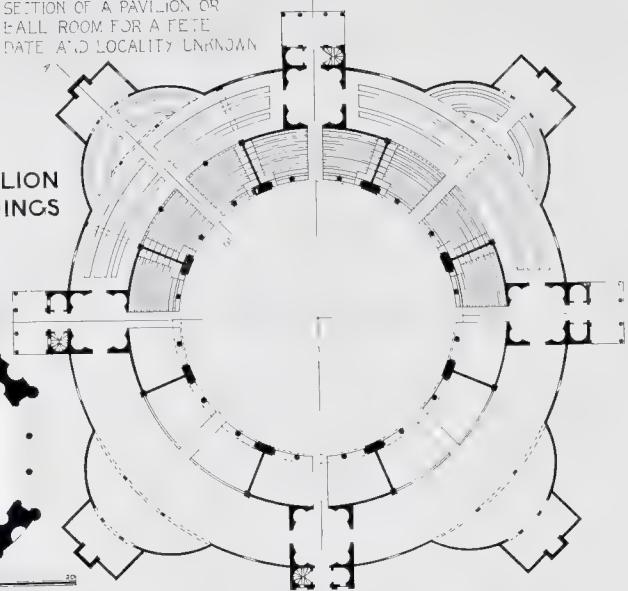


PROBABLE SECTION ON
LINE AB

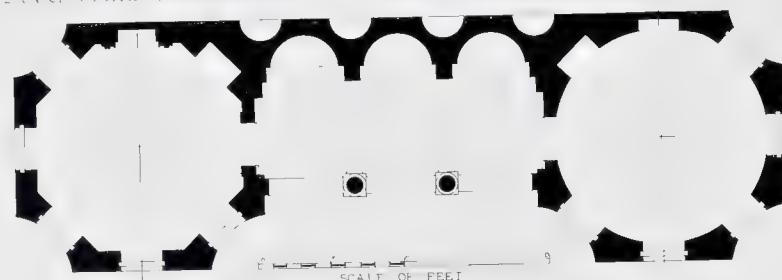
solid
broken
THREE FEET TO SCALE OF FEET
CLAWSON'S DRAWING

SECTION OF A PAVILION OR
HALL ROOM FOR A FETE
DATE AND LOCALITY UNKNOWN

**DESIGN FOR A PAVILION
AND GARDEN BUILDINGS**
ROBERT ADAM



PLAN FOR A TEMPORARY PAVILION



GARDEN ROOM FOR MR. MELCOMBE AT HAMMERSMITH
ROBERT ADAM ARCHITECT 1762
AN OCTAGONAL ROOM AND A CIRCULAR ROOM WITH A PORTICO.

and it is only by profound meditation upon these, that one becomes capable of distinguishing between what is graceful and what is inelegant : between that which possesses, and that which is destitute of harmony.

The word "elegant," which occurs so constantly in the writings of the last half of the eighteenth century, is the equivalent of the modern "artistic." The word "modern" which follows is used by Robert Adam in the sense of all post-Roman architects, and not merely of those of his own day. This is an important point, to the neglect of which have been due a variety of misconceptions.

OF THE DIMINUTION OF COLUMNS.

Many of the disputes among modern architects are extremely frivolous. There is nothing with respect to which they have differed more, than their rules for the diminution of columns. This, however, is a subject of greater importance than those which frequently engage their attention. The column is not only one of the noblest and most graceful pieces of decoration, but in all round bodies, especially such as stand insulated, there is a delicacy of proportion to be observed, that those of another form, and in other situations, do not require. Without entering into any critical disquisitions concerning the opinions of either the ancients or moderns with respect to this point, we shall only observe, that our constant practice has been, to diminish our columns from the base to the capital, by means of the instrument used by Nicodemes for describing the first conchoid, which we think has exceeded in elegance any other method hitherto employed. But as this instrument and the manner of using it, has already been explained by some modern authors, we should not have here ventured to mention it, had it not been to recommend it, as preferable to all others.

OF STANDARDS OF PROPORTION.

The proportion of columns has also been a subject of much enquiry. But as this greatly depends upon the situation of these columns, whether they make parts of outside, or inside decoration, whether they stand insulated, or engaged, whether raised much above the eye, or level with it : these are circumstances which very much affect such proportions, and consequently leave an uncertainty, which can only be properly ascertained by the correct taste of the skilful and experienced artist.

OF THE THREE ORDERS.

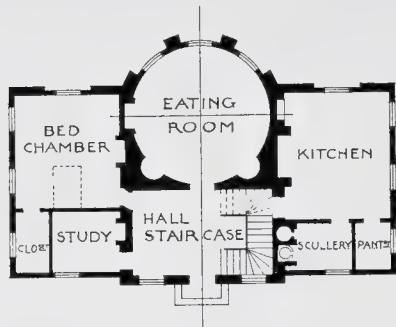
Having mentioned the diminution and proportion of columns, we are naturally led to make some observations with regard to their capitals; an object of great distinction and delicacy in the detail of architecture.—In the first place, we acknowledge only three orders: the Doric, the Ionic and the Corinthian: for as to the Tuscan, it is, in fact, no more than a bad and imperfect Doric: and the Composite, or Roman Order, in our opinion, is a very disagreeable and awkward mixture of the Corinthian and the Ionic, without either grace or beauty. We do not however mean to condemn the composing of capitals; a liberty which has often been taken by the ancients with great success.



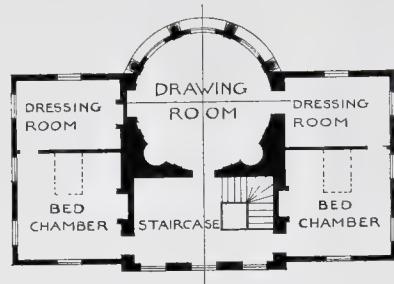
DETAIL OF TEA ROOM AT MOOR PARK.

Designed by Robert Adam.

THE DEPUTY RANGERS LODGE
IN THE GREEN PARK
ROBERT ADAM ARCHITECT 1768



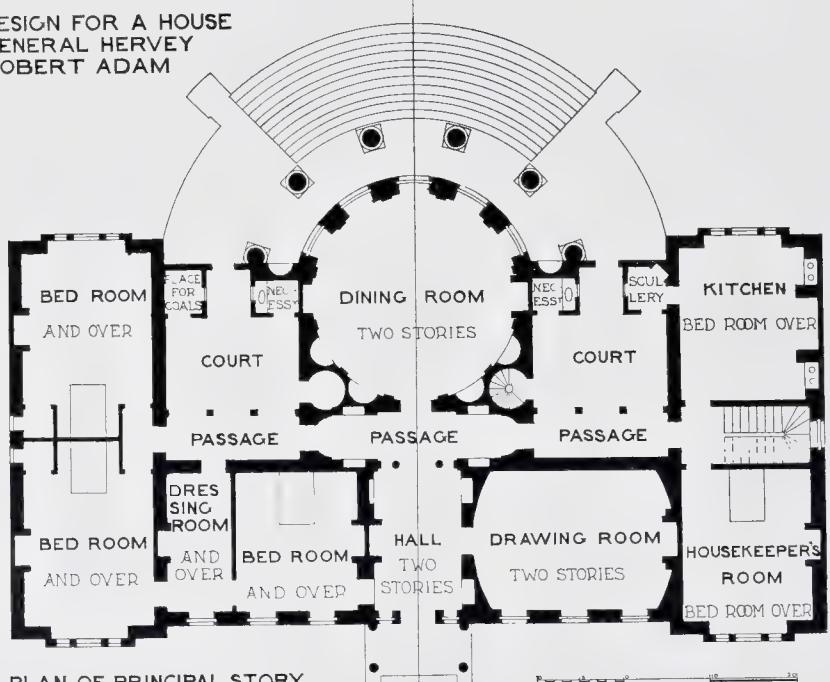
PLAN OF THE PARLOR STORY



PLAN OF THE FIRST FLOOR

FROM ADAM'S WORKS

DESIGN FOR A HOUSE
GENERAL HERVEY
ROBERT ADAM



PLAN OF PRINCIPAL STORY

SCALE OF FEET

OF THE DORIC ORDER.

The Doric capital, when properly adorned, is capable of great elegance : But where rich decoration is required, in order to give it all its grace, the neck, or space between the astragal and the annulets, should be made of much greater height than the common proportion prescribed by Palladio and any other moderns : and that neck should be enriched in the various ways which we shall have occasion to represent in the course of our work.

OF THE IONIC ORDER.

The Corinthian capital itself does not, in our opinion, admit of more dignity and magnificence, than a rich Ionic with its volutes square in the front.—Angular Volutes, as in the Temples of Concord and Manly Fortune at Rome, and in the Temples of Erechtheus at Athens, have always appeared to us less solid, less grave, and less graceful; and, in our opinion, they have been injudiciously adopted by Michael Angelo, Scamozzi, and many other modern architects. Their reason for this was, in order to avoid the irregularity of appearance

in this capital when viewed in profile, which differs so very much from its aspect in front. But, notwithstanding this difference, the profile itself, as well as the front, are susceptible of such beauties, that we are inclinable to hazard some defects, rather than to sacrifice the elegant result of the whole composition.

There may indeed be some cases, where such irregularity in the capital might be attended with great inconvenience, as in a square or oblong building surrounded by this order : But in this, or similar cases, it would be much more eligible for the skilful architect to substitute another order in its place.

The great size of the volute of the Grecian Ionic has always appeared to us by much too heavy, and those used by the Romans seem rather to border on the other extreme. We have therefore generally taken a mean between them, which we think has a happy effect : making them in width about one half of the superior diameter of the column, and observing that

the center of the eye of the volute is nearly perpendicular to the extremity of the said diameter.

We have also adopted the Grecian manner of forming the volute with a double fillet, which by producing more light and shade, gives great relief, and far exceeds in grace and beauty that used by the Romans. In imitation of the Greeks, we likewise bend the channel, or hollow band, from whence the volute prings, in the middle of the capital: which band, in case of rich decoration, should be filled with a winding foliage, or some such ornament, from the center of the capital to the eye of the volute. But the members of chief importance towards completing this capital, are the astragal and neck, which neck, as in the Doric, should be filled sometimes with various enrichments, more or less ornamented, and sometimes, perhaps, should be left altogether plain, according to the style of the building where it is employed.



DESIGN FOR A HOUSE FOR GENERAL HERVEY BY ROBERT ADAM.



Robert Adam, Architect, 1768.

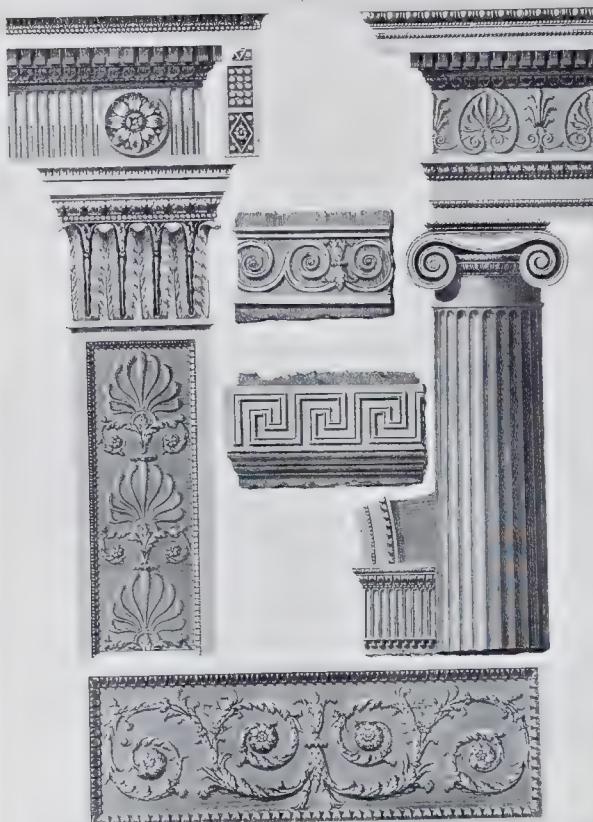
T. Vivares incidit. (Included in Vol. III, 1822.)

VIEW OF THE SOUTH FRONT OF THE DEPUTY RANGER'S LODGE IN THE GREEN PARK.

Although Robert Adam had not been to Greece and James Adam only saw Paestum, it is pleasant to think that these minutiae must have been discussed often with his friend, James Stuart. For evidence of their friendly intercourse, we have not only Adam's reference to Stuart in the "Works," but also his note of a detail section of a Greek egg and tongue used at Lord Spencer's house where Stuart was employed.

OF THE CORINTHIAN ORDER.

The foliage and stems of the Corinthian capital made it not only magnificent, but also extremely gay and graceful. It has besides some advantages over the Ionic in point of form : all its sides are regular, and the concavity of its abacus contrasts in a beautiful manner with the convexity of the vase. The form of the vase is sometimes executed in a most defective manner, by swelling it towards the middle, and bending it inwards at the bottom, in a cimarecta shape : which is both unpleasant, and rests ill upon the shaft of the column.⁶ This error has been probably introduced from a defect in the drawings of the plates of Desgodetz, whom, notwithstanding his great parade of precision and accuracy, we have often found guilty of considerable oversights and mistakes, not only in his mensuration, but also in the delineation of many of the ancient monuments.



Robert Adam, Architect, 1770.

B. Pastorini, Sculpt. Published 5th Feo., 1774

EXTERNAL ORDER, KENWOOD. ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS.

External Order, Kenwood. Body
of the House towards the Garden. Second Floor String-course. First Floor String-course.
Panel, Garden Front.

mingle themselves more harmoniously with the square members, and attain more delicacy and elegance, than such as have been commonly used.

After this outline of Robert Adam's attitude to the common law of architecture as it was understood in his time, we come to its general application to interiors in particular. Here at once we strike upon the great difference that existed between Adam and Chambers as representing two opposing schools of thought.

Even as a beginner I was struck with the paucity and feeble character of that section of Chambers' "Civil Architecture," and other similar works, which purport to deal with the internal decoration of buildings. They have, beyond a few stock details, to which after all there are

OF FRFEDOM IN THE USE
OF ENTABLATURES.

We shall not at present enter into any particular detail with respect to the entablatures or the bases of the different orders, but refer to the specimens of each now published, and to what we are about to publish. We must however beg leave to observe, that we can see no reason for assigning to each order its precise entablature, fixed down unalterably both in figure and dimension. Different circumstances of situation and propriety ought to vary the form, and also the proportion, of all entablatures. A latitude in this respect, under the hand of an ingenious and able artist, is often productive of great novelty, variety and beauty.

OF MOULDINGS.

The mouldings in the remaining structures of ancient Rome are considerably less curvilinear than those of the ancient monuments of Greece. We have always given a preference to the latter, and have even thought it advisable to bend them still more in many cases, particularly in interior finishings, where objects are near, and ought to be softened to the eye : for circular mouldings are intended to relieve the sight from the acuteness of the square ones, of which too frequent a repetition would be infinitely harsh and tiresome : But in bending the cimarecta, the cimareversa or talon, the ovoli, the cavetto, and the astragal, in the method we have always followed, as may be seen from our designs, they blend and

some limits of repetition, nothing to offer to the student of interior architecture beyond a few platitudes and some very bad rules for the internal proportions of rooms.

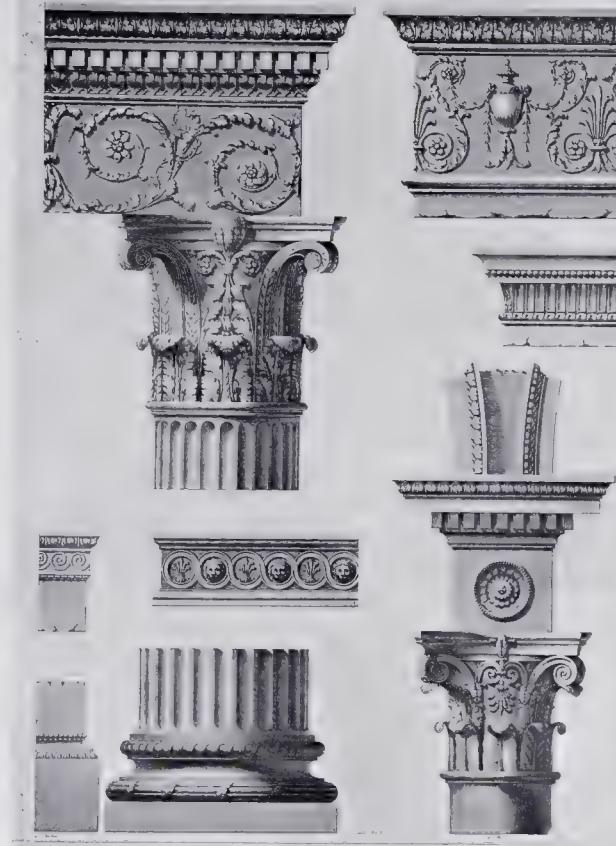
Adam strikes at the root of this barrenness by asserting the naked truth that these writers are, one and all, in a valley of dry bones, engaged in raking over a dust heap of the ruins of temple architecture. Not even the ancients themselves, as he points out, limited their domestic edifices in this way, and he draws attention to the fragments of the palaces and baths of old Rome, to the "Grottos," so called, from which originated the grotesque of Raphael's age, as the sources of a better inspiration. It must always be remembered that many of these ideas and principles as formulated and practised by Robert Adam, which may, no doubt, seem to be common ground now, were then very far from being accepted, even at the time when he wrote his "Prefaces." His insistence on the Greek spirit and on the independent and individual judgment of the artist was based on observations and deductions of his own which have since been justified by later thought and research to the point of becoming commonplace platitudes.

OF ENTABLATURES FOR INTERIORS.

It is well known to any one who has made architecture, in any degree, the object of his attention, that the entablature constitutes a principal part of each order, and is itself formed of three great divisions, the architrave, freeze and cornice.

It is not here meant to find fault with the whole, or its component parts, but so far only as it has been abused by the misapplication, ignorance, and want of invention in many modern artists.

Nothing can be more noble and striking, when properly applied, than a fine order of columns, with their bases, capitals, and entablatures: nothing more sterile and disgusting, than to see for ever the dull repetition of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian entablatures, in their usual proportions, reigning round every apartment, where no order can come or ought to come: and yet it is astonishing to think that this has been almost invariably the case in the apartments of every house in Europe, that has any pretensions to magnificence, from the days of Bramante down to our time. In smaller rooms, where height is wanting, the architrave has sometimes been omitted, and sometimes both architrave and freeze, but their places were ponderously supplied by a cornice of most ample dimensions fit for the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, from which it was imitated perhaps, or more probably, copied.



Robert Adam, Architect, 1770.

J. Zucchi, Sculpt., Londinii. Published June, 1774

INTERNAL ORDER, LUTON. ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS.

*Cornice, Frieze and Capital for the Screens in Salon. Moulding and Frieze round the Salon.
String on Staircase level with first floor. Upper Cornice of Staircase.
Surbase and Base in Salon. Cornice, Frieze, Archivolt, Capital for
Base of Column in Salon. Screen on the first floor of Staircase.*



ADAM'S RECONSTRUCTION OF THE THEATRE ROYAL, DRURY LANE, 1776.

To describe here in what manner this tiresome repetition may be avoided, would be, to anticipate the purpose of the present work, which, among other things, is intended to point out a new style of composition for those parts of interior decoration.

OF CEILINGS AND WALL DECORATIONS.

These absurd compositions (*i.e.*, the vast internal entablatures and cofferings of soffites), took their rise in Italy, under the first of their modern masters, who were no doubt led into that idea from the observations of the soffits used by the ancients in the porticos of their temples and other public works. These the ancients, with their usual skill and judgment, kept of a bold and massive style, suiting them to the strength, magnitude and height of the building, and making an allowance for their being on the exterior part, and adjoining to other great objects: all which served to diminish and lighten the effect of these compartments.—But on the inside of their edifices the ancients were extremely careful to proportion both the size and the depth of their compartments and pannels, to the distance from the eye and the objects with which they were to be compared: and, with regard to the decoration of their private and bathing apartments, they were all delicacy, gaiety, grace, and beauty. If the reader is desirous to examine more minutely into these truths, let him consult the Rotunda, the Temple of Peace, the ruins of Adrian's villa, the Palace of the Emperors, and other Cryptae at Rome, with the imitable remains on the Baian shore.*—We shall only add, that from this mistake of the first modern Italian artists, all Europe has been misled, and has been servilely groaning under this load for these three centuries past.

Adam regrets that a "rage for painting" prevailed in Italy and had thence pervaded all Europe, so that rooms were decorated with great compositions, quite out of scale with their surroundings, and he desires to see a return to a more sane and architectural treatment of the ceilings and walls.

It is quite clear, therefore, from this outline of his ideas, and of the principles lying at the back of his practice, that Robert Adam was no mere ornamentist, as he has been unfairly and falsely misrepresented to have been. The idea of a stock set of Adam patterns flung together anyhow, constituting an epitome of his works, can no longer be maintained in the face of the evidence of our illustrations. Such spurious imitation of his style may be left to the base exploiter of fashion. To the architect devoid of prejudice every example of Robert Adam's own work will bring an increasing sense of his marvellous gift of decorative propriety. Apartments are treated on their merits, their beauties brought out and any insuperable defects concealed, and variety and interest are obtained by subtle devices, which can be detected only by a close study. It is impossible for anyone to go through the examples in this book, or better still to see the work itself, without feeling that Robert Adam habitually trod the highest levels of decorative architecture.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

¹ Richard Boyle, third Earl of B., and fourth of Cork (1695-1753). Disciple of Palladio and Inigo Jones. Patron of Kent, Cohn Campbell, Leoni, Samuel Ware, and Richard Morris. Friend of Pope. "Who plants like Bathurst or who builds like Boyle?" Note.—Kent returned from Italy, 1719.

² Philip Dormer Stanhope (1694-1773), fourth Earl of Chesterfield. H. W. attended the house warming February, 1752, and describes the interior as "really most magnificent." C.'s idea was that a house should be Italian outside and French within. Isaac Ware (d. 1766) was his architect, 1749.

³ M. A., 1474-1564. Watteau, 1684-1721. Lancret, 1690-1743. Boucher, 1707-1770. Fragonard, 1732-1806. Honoré Fragonard, born Nice. To Rome, received by Academy on return, 1765. See Adam Sale for four portraits of Robert and James, early and late, by him. Note. It is much to be desired that these portraits should be traced.

⁴ He seems to have amused himself with landscapes like Gainsborough, whose "moppings" were a joke to his friends.

⁵ Three have been selected for reproduction, two show classic and the other one mediæval accessories.

⁶ Adam touches here a weak spot in the Early Georgian work. It occurs in the work of Wren. Adam's rebuke of Grosvenor, the carver at Kedleston, very likely arose out of this point.

⁷ See previous explanation, line 4, page 81.

⁸ See James Adam's Tour. Special studies had been made of these for the Adams by Clérissseau and other draughtsmen.

PART I. CHAPTER IV.

THE CASTLE STYLE AND THE FIRST STIRRINGS OF THE GOTHIC REVIVAL.

HORACE WALPOLE (1717-97), by reason of his social distinction, his brilliant letter writing, his authorship of that theatrical romance, "The Castle of Otranto" (1764), and, above all, because of his lath and plaster castle-villa, Strawberry Hill, has been hailed as the founder of the Gothic Revival. Present day research, however, has established that it is to the poet Thomas Gray (1716-71)¹ that we must look in our enquiry for the master mind of the movement. Their associated life from the age of thirteen, first at Eton

and then at King's College, Cambridge, and their joint travels abroad (1739-41), did, in spite of their famous quarrel, so bring Gray and Walpole together at the critical age of their mutual development as to establish the lasting influence of the reflective poet over his more mercurial companion. Walpole admitted in later years: "Gray was all for antiquities, and I was for amusements."

Strawberry Hill was acquired by Horace Walpole in 1747, and the game of converting it to "Gothick" extended over many years from 1752 onwards.

Richard Bentley² (son of the great scholar Bentley), who at the outset assisted Horace Walpole, and Sanderson Miller of Radway (1717-80), the semi-professional architect, were the actual designers of the earliest essays in castle building in the mid-eighteenth century. They even seem to have been in advance of Batty Langley's "Gothick Improved," which was published in 1742.

Walpole's first letter to Bentley, August 5, 1752, mentions the "Committee of Strawberry Hill," a group of whose influence and activities sufficient traces will be seen. At this moment the Gothic staircase of Walpole's villa was in hand, and he applies to Bentley, March 18, 1754,³ for a design for the library ceiling, "of which I send you some rudiments. I propose to have it all painted by Clermont; the principal part in chiaroscuro, on the design which you drew for the Paraclete; but as that pattern would be surfeiting, so often repeated in an extension of twenty by thirty, I propose to break and enliven it by compartments in colours, according to the enclosed sketch, which you must adjust and dimension." It appears that the "great tower" was finished outside in May of this year, and a little later, in



Robert Adam, Architect.

STABLE BLOCK IN "THE CASTLE STYLE,"
CULZEAN, AYRSHIRE.

1756, Bentley was in residence with Walpole at Strawberry Hill.

For Richard Bentley's share in Horace Walpole's architecture we have as witness the letter of October 24, 1758, to Sir Horace Mann about a monument to the latter's brother designed to be erected at Linton, in Kent, the family seat.

The thought was my own, adopted from the antique columbaria and applied to Gothic. The execution of the design was Mr. Bentley's, who alone, of all mankind, could unite the grace of Grecian architecture and the irregular lightness and solemnity of Gothic. Kent and many of our builders sought this, but have never found it. Mr. Chute, who has as much taste as Mr. Bentley, thinks this little sketch a perfect model. The soffite is more beautiful than anything of either style separate. The urn is of marble richly polished; the rest of stone. On the whole, I think there is simplicity and decency, with a degree of ornament that destroys neither.

In the previous month Walpole had written to the same correspondent³⁴ in reference to work in hand at Strawberry Hill. "I am again got into the hands of builders, though this time to a very small extent; only the addition of a little cloister and bedchamber. A day may come that will produce a gallery, a round tower, a larger cloister, and a cabinet, in the manner of a little chapel. . . . Besides such a treasure of drawing and taste as my friend Mr. Bentley, I have a painter in the house, who is an engraver too, a mechanic, and everything." This was a Swiss, J. H. Muntz,⁴ with whom there was afterwards a violent dispute. In 1760 Walpole had a quarrel with Richard Bentley,⁵ who apparently, like Muntz, was forthwith expelled from the ark.

Strawberry Hill was not the only essay in Gothic, as in 1760 Lord Lyttelton writes: "I dined at Dicky Bateman's⁶ half Gothick, half Attic, half Chinese and completely fribble house." We may recall, in reference to this oriental element, that as early as 1750 Walpole had "fancied a Chinese Room" for Rigby at Mistley (see Chapter xxv.).

In 1762 Walpole writes to George Montagu.⁷ "I did not doubt but you would approve Mr. Bateman's, since it has changed its religion; I converted it from Chinese to Gothic. His cloister of founders, which by the way is Mr. Bentley's, is delightful; I envy him his old chairs and the tomb of Bishop Caducanus." (Bishop of Bangor, 1215-41.)

This was the house adjoining the churchyard at old Windsor, visited by Mrs. Delany in October, 1768,⁸ who says: "The outward appearance is venerable—arched porticos and windows, Gothic towers and battlements, encompassed and shaded with large trees, the river winding most beautifully; an island at a little distance. . . . The inside of the old monastery (for such it is to represent) is not so easily described. . . . Undescribable oddities brought from all corners of the world. His windows glazed with as much variety as a glazier's sign. . . . An exact representation of a popish chapel expensively decorated. . . . His library is indeed as friblish as himself. . . ."

Pocock, who saw it in 1754, says: "A very small house of four rooms on a floor, but enlarged by making two bow windows & a Gothic front. The most charming box on the Thames."⁹

We hear of another enterprise in May, 1763, when Mr. Thomas Pitt,¹⁰ afterwards (1784) Lord Camelford, is "my present architect." A greenhouse and a cottage were then under way for the Hon. Seymour Conway at Park Place. Thus, on October 3 Walpole writes¹¹: "The works of Park Place go on bravely; the cottage will be very pretty, and the bridge sublime, composed of loose rocks that will appear to have been tumbled together there the very week of the deluge. . . . It will be worth a hundred of Palladio's bridges, that are only fit to be used in an opera."



"ATHENIAN" STUART'S FIRST GREEK DORIC BUILDING. AT HAGLEY FOR LORD LYTTELTON.

Pitt had come to live at Twickenham in a small house close to Strawberry Hill in 1762, and Walpole remarks : "This will add to the comfort of my Strawberry tide. He draws Gothic with taste, and is already engaged on the ornament of my cabinet and gallery."¹²

On March 25, 1763,¹³ he writes that "The gallery advances rapidly. The ceiling is Henry 7th. Chapel *in propria persona*: the canopies are all placed. I think three months will quite complete it." Accordingly we hear on July 10, 1763, of the finishing and gilding of the gallery of Strawberry Hill.

The attitude of Walpole's own set towards his excursions into the Gothic darkness is amusingly manifested in a letter from Gilly Williams¹⁴ to George Selwyn, written from "White's" on March 9, 1765 : "How do you think he has employed that leisure which his political frenzy has allowed of ? In writing a novel entitled the 'Castle of Otranto' and such a novel, that no boarding school Miss of thirteen could get half through it without yawning. It consists of ghosts and enchantments : pictures walk out of their frames, and are good company for half an hour together : helmets drop from the moon, and cover half a family. He says it was a dream, and I fancy one when he had some feverish disposition in him."

Madame Boccage,¹⁵ writing in 1750, makes an apologetic reference to Gothic. "Perhaps I may herein discover a want of taste, but I must own I like Gothic buildings, such as St. Ouen's Church at Rouen. It has few admirers like me but my taste is supported by the concurrence of persons, whose opinion is of more weight than that of a multitude."

In June, 1766, Strawberry Hill was honoured with a Royal visit, and the King and Queen seem to have been exceedingly pleased with it. The fact that Horace Walpole, between 1761 and 1771, wrote the "Anecdotes on Painting," to which the invaluable element supplied by George Vertue's (1684-1756) MS. notes, the collection of forty years, has given some weight and permanence,



SANDERSON MILLER'S RUINOUS CASTLE AT HAGLEY FOR LORD LYTTELTON.

was sufficient, for a long time, to produce an impression that Walpole was a final authority on all matters of art and architecture, quite apart from his special claim as a "Gothick" originator.

Scattered through the fifteen volumes of Toynbee's edition of Walpole's letters will be found the most assured judgments delivered *ex cathedra* by the great amateur. These, by virtue of their smart phrasing, will still be found in constant quotation, quite irrespective of the obvious malice that too often inspired their author. At

Robert Adam, and against the "Constellation of the Adelphi," were directed some of the gifted writer's most biting shafts of criticism.

The architect, however, who has turned over the Adam drawings, recalls the silent witness of the "ceiling designed for Horace Walpole, Esq.," dated 1766, and apparently carried out, which remains as a testimony to some personal relations, and to a subsequent breach which may very well be divined.¹⁶ As it is a circular design for a ceiling about 22ft. diameter, and resembles a Gothic rose window, it was no doubt made for the famous round tower of Strawberry Hill.¹⁷ On May 24, 1760,¹⁸ Walpole had remarked, "I am again flounced into building—a round tower, gallery, cloister, and chapel, all starting up." Moreover, writing in July to Mann at Florence to ask about "brocadella" patterns, he gives the diameter of his round tower as 22ft., and the height as 13ft.¹⁹ The procedure must have been extraordinarily leisurely as, on March 31, 1770, he writes to George Montagu that "This single room has been half as long in completing as all the rest of the Castle."²⁰

In July of that year, however, he can say, in a letter to the Earl of Strafford²¹: "It is with as much more comfort that I am writing to your Lordship in the great bow-window of my new round room, which collects all the rays of the south-west sun, and composes a sort of summer, a feel I have not known this year, except last thursday."²²

There are two Adam drawings for Horace Walpole for chimneypieces, designed probably for this same room, which are of the same date as the circular ceiling design. One was apparently to be inlaid with mosaic (*scagliola*) in the Roman Cosmato manner, while the other is an alternative design, in which, no doubt by desire, some Gothic details have been introduced. Walpole liked to copy bits of particular shrines or tombs, to be introduced into his work, and he loved to dwell on the local or personal interest of these borrowings.

A letter written to Sir Horace Mann, June 8, 1771,²³ gives a concluding picture of the result of Walpole's efforts since 1753, and also a glimpse of contemporary foreign opinion. "Strawberry is in the most perfect beauty, the verdure exquisite, and the shades venerably extended. I have made a Gothic gateway to the garden, the piers of which are of artificial stone, and very respectable. The round tower is finished, and magnificent; and the state bedchamber proceeds fast; for you must know the little villa is grown into a superb castle. We have dropped all humility in our style."

Continuing in the same letter he says: "My party has succeeded to admiration, and Gothic architecture has received great applause. I will not swear that it has been really admired. I found by Monsieur de Guisnes that, though he had heard much of the house, it was in no favourable light. He had been told that it was only built of lath and plaster, and that there were not two rooms



Robert Adam, Architect.

ELEVATION OF A HOUSE IN THE CASTLE STYLE, DRAWN IN ITS SURROUNDINGS. CULZEAN CASTLE, AYRSHIRE.

together on a level. When I once asked Madame du Deffand what her countrymen said of it, she owned they were not struck with it, but looked upon it as natural enough in a country which had not yet arrived at true taste. In short, I believe they think all the houses they see (in England) are Gothic, because they are not like that single pattern that reigns in every hotel in Paris; and which made me say there, that I never knew whether I was in the house that I was in, or in the house that I came out of. . . . We who have as pure architecture and as classic taste as there was in Adrian's or Pliny's villa."

Another pioneer, James Essex (1722-84), of Cambridge, was brought into relations with Walpole through the latter's great correspondent, the poet Mason.²⁴ Essex is referred to on one occasion as

"our only Gothic architect."

As it was said, Walpole "outlived three sets of his own lath and plaster battlements," and additions were going on in October, 1776, when he again mentions Essex in writing to the Countess of Upper Ossory.²⁵ "I am quite alone and wishing myself at Amt-hill. I did not think Mr. Essex could have come *mal-à-propos*, but it is so difficult to get him, and he has built me a tower, so exactly of the fourteenth century, that I did not dare to put him off, lest it should not be ready for furnishing next spring. It is one of those tall thin Flemish towers, that are crowned with a roof like an extinguisher, and puts one in mind of that at Thornbury, called *Buckingham's Plotting Closet*. I hope no Cardinal Wolsey will sit on my skirts for the likeness."

At Nuneham Adam seems to have been superseded, and the amateurs appear to have directed affairs. From Mrs. Delany's²⁶ account of her visit (August, 1782) to Lord Harcourt we learn that "Bowers, statues, inscrip-



BUILDINGS IN THE CASTLE STYLE: CULZEAN, AYRSHIRE.

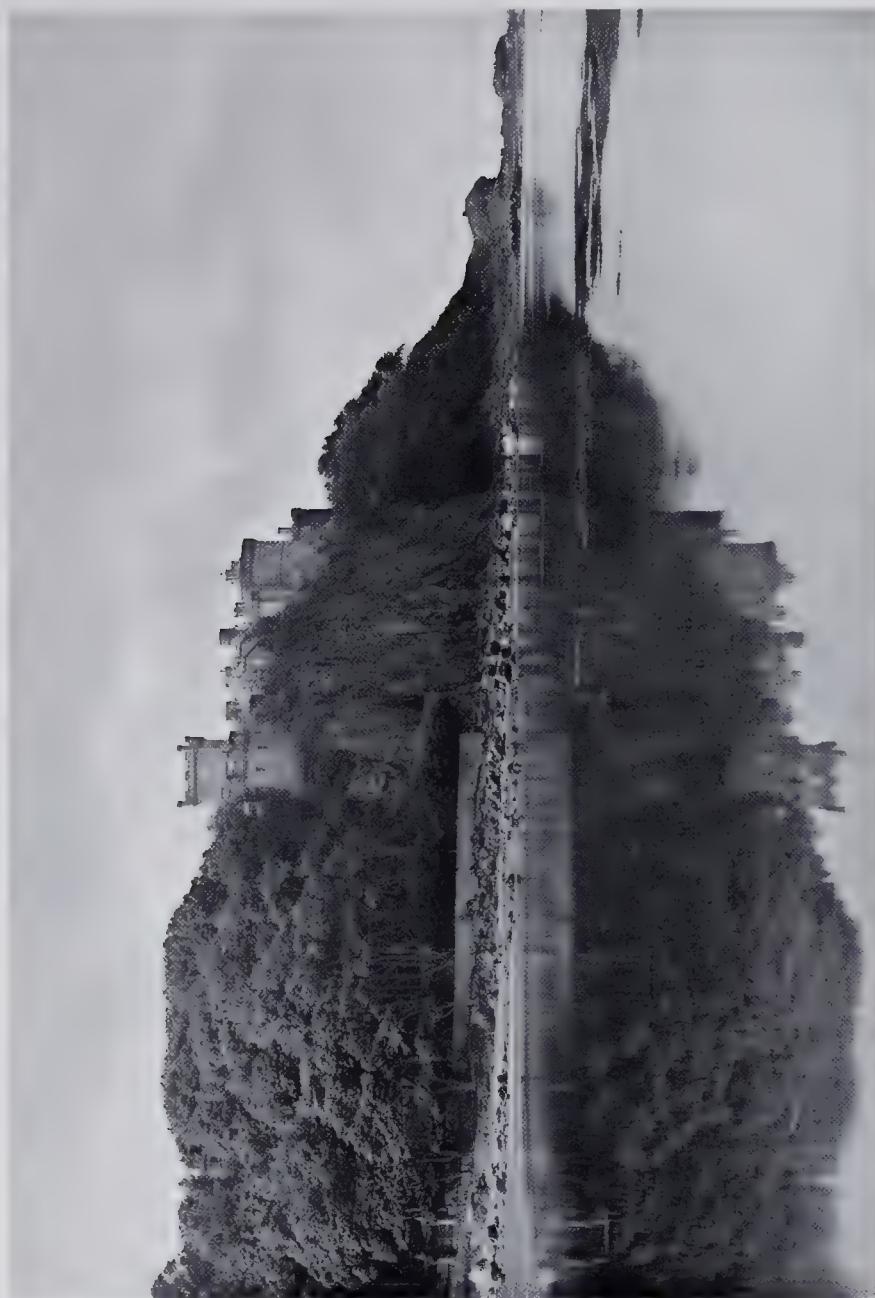


GARDEN TOWERS.

tions, busts, temples, were all planned by the Rev. William Mason." The poet had just perpetrated the "English Garden," in four books. "The Committee of Strawberry Hill," i.e., Walpole, Essex, Wyatt, Chute,²⁷ Bentley, Mason, Thomas Pitt, and others, was a varying body, but its influence must have been considerable, so long as its director was able to get about and act as architectural adviser to the nobility and gentry and apparently even to the general public.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine*,²⁸ for April 28, 1781, "Architectus" writes to Mr. Urban:

Indeed this style of building is so much neglected by us, that few of our present artists can now make a design truly Gothic; and I have seen one for an altar-piece to King's College Chapel, Cambridge,²⁹ made by Messrs. Adelphi, which though



THE CASTLE FROM THE CURVING SHORE : GENERAL VIEW OF CULZEAN CASTLE.

pretty enough in itself, was in no way suitable to such a fine Gothick Building, and has justly given place to one that does credit both to the designer and to the workman.

I do not mean, Mr. Urban, to recommend the Gothick manner of building in preference to the Greek and Roman, now so well understood by us, and certainly best adapted for dwelling-houses and places of diversion, as the Gothick is as certainly (in my opinion at least) to places of devotion.

It is highly probable that this was an anonymous effort of Horace Walpole's or, if not his own, by one of that group, who were distinct adepts at such journalistic devices for moulding public opinion.

Had Walpole possessed that real judgment of architecture with which he has been too often credited, he would have been better employed in deprecating the Castle building diversion in which Robert Adam had by now so deeply engaged. Without the requisite knowledge of the detail and character of Gothic architecture, Adam was unable to embody his romantic visions in serious architectural form.

Some of these designs are atrocious attempts at Romanesque, Gothic, and Scotch Baronial. Strawberry Hill, visited by the élite from the King and Queen downwards, was to dominate mansion building in England and cast a heavy shadow of battlements, barbicans and loopholes over the countryside for over half a century. Adam unfortunately did not stand aloof, but plunged into the stream from about 1770 onwards.³⁰ Apart from one or two rough sketches, which seem to show that, backed by an adequate knowledge of the character, construction, and detail of old examples he might have realised something, there is little among these designs that reflects credit on Robert Adam's taste.

Windsor Castle, which, however, is of so late a date as 1824-28, may be regarded as the culmination of this epoch of castle building. Here only Sir Jeffrey Wyatville (1766-1840), by a sheer force of genius, which has fused the older buildings of the castle into a grand pictorial group, contrives to make us forget the heavy forms and barbarous detail of this phase of the revival. Seen at a distance, Windsor seems to realise the castle-palace of the poet. There is one Adam sketch³¹ for encircling an old oblong Scotch castle with a great sweep of low castellated office buildings, which, had it been carried out with adequate detail and on a site with surrounding waters might, perhaps have challenged comparison with Wyatville's Windsor. On the level, however, it would have been too much like sundry gaols of that period. It is more than doubtful if Robert Adam had ever grasped the significance of the structure and growth of the old castles in relation to their sites. It is quite clear that he had no idea of the part played by the residential and subsidiary timber and other domestic structures within the walled lines of defence.

The whole castle building movement was essentially false and ended in nothing, and it has now no importance except as a record of the side issues of the social life of the last half of the eighteenth century and of their echo in the first quarter of the nineteenth.

On Adam's designs for rustic pavilions and ruins, Roman or monastic, it is still less necessary to dwell. One wishes that similar current fads of the twentieth century could be seen in their naked reality, as they must infallibly appear to our descendants at a similar distance of time.

It must be remembered that this castle-building phase began some ten years before Adam started in practice. The sham castle on Edgehill, built by Sanderson Miller³² of Radway in the years 1746-47, had been opened September 3, 1750, and had been succeeded by many others, built in open rivalry, or imitation. This Hagley Castle ruin, built in 1747, was visited and praised by Horace Walpole in a letter to R. Bentley in September, 1753.

A Gothic conservatory in wood is undertaken in 1751 by Miller, who was acclaimed as "the Great Master of Gothick" by William Pitt in 1755; and Keene, who was consulted, gravely suggests that the ornaments shall be in lead, as, if in wood, they must be cut across the grain and the wet will soon rot them. In 1750 Miller was even asked to supply "the plan of a Gothick Cockpit for Lord Strange."

Sanderson Miller was also the owner of a thatched cottage which he had built in 1744 at Edgehill, near Radway. This, with "the Castle," was a centre point in picnic excursions for all the distinguished visitors to the locality. Lord North³³ is constantly arranging to borrow the keys for such visits by his own guests. That Horace Walpole, in fact, felt considerable jealousy of the achievements of Miller is shown by his account of his own visit to Hagley, Lord Lyttelton's seat in Worcestershire, one of the most typical of the show places of the last half of the eighteenth century. It is difficult, if not impossible nowadays, to recover the

sentiment that gave value to these all-important features in the schemes of that school of gardening which, in the last half of the eighteenth century, had all the attractiveness and impetus of novelty.

Reading to-day the eloquent descriptions of that time merely conveys the idea that the key to their enthusiasm must be sought in the local dedications and inscriptions through which they endeavoured to put the visitor into the appropriate state of mind. Shenstone,³⁴ the poet and landscapist, gave way to an intense annoyance if his vistas were shown from the reverse point of view. In his essay on "Landscape Gardening" he has the following: "Ruined structures appear to derive their power of pleasing, from the irregularity of surface, which is *variety*: and the latitude they afford the imagination, to conceive an enlargement of their dimensions, or to recollect any events or circumstances appertaining to their pristine grandeur, so far as concerns grandeur and solemnity. The breaks in them should be as bold and abrupt as possible.—If mere beauty be aimed at (which however is not their chief excellence), the waving line, with more easy transitions, will become of greater importance.—Events relating to them may be simulated by numberless little artifices: but it is ever to be remembered, that high hills and sudden descents are most suitable to castles: and fertile vales, near wood and water, most imitative of the usual situation for abbeys and religious houses: large oaks, in particular, are essential to these latter:

" Whose branching arms, and reverend height,
Admit a dim religious light."

Shenstone was a neighbour of Lord Lyttelton at Hagley, and had expended his whole resources in laying out and planting his estate of Leasowes from 1745 to the time of his death in 1763. Alexander Carlyle, James Adam, John Home, and Robertson, riding from London to Edinburgh,



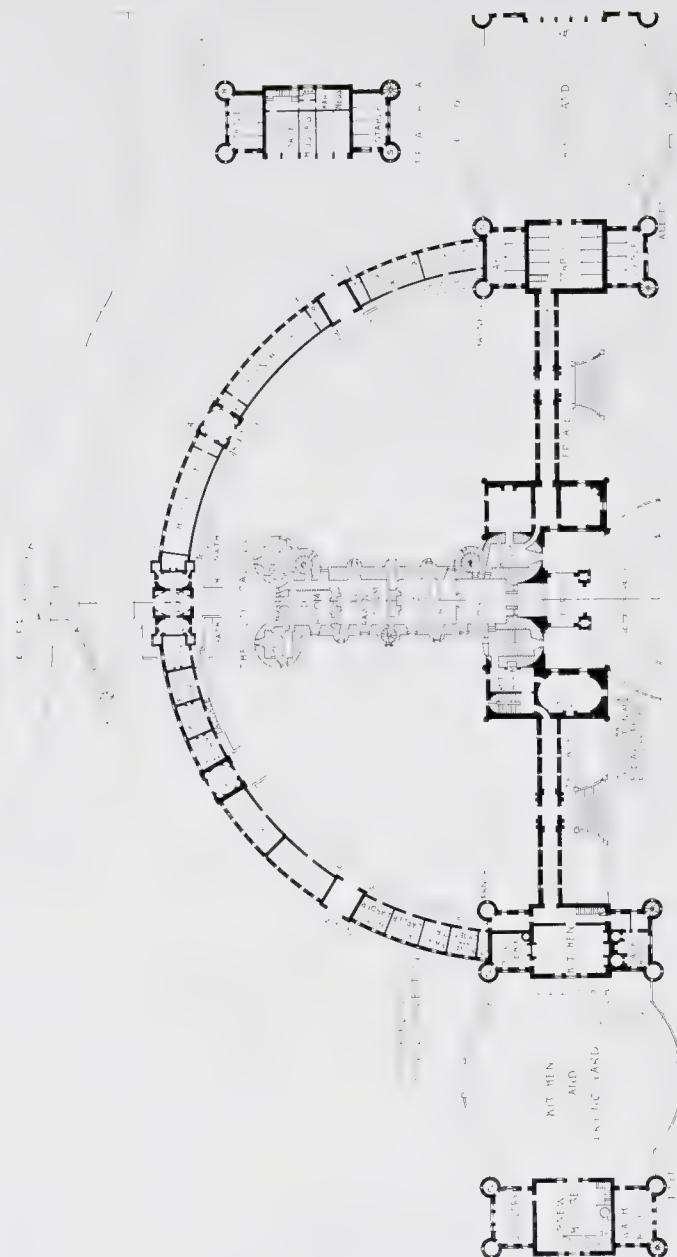
LAUDER CASTLE: ELEVATION BY ROBERT ADAM.

and visiting various places on their way, called upon him in May, 1758. Carlyle^{34A} says: "Shenstone's was three or four miles short of Lyttelton's. We called in there and walked over all the grounds which were finely laid out, and which it is needless to describe. The want of water was obvious, but the ornaments and mottoes, and names of the groves, were appropriate." . . . "Shenstone was a large heavy fat man, dressed in white clothes and silver lace, with his grey hairs tied behind and much powdered, which, added to his shyness and reserve, was not at first prepossessing. His reserve and melancholy (for I could not call it pride) abated as we rode along, and by the time we left him he became good company."

The tendency of Shenstone's essay may be judged by the foregoing and such dicta as: "Hedges, appearing as such, are universally bad. They discover art in nature's province," and "Water should ever appear, as an irregular lake, or winding stream." "The taste of the citizen and of the mere peasant are in all respects the same," i.e., they adhered to the older traditions of formal gardening.

The party went on to Hagley, but Carlyle, who is our reporter, gives us no record of what James Adam, who, as we know from his later tour in Italy, was an outspoken critic to the point of rashness, thought, or said, about Hagley as a house. The grounds would, no doubt, have pleased him, for James Adam appears to have regarded the older gardening as an "exploded school," for he notes, in October, 1760, while visiting Farsetti's villa in the Venetian territory: "This garden is done at great expense, and is a mixture of that French and Dutch taste that is so justly exploded in England." Time has its revenges, however, and we can now no longer recapture Walpole's mood, which saw "the true rust of the Barons' wars," in Miller's ruinous castle on the heights of Hagley.

LAUDER CASTLE THIRLSTANE BERWICK
FOR THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE
ROBERT ADAM 1790
GROUND PLAN



Probably the best of all these structures, this sham ruin at Hagley, is of solid stone and built with some regard to appropriate detail and masonic craft.

Miller was helped, no doubt, by the lingering tradition which, as we see in the Cotswolds, carried on mediæval masonry up to the advent of nineteenth century industrialism.

Fortunately Robert Adam seems to have been satisfied with external castellated effects, and for the interiors he followed his usual style of decorative finish.³⁵ It was a compromise which was hardly likely to last, and before long some extraordinary results during the flood tide of the Gothic Revival were achieved, of which we are sufficiently tired to-day. Of Adam's castles we can only say that some of his designs have, apart from their puerile detail, the same sense of the element of romance in building which makes Windsor Castle in a distant view a unique vision. The coup of Sir Jeffrey Wyatville (1766-1840) in raising the round tower by a mighty screen wall is one of those strokes that is justified by its success. Culzean Castle (1777-90), in the same way, has through Robert Adam acquired an element of picturesque effectiveness that should excuse the inadequate handling of the detail.

Robert Adam, however, in spite of these excursions in the "Castle style," never deserted classic art. There is most often a classic alternative to the "Design in the Castle style," which has evidently been demanded. Probably to Adam the site was an important element in the case. While he is stated to have advised that the Calton Hill site justified a fortress gaol,³⁶ he saw in the development of the New Town a field for planning in the grand manner. His scheme for Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, like his last work in London, Fitzroy Square, both of about the same date, displays the characteristic manner he had originated in its latest development.



Robert Adam, Architect.
PROPOSED REREDOS FOR KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV.

¹ The "Elegy," begun 1742 and resumed 1749, was shown to H. W. in 1750 and printed in 1751. The "Odes" appeared in 1752 as designs by Mr R. Bentley, for six poems by T. Gray. There is a reference to the "Bard" as begun, 1751. H. W. Letters, Vol. III, page 343. Gray was ten months older than Walpole. They parted at Reggio in Italy, and did not meet for some years until a reconciliation was brought about by a lady 1745. H. W. returned from Italy September, 1741. Sir Robert Walpole resigned February, 1742.

² "The son of the great scholar Bentley, although never positively successful in anything, had a strong opinion of his talents attached to him by such men as Gray and Walpole. But there was something bizarre in all his attempts. If he aimed out of the common route his aim was without force; his freedom was flippant, his style loose and his sentiments trite, and his dialogue familiar." J. B. "Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons," Vol. I, page 360. Bentley died October, 1782. His tragedy, "Philodamus," published 1767, was received with laughter at Covent Garden.

³ In December, 1753, Bentley had been forced to retire to Jersey on account of his debts. H. W. Letters, Vol. III, pages 111, 200 and 222.

⁴ Vol. IV, pages 185 and 212.

⁵ Muntz was turned out November, 1750. He had been in the French Army up to 1748, and was at the siege of Genoa. H. W. Letters, Vol. IV, page 323.

⁶ H. W. Letters, Vol. IV, p. 431.

⁷ Richard Bateman, died 1773, son of Sir James Bateman, and brother of the first Viscount Bateman. The house was at Windsor and Horace Walpole in 1774 (Vol. VIII, page 452, Toyn, Edt.), complains that Lord Bateman on succeeding has stripped and sold up the house, and advertised its site for sale. "I was hurt to see half the ornaments of the chapel and the reliquaries, in short, a thousand trifles exposed to sneers."

⁸ H. W. Letters, Vol. V, page 247, September 24.

⁹ "The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville." "Mrs. Delaney." Edited by Lady Hanover, 8vo 1862, Vol. IV, page 170.

¹⁰ Porcock Tours, Vol. II, page 64. John Wesley was also a visitor in December, 1771. "The oddest house I ever saw with my eyes." Curnock, Vol. V, page 438.

¹¹ Thomas Pitt of Boconnoc, eldest son of eldest brother of William Pitt, Lord Chatham. He married Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Pinkney Wilkinson of Burnham, Norfolk. H. W. Letters, Vol. V, page 317.

¹² H. W. Letters, Vol. V, page 374.

¹³ H. W. Letters, Vol. V, page 195.

¹⁴ George James, fourth son of Wm Peere Williams, a barrister and writer on law, and an uncle of Lord North. A frequent guest at Strawberry Hill. He appears in the conversation piece painted by Reynolds for H. W., with Richard, after Lord Edgecombe, and George Selwyn. Williams died 1805, aged 86.

¹⁵ "Lettres sur Angleterre," Vol. I, page 55. Marie Anne le Page (1710-1802), wife of Pierre Joseph Fiquet du Boccage. In Vol. II, page 445. H. W. Letters, Walpole indulges in a sneer at Lord Chesterfield's patronage of Madame. April, 1750.

¹⁶ It is only fair to point out that there is a curious mention of "a Mr. Adams" as a fellow traveller with Mr. Walpole in August, 1776, in the Amesbury district, in Mrs. P. Lybbe Powys Diaries, "who we were exceedingly well acquainted with." There is nothing definite to identify this Adams in the account given (page 174). See the "Account of S. Hill" by H. W. for mention of the Adam ceiling.

¹⁷ The Monk's Parlour at Sir John Soane's Museum probably gives the best extant idea of what the interior of Strawberry Hill was like in Walpole's day.

¹⁸-¹⁹ H. W. Letters, Vol. IV, pages 392 and 407.

²⁰ June 14, 1760, H. W. notes that he is very busy finishing his Round Tower which has stood still five years. Vol. VII, page 280.

²¹ Lord Strafford had a house at Twickenham to which new offices were being added. H. W. Letters, Vol. IV, page 291, August 9, 1759.

²² H. W. Letters, Vol. VI, page 395. July 9, 1760.

²³ H. W. Letters, Vol. VIII, page 30.

²⁴ "The promise of Mason had been great, but I presume the progress of church preferment made him think it indecent to allow his talents to wander towards the stage. Like most men he summoned criticism to confirm him in his prejudices, and justified in a few letters of no great merit, his preference of the great Greek drama, James Boaden." "Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons" 1827, Vol. I, page 184.

²⁵ Lady Ossory. Correspondent of Selwyn and Walpole. Anne, only daughter of Lord Ravensworth, divorced in 1769 from the Duke of Grafton, and soon after married to the Earl of Upper Ossory. "Gifted with high endowments of mind and person, high spirited and noble in her way of thinking and generous in her disposition." H. W. Letters, Vol. IX, page 421, as quoted in text.

²⁶ Auto and Corres., Mrs. Delaney, Vol. VI, page 101.

²⁷ John Chute (170-176), tenth child of Edw. Chute of the Vine, Basingstoke, Hants. Educated at Eton and abroad until 1746. Succeeded to estates 1754. Friend of Horace Walpole at Florence 1740.

²⁸ Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LI, page 1.

²⁹ There are two undated designs in Vol. XXXI of the Adam collection. One is of Early Renaissance type and interesting, and the other very bad "Gothick." Between 1784 and 1789 Adam was making drawings for new buildings adjoining King's College, and the Senate House. See Chapter XXVII. Walpole had been at King's. As Adam's designs can be dated 1768-56 by a record of payment, "Paid 27 Oct. 1769 to Mr. Robert and James Adam for two designs for an altarpiece for the chapel £79 2s od." and as James Essex had erected his altarpiece between 1770 and 1776, it seems rather strange that the matter should be revived at this date. The rood loft and screen of 1541-35 attributed by Willis and Clark to Italian artists, no doubt suggested to Adam the idea of his first design for the chapel *versus* in the style of the Early Italian Renaissance.

³⁰ There is an alternative elevation, in battlemented Gothic, with round towers, for Lowther Castle, for the Earl of Lonsdale, dated November 26, 1767. Frontage, 65ft.

³¹ Proposed additions, Dunbar, 1790.

³² Sanderson Miller (1717-80), while at Oxford (1735-37) came under the influence of Dr. King, the Jacobite, Principal of St. Mary's Hall, 1718-63. Miller's other works were Ruinous Tower of Wimpole for Lord Chancellor Hardwick 1749; Ambrosden, now pulled down, and the tower of Wroxton Church, which was built and rebuilt after a fall in 1717. In 1751 he carried out some work for the Bishop's Palace, Durham, for the famous Bishop Butler, who died in the spring of 1752. Hagley and the County Hall at Warwick (the latter begun January, 1755, with Hiorns as builder, who seems afterwards to have claimed the design) are his chief Italian works. "Porcock in his tour, 1756, says distinctly, 'this gentleman designed the County House in Warwick with great contrivance and taste in the Corinthian order.' Miller married, 1746, Susannah, only daughter of Mr. Samuel Trotman, of Shelswell, Oxon. 'An Eighteenth Century Correspondence.' Edited by L. Dickens and M. Stanton. London, 8vo, 1910. H. W. Letter is in Vol. III, page 186.

³³ Francis seventh Baron North, created Earl of Guilford, 1752. Father of the favourite Prime Minister of George III (1770-82). Wroxton Abbey not far from Radway and Edgihill was his seat.

³⁴ William Shenstone (1714-63) of Leasowes, Halesowen, Shropshire. "Essays on Men and Manners," pages 56 and 62. Cook's edition, 12mo, London.

³⁵ A. C. "Auto" 1vo, 387.

³⁶ Except particularly Alnwick Castle where, by a special desire of the Duchess of Northumberland Adam launched out with some extraordinary "Gothick" interiors which can be seen now only in the imperfect drawings in the Soane, as the work itself was all destroyed in the nineteenth century.

The existing prison, etc., is the work of Elliot, Edinburgh City architect. Robert Adam's "Bridewell" designs for Edinburgh give us only one date, 1791. The first, most simple and suitable, of these appears to be symmetrical and classic in character. An original landscape sketch in light and shade (Vol. XXI, page 12) can, I think, be identified as a study of the site with a view to a treatment castle style.

PART I. CHAPTER V.

ROBERT ADAM'S CRITICS.

THAT Horace Walpole was at first a great admirer of Robert Adam is shown by his letter to the Earl of Hertford, August 27th, 1764, which contains a reference to Sion¹ at the time when that work was in hand. Still earlier, in the preface to the "Anecdotes of Painting," 1761, Walpole had written, "Architecture, the most suitable field in which the genius of a people, arrived at superiority, may range, seems reviving. The taste and skill of Mr. Adam is formed for public works."

There is a note of criticism when Osterley Park is described on July 16th, 1778, but in June, 1773, a glowing account was given, the chief rooms being then described as "Chefs d'œuvres of Adam." On the appearance of the first part of the "Works," with the famous "Preface," a definite hostility is displayed. "We hope it will be thought no more than justice to ourselves, thus to ascertain the originality of our designs, and enable the world to discover where they have been imitated with judgment, and where they have been servilely copied or misapplied. . . . An artist who feels in himself an inability of presenting to the public anything from his own store of invention, has no title to be offended if an author is solicitous to vindicate himself to posterity from any imputation of plagiarism."

The malice of Walpole reads into this passage an attack on James Wyatt. He writes to the Rev. W. Mason, July 29th, 1773.² "In his Preface he seems to tax Wyatt with stealing from him: but Wyatt has employed the antique with more judgment, and the Pantheon is still the most beautiful edifice in England." He continues with abuse of the Adelphi Buildings and adds (Sept. 13th) insinuations against the scheme as a fraud on the public.

It is possible that Walpole was one of those who influenced "The Queen of the Blue Stockings" in leaving Robert Adam, who had already done some beautiful work for her at the house in Hill Street in 1766, in favour of James Stuart, as the more select and fashionable architect of the day. In February, 1767, Mrs. Montagu had written to Lord Kames at Blair-Drummond,³ "I beg my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Drummond and Mr. Home: assure Mrs. Drummond that I have not forgot her commands; and I hope I shall acquit myself in such a manner as to the *épargne*, as to be trusted for other commissions. I have also seen her *girandoles*, which I like extremely: but I have proposed a little alteration at the top. If she would have anything *en meubles*, extremely beautiful, she must employ my friend Mr. Adam here. He has made me a ceiling and chimney-piece, and doors, which are pretty enough to make me a thousand enemies: Envy turns livid at the first glimpse of them." The lease of her "great house" was granted in 1775,



MRS. MONTAGU'S HOUSE IN PORTMAN SQUARE BY JAMES STUART.

Note.—The porch has been advanced at a later date.

Portman Square, begun 1769, being already formed in 1773, and the house-warming was held on February 22nd, 1782. This was the occasion of Walpole's severest and most often quoted attack on Adam. He writes on February 14th to Mason, "I dined with the Harcourts at Mrs. Montagu's new palace, and was much surprised. Instead of vagaries, it is a noble simple edifice. When I

came home, I recollect that though I had thought it so magnificent a house, there was not a morsel of gilding. It is grand, not tawdry, nor larded and embroidered and pomponned with shreds and remnants, and *cliquant* like all the harlequinades of Adam, which never let the eye repose a moment." Other critics found plenty of vagaries in the Portman Square Palace far worse than could be laid to Adam's door, such as the "feathery bower of Montagu."

To rightly estimate the value of Walpole's criticism and statements of fact the reader must bear in mind that he calmly writes in May, 1780,⁴ that "the Knight of the Polar Star" (Sir William Chambers, R.A.) had run away, because he had incurred heavy extras on Somerset House, then building, and adds, "I am sorry, considering that the constellation of the Adelphi was not *rayé* from the celestial globe after their bubble lottery."

Such news, and the very casual retraction in a subsequent letter, accompanied as it is by fresh insinuations written about so solid and serious a person as Chambers, gives us the measure of Walpole.

Five years later, *à propos* of Carlton Palace, recently reconstructed by Henry Holland for the young Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV,

MRS. MONTAGU'S HOUSE, BY JAMES STUART :
THE ANTE-ROOM.

Walpole writes to the Countess of Upper Ossory, "How sick one shall be after this chaste palace, of Mr. Adam's gingerbread and sippets of embroidery!"

Apparently that was the Parthian shot and it is certainly remarkable that Walpole does not comment on or even make any mention of Robert Adam's death in March, 1792.

Of the magnificent artistic legacy that the most distinguished architect of his time had bestowed upon his country during the thirty years of his arduous career in London Walpole has no conception, and it must, like his employment of second rate engravers for his own books, stand in final condemnation of his pretensions as a serious critic of art.

Far heavier artillery than Walpole's galling pom-pom has been brought to bear upon Robert Adam, largely under the misapprehension as to his responsibility for the scheme of Kedleston. Samuel Johnson, ignorant and indifferent as he may have been in matters architectural, was yet the most dominant intellectual force of his generation.

Few things are more amusing than Walpole's cat-like scratches aimed at the writings and personality of Johnson, and of his "Zany Boswell." He actually tells us how, mistaking a harmless visitor for the latter, "I sewed up my mouth, and, though he addressed me two or three times, I answered nothing but yes and no."

As a great Englishman, in merits and defects alike, a unique and representative character, Johnson's judgments have always commanded attention by their striking shrewdness and common-sense. Visiting Kedleston, the erection of which, between the years 1758-68, may in some ways be taken to have been a turning point in English domestic architecture, he summarised the defects of the school of architecture to which it belongs in a memorable fashion : "It would do excellently for a town hall. The large room with the pillars," said he, "would do for the judges to sit in at the assizes : the circular room for a Jury chamber; and the room above for prisoners." He thought the large room "ill-lighted and of no use but for dancing in : and the bed chambers but indifferent rooms ; and that the immense sum which it cost was injudiciously laid out."



Such is Boswell's report of his own and Doctor Johnson's visit in August, 1777, when they drove over with their host, Mr. Taylor of Ashbourne, to visit Lord Scarsdale. Boswell tells us that Johnson's old school friend had already remarked to him: "He is a tremendous companion," and the architectural verdict recorded above is a sufficiently tremendous indictment. Ferguson in his "History of Architecture," quotes it with characteristic approval, and the sentence of Johnson undoubtedly represents a critical position which cannot be ignored.

Johnson's diary is worth quoting as it so fully bears out Boswell's report and contains some details which the latter has omitted:

Tuesday, 19th July.—We went to Kedleston to see Lord Scarsdale's new house, which is very costly but ill-contrived. The Hall is very stately lighted by three sky-lights: It has two rows of marble pillars, dug as I hear, from Langley, a quarry in Northamptonshire: the pillars are very large and massy, they take up too much room, they were better away. Behind the wall is a circular saloon, useless and therefore ill-contrived. The corridors that join the wings to the body are mere passages through segments of circles. The State Bedchamber was very richly furnished. The Dining Parlour was more splendid in gilt plate than any I have seen. There were many pictures. The grandeur was all below. The Bedchambers were small, low, dark, and fitter for a prison than a house of splendour. The kitchen has opening into the gallery by which its heat and fumes are dispersed over the house. There seemed in the whole more cost than judgment.

Mrs. Thrale,⁵ writing an account of her visit to Kedleston with Dr. Johnson in 1774, three years before the visit of Boswell and Johnson, expresses her views with a greater vehemence. It is to be noted that Boswell was not present at the first visit, nor Mrs. Thrale at the second:

We saw Kedleston therefore, and saw there was more splendour of furniture and ostentation of wealth, than I have ever yet seen in any house ancient or modern. The pictures of a high value, and the State Apartments grand beyond expectation and beyond description.

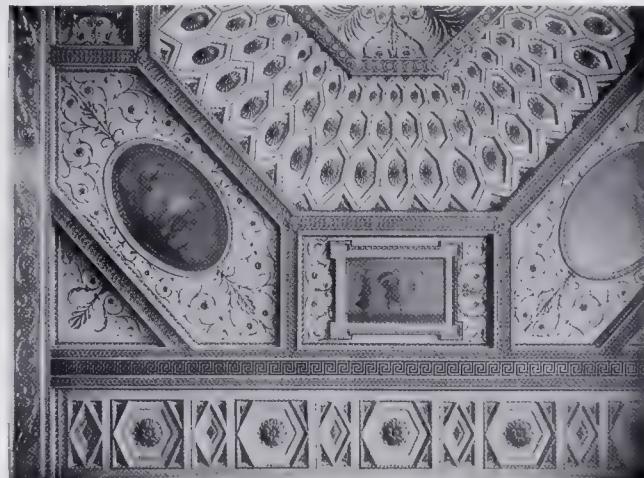
I think no house I have seen at all comparable to this of Lord Scarsdale for finery, neither are the ornaments of a tinsel taste. There is however, no pleasing disposition of very well contrived apartments, no elegance of proportion nor no happy introduction of light to be boasted of, nothing but what so much money might buy and what would apparently sell for so much money again.

But when you mount up to the attic storey the scene is so altered it frights you, such low rooms, and so gloomy that they form a strong contrast to the gaiety of the showy apartments downstairs. After our eyes had been dazzled below and deadened above we drove on to Derby.

Dr. Johnson, with his faithful disciple Boswell, journeyed to Kedleston in Dr. Taylor's private chaise, a mode of locomotion with the rapidity of which Johnson expressed the greatest satisfaction. Very graphically does Boswell dwell upon the pleasures of their visit, the well dressed elderly housekeeper who showed them round the house, and was "a most distinct articulator," the pictures, which he longed to view more at his leisure, the politeness of Lord Scarsdale, who himself joined in their tour of inspection, and Dr. Johnson's complacency upon finding a copy of his "Small Dictionary" in his Lordship's dressing-room. "Look ye! *Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris.*"

Boswell's naive admiration for all that they saw forms an admirable foil to the obstinate melancholy of the great Doctor.

I was struck with the magnificence of the building, and the extensive park, with the finest verdure, covered with deer and cattle, and sheep, delighted me. The number of old oaks, of an immense size filled me with a sort of respectful admiration:



CEILING OF THE GREAT DRAWING-ROOM, 15, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, BY JAMES STUART.

for one of them £60 was offered. The excellent smooth gravel roads; the large piece of water formed by his Lordship from some small brooks, with a handsome barge upon it; the venerable Gothic church, now the family chapel, just by the house; in short, the grand group of objects, agitated and distended my mind in a most agreeable manner.

"One should think," said I, "that the proprietor of all this *must* be happy." "Nay, sir," said Johnson, "all this excludes but one evil—poverty."

In a characteristic footnote the versatile prince of biographers gives us a lady's (Mrs. Boswell's?) comment upon this dictum, "It is true, all this excludes but one evil; but how much good does it let in?"

Johnson's habit of mind in matters architectural emerges from Boswell's report of a conversation in 1776 with a mutual friend Gwynn,⁶ an architect of repute:

He expressed his disapprobation of ornamental architecture, such as magnificent columns supporting a portico, or expensive pilasters supporting merely their own capitals, "because it consumes labour disproportionate to its utility."

For the same reason he satirised statuary, "Painting," said he, "consumes labour not disproportionate to its effect; but a fellow will work half a year at a block of marble to make something in stone that hardly resembles a man. The value of statuary is owing to its difficulty. You would not value the finest head cut upon a carrot."

Gwynn's reply to this onslaught did not lack point; he assailed the clay feet of the literary colossus.

"You might convey all your instruction without these ornaments," (fine allusions, bright images, elegant phrases).

"Why, Sir," Johnson retorted, "all these ornaments are useful, because they obtain an easier reception for truth; but a building is not at all more convenient for being decorated with superfluous carved work."

These conversations derive interest from the period of time as well as the persons concerned. Here is Johnson, a habitué at Reynolds' studio and the associate of Edmund Burke, author of the essay "On the Sublime and the Beautiful," as well as a contemporary of Robert Adam, exhibiting a philistinism in his attitude towards art worthy of the worst days of the Utilitarian School so prevalent in the succeeding century.

Johnson, in fact, voices an attitude of mind that is perennial, and one, moreover, not so purely national as our self criticism is apt at times to assume. His plea touches the meaning of all architecture, and his escape from Gwynn's counter-censure is a mere evasion. Obviously, truth in this instance may be conveyed by a due assertion of the object of the building, and the case-hardened Tory should not have denied the rightful setting due to the noble owner. To do this is to assail the foundations of architecture which rest upon the correspondence of the work achieved with the historical and social conditions of its epoch. An interesting passage in one of Disraeli's letters touches the point. He criticises one of the great nobles of his own day for erecting a marquee for a special occasion, possessing, as he did, very stately saloons. He ought, he declares, to have utilised them. "A Duke should not ginguettise." To which we may add that, if he does, it should be in the spirit of Robert Adam's "Fête Pavilion" for the Earl of Derby.

Kedleston, the plan of which was more or less repeated for the Government House in India, is therefore justified of its existence by considerations



FACADE OF NO. 15, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,
BY JAMES STUART.

of artistic fitness which the pedestrian level of its critic had ignored. "Convenience," to accept the great writer's own term, was not, as he should have perceived, to be measured in this instance by the standard of Gough Square. The subtleties of artistic truth which escaped him were

better appreciated by Lord Scarsdale, who inscribed on the centre of the south front, "Amicis et Sibi," and by Robert Adam, who, in his architecture, has therein displayed something of this same exquisite courtesy.

There is, of course, the delightful story of a modern housemaid, newly arrived at Kedleston, who wept for three days at the impossibility of finding her way about, but in this as in other phases of life it may be found that "il faut souffrir pour être belle." Each generation offers sacrifices to its own ideals and laughs at those made by its predecessor.

The great house-building epoch of the eighteenth century, that of Castle Howard, Blenheim, Holkham, Houghton⁷ and Kedleston, was one also of great agricultural prosperity, and these lordly mansions grandly exhibit the temper of the age. Ceres and Bacchus appear above the portico of Kedleston associated with great medallions devoted to agricultural subjects. The classic columns of the portico after the Pantheon, the south front grouping based on the Arch of Constantine, and even the lodge following the Arch of Octavia, remind us of the Grand Tour that formed an essential part of the lordly educational policy of the day.

"Non equidem in video : miror magis," said Johnson, when he visited Burke in his Buckinghamshire retreat,⁸ and this sentiment is irresistibly recalled by the sight of Kedleston.

It was in 1761 that, according to his own statement, James Paine (1725-89) was employed to make the first plans for Kedleston. As there is evidence, however, that the house was begun in 1758, it may be that Brettingham preceded Paine for this period. Paine, moreover, is rather weak at dates.⁹

Paine's own account is "the North East wing is built nearly after a design made by Mr. Brettingham, which of course limited the form of both the wings in that front. The centre or body of the house and the corridores are the design of the Author." The most marked feature of the central block was a great columned hall and a circular salon, between which Paine proposed to place the main staircase of the house. Subsequently he requested to be allowed to resign the task, whereupon it was entrusted to "those able and ingenious artists, Messrs. Robert and James Adams ; who made several alterations in the Author's plans, as appears by those published in the fourth volume of 'Vitruvius Britannicus,' and the whole was carried on under their direction."

Enough will have been said here¹⁰ to acquit Robert Adam as a house planner from the censure directed against the scheme of Kedleston. He did all that could be done in the way of modifying a house plan already in execution, and the alterations made by him, to which Paine refers, were as drastic as the nature of the case admitted. The suppression of Paine's great staircase was certainly justified as tending to an anti-climax. The scheme of the house being that of a great villa the first floor of bedrooms was of no account and the secondary staircase was evidently considered an amply adequate approach. The state bedroom and dressing-rooms at this time were always on the same floor as the reception rooms, and they usually formed part of the suite. As Paine's staircase ascended from the basement there would have been an ugly and objectionable well-hole in the centre of the present rotunda. Robert Adam was, in fact, at all times a sound house planner, with an acute perception of Bacon's maxim that "Houses were built to live in, and not to look at." Naturally, his plans are to be judged by the social standards of his own day and not by those of our time. In spite of such limitations, few architects, I imagine, have left more houses that have been so continually occupied with as a rule only trifling alterations, as our examples will clearly show.

As will be seen when Nostell is dealt with, Kedleston was not the only case in which Adam was called in to modify the work of Paine. Their relations, however, must have been friendly, because



ELEVATION, 20, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,
BY ROBERT ADAM.

Note.—Iron porch framework is a later addition.

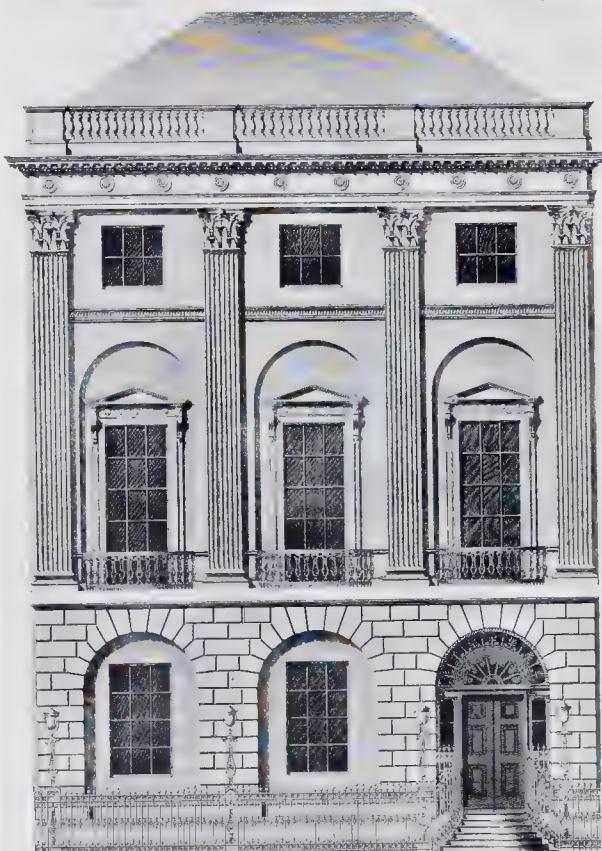
Paine's name is among those who formed the original shareholders in the Adelphi enterprise. Paine maintained an interest in the south ; he had a villa at Richmond,¹¹ where he built the existing bridge, and the well known portrait group of himself and his son was painted by Sir Joshua.

In the case of Harewood, Adam came in contact with Carr of York, the local architect, at an earlier stage before the work had actually begun. In the result the exterior of that building, as well as the actual planning, was a good deal influenced in favour of traditional and practical usages. All the decorations of the interiors of Kedleston and Harewood were, however, entirely the work of Robert Adam.

His practice, in fact, had two sides, like that of Sir Charles Barry—to take a leading instance of a century later. It has been pointed out that Barry can hardly be said to have built a complete house, but that his transformations of older houses were so extensive as to be, in fact, fresh creations. Robert Adam's special gift for decoration and furnishing caused him to be invited to complete and alter an immense number of buildings of which he was not the original architect. The Duke of

Cumberland's house in Pall Mall (until lately the War Office and now pulled down), originally built by Brettingham, is a case in point. Even the autocratic and individualistic Robert Mylne seems to have yielded to Robert Adam's charm, as is witnessed by the interiors at Northumberland House, at Charing Cross (1770-79), and Wormleybury in Hertfordshire (1777-79). It will be obvious that work of this kind must be judged on a very different footing from new and complete works for which Robert Adam was entirely responsible.

The alteration of old work is exceedingly expensive and, usually so, to an unforeseen extent ; consequently the architect's scheme is often mutilated and compromised, owing to the impossibility of making the alterations sufficiently drastic, to ensure in the outcome an artistic whole. Of such decorative works by Robert Adam many have entirely vanished owing to later changes of taste. Others have suffered by the dispersion of



Robert Adam, Architect, 1772.

ELEVATION OF THE HOUSE OF SIR WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN, BART.,
20, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE.

the carpets, furniture, mirrors, chimneypieces and other essential elements of his original scheme of decoration.

Robert Adam's remarkable success and the widespread character of his influence could not fail to produce towards the end of the first generation a marked reaction. Apart from those who clung to the earlier Georgian tradition, "the School of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields" as James Elmes describes them, there were others who were working for the Greek Revival, as it is now called, critics who placed Stuart and Wyatt on pedestals and desired to dethrone Robert Adam, whom they regarded as a dangerous interloper.

The opening of the first Academy Exhibition in the new Somerset House (1780) was anticipated by a bitter pamphlet by "Roger Shanhagan, Gent.,"¹² a pseudonym for Robert Smirke, R.A., the painter. He was the father of Sir

Robert Smirke, R.A.,¹³ the future architect of the British Museum (1823-47)

and of other even more dull classic productions. Smirke senior was born at Wigton, near Carlisle, in 1752, and became a student of the R.A. twenty years later. He began to exhibit in 1776, was elected A.R.A., 1791, and R.A. two years later. He was chosen as Keeper of the R.A. Schools in 1804, but his appointment was cancelled by the King on account of his ultra-radical views. He lived to the great age of ninety-three, dying in 1845. His pictures, scenes from Shakespeare, etc., may be said to be absolutely forgotten.

The pamphlet supposes the exhibits of the forthcoming Exhibition to pass by magic before the critic, grouped under the headings of the best known artists of the time, nearly all of whom receive a severe castigation. The critic begins with Robert Adam, who, of course, in reality, never contributed to the Exhibition at the Royal Academy. The exhibit is described as "Two Temples for Kew Gardens," dedicated respectively to "Northern Patriotism" and "Virtue," and "a Ladies Dressing Room." Covert attacks are, however, in addition, directed against Stormont House (the centre of Portland Place, west side, James Adam, 1778-79), the earlier façade for Rigby opposite to the Admiralty, and, of course, the Adelphi. "The world believed it impossible to attain magnificence in building, without order, symmetry, and proportion; but the Adams erected the Adelphi, and convinced the world of its mistake. . . . Genius is a happy madness that decides and determines without thought, reflection, or foresight. Such is the genius of the Adams, irregular, elevated, and magnificent. . . . From the poems of Homer rules were deduced, by which succeeding poets have been directed. But the Adams are greater than he. Their works are not only erected without Rules, but from them no Rules can be drawn. The man who would criticise them as he ought, or would imitate them, must possess a portion of the same fire which animates the Artists."

The last paragraph is surely one of the finest boomerangs of criticism in existence, and, in fact, the whole pamphlet will be found to be a warning of the futility of contemporary art criticism.



Robert Adam, Architect, 1771.

R. Blyth, Sculpt. Published January, 1775

ELEVATION OF A HOUSE IN WHITEHALL.

Restored as a Board Room for the Paymaster-General and Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital and Office for Invalids.

The way in which Smirke deals with Benjamin West in relation to Gainsborough,¹⁴ and with Wyatt and Stuart versus Robert Adam, is an object lesson in itself.

The two imaginary Adam temples are described as follows: "the detail of the Architecture is dry and unpleasing. To the Man of Taste, it will be sufficient to observe, that the first is very like the building opposite to the Admiralty, and the other almost a copy of Lord Stormont's house in Portland Place, and when I have said this, he will have no difficulty in conceiving the Dressing Room. The Adams have peculiar felicity in adapting the same noble style to interior and exterior decoration. . . . So if we change the titles, and remove the Attic or Pediment, the Fronts of the 'Temples' are the Sides of either Dressing or Drawing Rooms." The last part is, of course, directed against the beautiful interiors for the Earl of Derby's house in Grosvenor Square. (See Chapter xix.)

Further, in dealing with other artists, the subject of Adam recurs, like King Charles' head with Mr. Dick, as follows: "For the meaning of the term '*Movement*' the reader is desired to



WORMLEYBURY, IN HERTS: STAIRCASE WITH ADAM DECORATIONS.

consult, not the works, but the preface of Messrs. Adams' work, in which place it holds a first rank among their numerous excellencies." (Page 35.) And again (page 38):

"The dignity of Columns is proportioned to their apparent consequence. When they are raised only to support a flimsy Entablature, as we see in the works of some Architects of great celebrity, their 'Dignity' is diminished in our eyes, and they offend us with the absurdity of power misapplied." No wonder that architecture, as Wilberforce wittily remarked of the Church of England, nearly died of "Dignity" in the hands of the critic's son, who was coached by his father when Soane, after a year's trial, had decided that this chip of the old block was of no use as a pupil in architecture.

When the pamphleteer comes to deal with Wyatt he has no foresight of the coming lapse of his hero into "Gothick," but he finds occasion (page 91) to aim two Parthian arrows at Robert Adam, which deserve particular attention, because the same insinuations eventually became one of those current prejudices¹⁵ which it is the object of this work to dispel.



WORMLEYBURY, IN HERTS : EATING ROOM, REDECORATED BY ADAM.

" From Inigo Jones to Sir W^m Chambers the same weighty Proportions that gave Grandeur to the outside were carried into Dressing Rooms and Bed-chambers. Mr. Adam was taught by Mr. Stuart to see this Absurdity ; but he fell into the contrary extreme, and while he aimed at elegance within, covered the outside of his Buildings with frippery. . . . Most of the white walls, with which Mr. Adam has speckled this city, are no better than Models for the Twelfth-Night-Decoration of a Pastry Cook."



WEALD HALL, ESSEX : ADAM MANTELPIECE IN THE " EATING ROOM."

pamphlet, with this title was sent me, as a work recently published, and much talked of in England, the joint production of two persons in Wyatt's office. Since my return, I have often heard mention made of this work, as a production of Messrs. Smirke and Porden.¹⁷ At the time of the publication in question, one of these gentlemen was constantly employed in Mr. Wyatt's office, and concerns ; and the other very much connected therewith. Further, I have never heard that they have on any occasion disavowed the bantling."

Soane was told by an artist¹⁸ who was in Wyatt's office at the time that Porden used to bring in many of the loose sheets (apparently from the printers) into the office and read them for the amusement of those present. It appears that Smirke was much employed by Wyatt at this time in painting subjects for the panels of chimneypieces, etc., and that he was on terms of intimacy with Porden.

There can be little doubt that this mischievous critic, then twenty-eight years of age, just married, and probably bitter from want of employment,¹⁹ had the most superficial knowledge of Robert Adam's own work. Born only some six years before Adam's start in practice, he had probably never seen Robert's private work, apart from the partial publication in the earlier parts of the " Works." References to Wyatt's interiors afford us an idea of the critics' views, while they provide him with an excuse for further sallies against his fellow north countryman. " The same correct Taste presides as on the outside. His (Wyatt's) Ornaments are never of inelegant shapes, nor lavished with vulgar prodigality, nor too minute to be seen, nor so predominant as to engross our attention. We are never pained by lines violently contrasted, nor perplexed by a harsh opposition of glaring and discordant colours, but a timely repetition of the same form preserves Variety from Confusion, and one mild prevailing Colour softens every brighter Tint into its own sweetness " (page 93). The last sentence seems to explain the critic's own failure as a painter.

A footnote to the word " frippery " serves as an excuse for the following onslaught : " That the beautiful Spirit of Antiquity which Messrs. Adams seized, as they say, and diffused through all their numerous works, was first extracted by others, is no more to be disputed than that they have suffered the best of it to evaporate. I have seen designs with the name of Robert Adam, which had no excellence but that which they received from ' the massive Entablature and the Tabernacle frame,' and were certainly made before he became enamoured of the ' fanciful figures and winding foliage of the flowing Rainceau.' " (Page 92.)

Against this last paragraph Soane has pencilled in his own interleaved copy of " Shanhanan " — whom, by the way, as a man, he appears to have both hated and despised — the remark : " Apply this to Gothic work."

What Soane has to say¹⁶ about this pamphlet some thirty years later is of a curious interest : " In 1779 when pursuing my studies in Rome, a

This of itself convicts the author of great ignorance of the development of Robert Adam's characteristic art from his early Palladian period. The critic sees that something has changed, but the real nature and growth of the revolution that took place in his own boyhood quite escape him. The most confident critic, in fact, will be disturbed by a perusal of this pamphlet, and, perhaps, entertain a passing doubt whether by chance he himself is equally blind, as was "Roger Shanhanan, Gent.," to the real and lasting art of his own time.

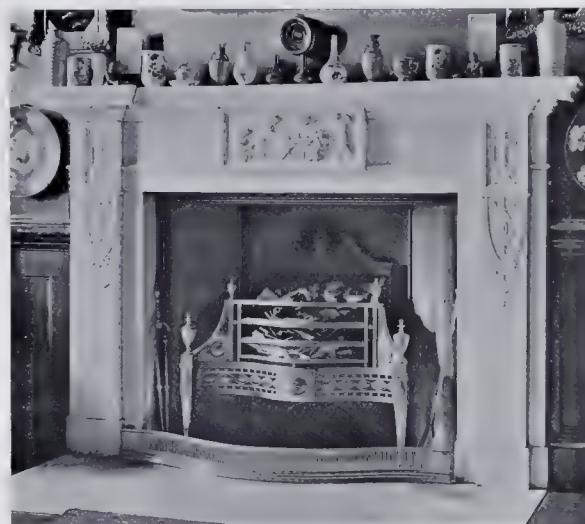
A most amusing little book of about 1785, dealing with the architecture of small houses mainly from the constructional side, affords us another example of current criticism. "Nutshells,"²⁰ by "Jose Mac Packe (a bricklayer's labourer"), contains a very clever anonymous attack on the Adam style then predominant. The author was a man of considerable analytic power, which is here directed mainly towards the planning in various alternatives of a difficult class of work, *i.e.*, small villa houses. Of his views on architecture, the following gives a good summary, and the hardly veiled attack on the "Adamitic mode" is cleverly pressed home (page 72).

Mere decoration, though it most strikes the vulgar eye, as it is the last, is really the meanest branch of architecture; a handsome well-proportioned, peasant or serving girl, are held with pleasure, while their deformed or ill-favoured superior, though ornamented with everything esteemed beautiful and brilliant, excites disgust and aversion. Hence in the exterior of these little buildings, a correct and chaste simplicity seem characteristically proper; the owner should therefore be particularly attentive to this, if he would not offend against the strictness of propriety; but yet, if he affects decoration, and thinks nothing can be beautiful, unless it is fine, let him at least be careful to avoid an excess of the puerile ornaments, as well as the emasculated proportions of the modern school, and not enervate his elevation with filligree work, proper only for his lady's dressing room; on the contrary, let him pay some little respect to the greybeards of antiquity, let him suffer his exterior to be made in some small degree like antique architecture, and be in some measure guiltless of the excess of modern refinement and modern finery; on the contrary, in the interior let him not be afraid to copy the architects of the present day, (unless he shall rather choose to leave the whole to the direction of his lady, which, perhaps, after all, is the best and wisest way). Here let the nick-nackery of the Cabinet maker, Toyman, and Pastry cook, preside with impunity. Here let the light and elegant ordonnance of the bed post triumph over the clumsy orders of old Greece. Here let Pilasters rival the substance and ornaments of figured ribbons, and the rampant foliage of antiquity, give place to the exquisite prettinesses of casts from the cabinet, the medal case, or the seal engraver's show glass. In these diminutive buildings, if fond of ornament, let the builder use these kind of ingredients without blame. It is only to be wished, that our great buildings may escape being debauched, and having their magnificence eclipsed by the superlative niceties of modern proportion, and modern decoration.

The application of this is fairly obvious, while later on, at page 79, the author seems to have in particular view the current type of decoration, mainly in plasterwork, derived from Robert Adam's practice.²¹ The relation of floor to ceiling is a particularly personal touch.

Something in this stile I should be very much inclined to prefer to that generally applauded, where festoons obey various lateral kinds of gravity, unknown to nature and philosophy, and in which the chess cakes and raspberry tarts, upon the ceiling, vie with, and seem to reflect those upon the floor with such wonderful precision; and where the insupportably gorgeous ceiling, and the fervently glowing carpet, cause the poor bare walls to be seemingly dissatisfied, uneasy, and impatient to retire from such fine company, as if conscious of their meanness and poverty.^{21A}

The MS. lectures of Sir John Soane²² (1753–1837), delivered at the Royal Academy from 1810 to 1837, which are not descriptive, but very brief and dry in their critical remarks, contain one or two references to Robert Adam which were kindly pointed out to me by the late curator, Mr. Walter L. Spiers, F.S.A. In his lecture on March 2, 1815, to the Royal Academy students, Soane made the following remarks with reference to two drawings of Kedleston which he was then exhibiting:



WEALD HALL: THE ADAM MANTELPIECE IN THE DRAWING-ROOM.

I cannot however, pass by Kedleston, which although begun by Mr. Paine, may, notwithstanding be considered as one of the great works of my late friend Mr. Robert Adam. In this superb structure he has united in no inconsiderable degree the taste and magnificence of a Roman villa with all the comforts and conveniences of an English Nobleman's residence, and though some hyper-fastidious critics may endeavour to wrest from that great artist his well earned fame, and smile at his efforts to reconcile the idea of blending an ancient triumphal arch with the exterior of a modern building, I can only regret that more such happy attempts are not made to display the powers of pure architecture.

From the designer of the decorative screen wall architecture of the Bank of England (1794-1823) this tribute is honest and hearty, and it is worth attention as showing that, except for the marked divergence caused by his own personal and peculiar eccentricity of detail, Soane remained at heart a follower of the Adam tradition.

In fact, the curious character of the design of Pitchanger Manor,²³ Soane's country seat at Ealing (now the Public Library), is only to be understood by regarding it as an echo of the Adam centrepiece of the south front of Kedleston.

In his eleventh lecture to the R.A. students, Soane, while particularly referring to decoration, gives us his most considered opinion on Adam's achievement. After describing how the latter had driven out imitation French work, composed of twisted C.C. and scrolls, Soane says : " It is to the activity of the Messrs. Adam that we are more particularly indebted for breaking the talismanic charm, which the fashion of the day had imposed, and for the introduction from ancient works, of a light and fanciful style of decoration, better suited for private buildings, and the elegance of modern refinement. This taste soon became general ;—everything was Adamatic ; buildings and furniture of every description, —But however adapted this style might be to internal embellishment, it was ill-suited to external grandeur : —the Messrs. Adam had not formed their taste on the best examples of antiquity, and therefore using the same style in public and private Buildings, internally and externally, they did not retain the favourable opinion of the public to the extent expected ;—But if, in no instance, amongst the various opportunities afforded by their numerous and extensive works did they ever reach the sublimity of the great restorers of architecture, and if they did not sufficiently distinguish the difference of character between public and private works, at least they had banished from the interior of our buildings, the clumsy tabernacle frame, the heavy Cornice, the ponderous Entablature, and the monumental chimney piece of Inigo Jones, Kent, Gibbs, and the whole train of their humble imitators ; and if Mr. Adam occasionally, in his flights of fancy, descended to trifles, and gave an elegance and an importance to a Sedan chair, or to the keyhole of a Lady's Escritoire, let us, in candour and justice to departed merit, remember that " (Kent had done the same).

The modern reader will find it difficult to appreciate the extraordinary attitude towards decorative design assumed in Soane's peroration. It may be partly understood as a parallel to Reynolds' preaching of the sublimity of " History " and the inferiority of other forms of art in painting. The evil effects of this Academic attitude must not be overlooked in considering the artistic decadence that was felt to have reached its climax in England at the epoch of the Great Exhibition of 1851.

Dallaway's " Anecdotes of the Arts," 1800,²⁴ has some allusions and comments on Robert Adam's architecture. In Lansdowne House he finds " a decorated simplicity, yet rich in effect, and several very noble apartments." At Luton, " had the whole plan adopted by the late Lord Bute been carried into effect, the house would have been equalled by few of the residences of our nobility, in all that should characterise a splendid mansion. The library is scarcely exceeded in England. In the front of Lord Buckingham's at Stowe, a certain flatness is relieved by an angular point of view where the portico becomes majestic." It was, however, in the next century that the criticism of Robert Adam's work reached its climax in the attack made by Joseph Gwilt (1784-1863)²⁵ in his " Encyclopedia," published in 1842. Much of the destruction of Adam's work must be laid to the account of the early nineteenth century writers, who created a frame of mind which induced even classic architects like Sir Charles Barry,²⁶ the later Wyatts, the Hardwickes and others to treat the work of Robert Adam as something to be improved upon, or abolished. Gwilt may be taken as summarising the views of a school, and the general utility that his " Encyclopedia " possessed secured for him a wide publicity and an authority which, as a critic of architecture, he never really deserved.

Purporting to give a biography of Robert Adam, in a general summary of English Architecture, Gwilt condemns his work on lines which few modern critics would, I imagine, care to endorse.

The motive of the attack seems to be a very true feeling on his part that Adam does not conform to his rule and line. "It can scarcely be believed, the ornaments of Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro, should have loaded our dwellings, contemporaneously with the use among the more refined few, of the exquisite exemplars of Greece, and even Rome, in its better days. Yet such is the fact, the depraved compositions of Adam were not only tolerated but had their admirers. It is not to



WEALD HALL: CEILING BY ROBERT ADAM FOR THE "EATING ROOM," 1778.

be supposed that the works of a man who was content to draw his supplies from so vitiated a source will require lengthened notice."

Accordingly Gwilt summarised Robert Adam's works as follows: "Lord Lansdowne's House well planned, but ill-designed, a meagre affair." . . . "The disgraceful gateway at Sion"; and concludes, "None however would now do credit to a mere tyro in the art."

James Stuart, on the other hand, is the good boy of the school. "The chasteness and purity which Stuart and Revett had with some success endeavoured to introduce into the buildings of England and in which their real zeal had enlisted many artists, had to contend against the opposite and vicious taste of Robert Adam, a fashionable architect whose eye had been ruined by the corruption of the worst period of Roman art."

Unfortunately for Gwilt, few will be found to prefer Stuart's masterpiece, as he terms it, No. 15 in St. James's Square, to Adam's house, No. 20, for Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, on the same side of the Square and not many doors away. Nor will his criticisms ever dethrone Robert Adam as an originator and designer who, as time has proved, could so thoroughly mould the ideas of his time into a style which will always embalm his name. That Adam was unrepentant is shown by his sketch design for a house for Lord Newhaven, which was to actually adjoin that of Stuart.

Gwilt's attack is an instance of a pedant assailing a master, whose work and ways of thought are instinctively felt to be destructive of the critic's own position. Attacks of this kind do, in fact, answer themselves, and recoil most heavily on the critic himself.

Ruskin, in one of his moods of insight in matters architectural, speaks of "the eminently political art of architecture," and the absolute is to be as much distrusted in art as in politics. The student will always have to form his own generalisations, and he will be better engaged on an attentive study of Robert Adam's achievement than in a perusal of the doctrines of Gwilt. In 1847, when Elmes senior was writing a series of biographical articles on British Architects,²⁷ so far in current opinion had Robert Adam's achievement been lost to view that the would-be historian can calmly put James Wyatt in the first place, and actually treat the Adams as little better than speculative builders. Elmes' criticisms follow those of Gwilt, and the great probability is that neither of them had ever seen any real Adam work, outside the Adelphi. W. H. Leads, a prolific writer,²⁸ followed on the same lines.

Adam's fame, rising as his work is more clearly seen in the perspective of time, is so established that refutation is no longer necessary. The critic's views are now merely of a minor historical interest. Somewhat later historians have, however, failed perhaps to sufficiently dissociate themselves from the ancient prejudice against Robert Adam. In the absence of a serious study of his actual work the old charges are simply repeated without sufficient reflection. The most serious is that which charges Adam as being "the first of those who trod the thorny paths of speculation and finance." It is, of course, a misfortune that Robert Adam was involved in the Adelphi speculation and that his relations with the builders, who laid out Mansfield Street and Portland Place,²⁹ are somewhat obscure. Some considerable allowance has probably to be made for the difference of Scottish and English tenures and practice.

This side of Adam's work, however, looms too largely in the critics' eyes, perhaps, because, as has been explained before, his private domestic work is not really well known. If one might hazard a guess at the motive of the Adelphi it would be that the unfulfilled ideal of Robert Adam was to erect a grand public building. His first studies at Rome were for a great Palace, after which the possibility of new Houses of Parliament attracted him, involving, as it was bound to do, new Law Courts as well. Adam came nearest to this ambition with the University of Edinburgh, which, however, came too late in his career and proved to be so ill starred a scheme that the building remained as a mere wreck for twenty years after his death. Finally it was carried out and finished by others not without disastrous alterations to Robert Adam's original design. Further, it must always be remembered that his half century was one notorious for wild speculation and gambling. Not to dwell on the earlier South Sea Bubble of 1720, it is sufficient to remember the endless allusions to the gambling tastes of the time in both Selwyn's and Walpole's letters. To buy houses on speculation seems to have been quite an amusement for the nobility. Walpole writes, August 8, 1777, to the Countess of Upper Ossory urging that she shall induce her husband to buy Lord Villier's house in Grafton Street, either to occupy or sell, and recommending it almost in the terms of a house agent.³⁰ It is impossible therefore to make Adam a scapegoat, and it should be sufficient to hope that he has left no successors in such "thorny paths." Certain it is that the Adelphi must have been a heavy drag on Robert Adam's legitimate practice. It is highly probable that the conduct of this affair was mainly in the hands of James and William Adam, and that Robert was the artist of the scheme. The interesting account given of the Royal Society of Arts negotiations seems to prove this.³¹

Some writers on the eighteenth century assume that the Earl of Bute and Lord Mansfield,³² both clients of Adam, were promoters in these speculations. Gossip and violent charges, however, were the rule in the heated political atmosphere of the time, so that it is now idle to speculate further on the matter.

Even Horace Walpole now and again finds it difficult to give credit to the rumours and gossip of the day. He thinks it necessary to defend his father, Sir Robert Walpole, and with apparent success, on such charges as that of having built Houghton with Royal money. His father, "the great corrupter," as he ironically remarks, died £40,000 in debt. It would have been well for Robert Adam to have been content with his unique private practice. It was in such work that he reached his highest level, but at the same time it is only due to him to differentiate between the artistic intention of the Adelphi enterprise and the reckless commercialism of Nash in the next century.

There must have been in Robert Adam, manifestly the leader of the brethren, a rare union of zeal and energy, with a disinterested love of his chosen art, which alone could have impelled him through the long years of his single-minded devotion to architecture. It is easy to understand that later on a passing remark was drawn out of him by the phenomenal success of the petted Wyatt,³³ and he would have been hardly human if the privileged position of Chambers with the King and "His Academy" had not been silently resented. That Robert Adam was essentially a reticent worker seems to me to be proved by the occasional outbursts of his "Prefaces." Far too much stress has been laid on these utterances by those who have forgotten to allow for the "Perfervidum Ingenium Scotorum." The works of Robert Adam themselves are the best refutation of the stupid insinuations of ignorance and prejudice.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V.

¹ See Chapters on Sion and Osterley.

² H. W. Letters, T. Ed., Vol. VIII, pages 313 and 336. Other Adam attacks, H. W. Letters, T. Ed., Vols. IX, page 186, XII, page 166

XII, page 321

³ "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Hon. Henry Home of Kames," by the Hon. Alexander Fraser Tytler of Woodhouselee, Edinburgh, 2 Vols., 4to, 1807. Vol. II, page 47

⁴ H. W. Letters, Vol. XI, pages 171, 178 and 181. Below, with reference to Johnson, Vol. XIII, pages 272, 337 and 437. Vol. XIV, 439.

⁵ Mrs. Thrale (afterwards Madame Piozzi) (1741-1821). Of her book, "Observations and Reflections on Journeys in France, Italy and Germany," Selwyn notes that "her book with all its absurdities has amused me more than many others have done which had a much better reputation."

⁶ John Gwynn, Little Court, Castle Street, Leicester Square, was born at Shrewsbury and educated at Worcester. He died in 1786. From 1734 he had been a writer on art and drawing. One of the first three in the Blackfriars Bridge Competition, 1759, which Robert Mylne won. Johnson's three letters in favour of semicircular versus elliptic arches appeared in December of that year. G. built the bridge at Shrewsbury (1769-74), Magdalen Bridge, Oxford (1772-78), and new market there 1774. His chief book, "London and Westminster Improved," 4to, appeared 1766. Johnson wrote the dedication to the King 1773. Boswell "Life of Johnson," Macmillan, Vol. II, pages 188 and 354

⁷ Houghton (1722-35), seat of Sir R. Walpole (1676-1745), W. Kent (interior, 1726) and Ripley, architects. Holkham (1734-61), Coke, Earl of Leicester, returned from Italy 1718; died 1759. The countess completed the work and had Brettingham's book published in 1761. W. Kent, interior

⁸ Boswell's "Life of Johnson," Vol. III, page 10, Macmillan. Gregories, built for John Waller, Esq., 1712, see Plate 47. Vol. II, "Vitruvius Britannicus," Wolfe and Gandon. Two stories, brick and stone, with quadrant colonnades, stable and office wings. Extent, 190ft. There is no doubt that the liberality of Rockingham, Burke's political chief, enabled him to purchase the place.

⁹ The second volume of Paine's book, which contains Kedleston, was published only in 1783, the first had appeared in 1767. "Vitruvius Britannicus" continued by Wolfe and Gandon, 1767-71. Paine's text to Plate 52, section of Kedleston, north to south, is as follows: "The Author was employed to make the plans for this magnificent Mansion in the year 1761, and the foundations were soon after accordingly laid. Great preparations of every kind of materials were made for carrying on the buildings with all possible dispatch; but, Very unfortunately for the Author, the several works in which he was then engaged, in distant and different parts of the kingdom, obliged him to request his Lordship's leave to discontinue the carrying on of the said building; which having obtained, the noble owner placed this great work in the hands of those able and ingenious artists, Messrs. Robert and James Adams; who made several alterations in the Author's plans, as appears by those published in the fourth volume of the Vitruvius Britannicus, and the whole was carried on under their direction." "Plans, Elevations and Sections of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses, etc." by James Paine, Vol. II, 1783

¹⁰ See chapter on Kedleston

¹¹ Addlestone, near Chertsey, Surrey. Elizabethan additions by Paine, according to Elmes, who says the house was afterwards that of Sir Chas. Wetherell. C. I. Journal, Vol. X, page 184. Richmond Bridge was in hand July, 1774. H. W. Letters, Vol. XI, page 14.

¹² "The Exhibition," or a second anticipation, being remarks on the principal works to be exhibited next month at the Royal Academy. By R. S. Gent, London. Printed for Richardson and Urquhart, under the Royal Exchange. Price 2s. 6d. (1779). Pages 7 and following.

¹³ Sir Robert Smirke, second son (1781-1867). With Soane for a year as pupil: left and joined R. A. Schools 1796. G. M. 1799. Travel abroad 1801-5. A.R.A. 1808. R.A. 1811. Chief Works, Mint, 1809; Covent Garden Theatre, 1809 (burnt 1856); G.P.O., 1823 (pulled down); College of Physicians, Trafalgar Square, 1825. With Soane and Nash, Smirke was one of the three architects attached to the Office of Works after the death of Wyatt in 1813

¹⁴ Gainsborough's "Beauties of a Day," "Unlaborious, ideal style." "Pity it is that so much ingenuity should ever lose its value! but so passes the glory of the world."

¹⁵ Compare Gwilt, see later.

¹⁶ "An Appeal to the Public occasioned by the suspension of the Architectural lectures in the Royal Academy, etc., in letters to a friend illustrated with engravings." By John Soane, architect, F.S.A., London. Wm. Miller, 1812 (not published), page 24.

¹⁷ Wm. Porden (1755-1822), b Hull. Introduced to Wyatt by Mason. After with S. P. Cockerell. Secretary to Lord Sheffield and Paymaster 2nd Dragoons. 1778 exhibited design for Gothic church at the R.A. 1785-86. Handel Festival arrangements in W. Abbey. Surveyor London Estates for Lord Grosvenor. Eaton Hall, 1804-12. Some of his lath and plaster vaulted Gothic apartments have been preserved in the rebuilding. 1805, stables and riding house at the Brighton Pavilion

¹⁸ James Spiller, architect and surveyor. Friend of Soane

¹⁹ On page 30 of the same pamphlet, "The Appeal," Soane has a footnote: "The late Mr. Robert Adam was certainly a man of uncommon talents of an amiable disposition, and of unassuming manners; a friend to artists of every description: and, although he overlooked or underrated the great qualities of Mr. Shanahan, he patronised on all occasions, Angeha, Zucchi, Clerisseau and Hamilton; Mr. Adam also deserves great praise for banishing from interior decorations the heavy architectural ornaments, which prevailed in all our buildings before his time:—although it will be admitted that he sometimes indulged in the extreme of fancy & lightness." On page 34 Soane remarks that James Paine patronised Mortimer, Wheatley and Lurno in particular; but overlooked Mr. Shanahan and thereby brought on himself the full force of that gentleman's resentment.

²⁰ "OIKIDIA or Nutshells," 8vo, London, 1785, by the late James Peacock of the Guildhall. Chief assistant to G. Dance, R.A. the City architect

²¹ "The Builder's Magazine," 1779, the plates dated 1775-78. J. Carter, Inv. and Delt., is full of imitation Adam interiors mixed with Gothic, Chinese and rustic designs. Shop fronts, grates, etc. are given as well as designs for buildings

²² How far the reaction had reached only four years after Robert's death may be judged from a passage in a student's letter (MS., Soane Collection). C. H. Tatham to Henry Holland, junior, from Rome, April 4, 1790. "The late Messrs. Adams were the children of the arabesque, yet I do not scarcely recollect one instance in which they successfully employed it: it is a style productive of great fatigue to the designer, more to the artist, and an infinite expense to the purse of the employer—witness the Adelphi!" Tatham himself proposes "intrinsic copies of original existing models of antiquity, rendered useful and interesting for their elevated designs, and in the extent of their class touching the taste of everyone."

²³ Sir John Soane (1753-1837) started (1768) in the office of G. Dance, R.A. He won the gold medal, 1776, went to Rome 1778, and in 1788 was appointed architect to the Bank of England. A.R.A. 1795. R.A. 1802, he succeeded Dance as Professor of Architecture at Royal Academy in 1806. Knighted in 1831. Built his well known house in 1812 and founded the Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1813. Lecture 9, MS., page 37, and Lecture 11, March 16, 1815. MS., page 28, also page 67.

²⁴ Pitzhanger Manor, Ealing Green, the country retreat from 1800-11 of Sir John Soane, R.A., etc., Soane Museum Publication No. 4

²⁵ "Anecdotes of the Arts in England," by the Rev. James Dallaway, F.S.A., 8vo, 1800, page 152

²⁶ Joseph Gwilt, second son of George Gwilt the Elder (1746-1807), who was District Surveyor to St. George's, Southwark, and patronised by H. Thrale Johnson's friend. Architect to West India Docks. The elder son, George Gwilt the younger (1775-1856), restored St. Mary le Bow and St. Saviour's, Southwark. Joseph was taken into his father's office at age of fifteen and in 1801 admitted student R.A. and obtained a S.M. for measured drawing. Visited Italy, 1816-18. Competed for London Bridge. Arranged approaches Southwark Bridge. Built a Byzantine church at Charlton, near Woolwich. Acted as surveyor to various companies. Edited new edition of Chambers, 1824, with Greek supplement etc. Gwilt, J., "Encyclopedia of Architecture," historical, theoretical and practical. First edition, 8vo, London, 1817. Supplement, 1851. Edited by W. Papworth, 1867, 1876 and 1881

²⁷ Wolfe Barry's travelling companion in Italy, and a lifelong friend, was a pupil of Gwilt. Wolfe's very dull and dry MS. Journal of the tour records that "Mr. G." met them out there while on a brief visit to Italy

²⁸ "Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal," Vol. x, page 1817

²⁹ There is an article on Robert Adam with his initials in an incomplete Biographical Dictionary of the Fine Art Series of this period. In W. H. Leeds' attack on Adam the Adelphi, Portland Place, Stratford Place, Grafton Street and Fitzroy Square are all given as speculations which turned out badly. The third and fourth examples are not proved as Adam work by conclusive evidence.

³⁰ There is a distinct tendency to ascribe all the late Georgian squares and streets indiscriminately to the Adams. The enterprises of Leverton, Dance the younger, and the Hollands, not to mention others now forgotten must not be overlooked

³¹ H. W. Letters, T. Ed., Vol. x, page 93. "On the 1st floor an ante room, and three more very large rooms, all four quintessenced with Adamitie mode, and yet not fibred into puerility like l'Hôtel de Derby."

³² See Chapter on the Society of Arts in the Adelphi. Portland Place as built (1776-78) was mainly the affair of James Adam.

³³ Mansfield is credited with a lawyer's liking for mortgages, and his income from that source has been estimated at £30,000 a year. ("Howett's Northern Heights of London—Account of Kenwood"). In Craddock's Memoirs, 1828, page 97: "His Lordship was not at first much more fortunate in encouraging the building of the Adelphi."

³⁴ Hunt, one of James Wyatt's pupils, in his "Architectura Campestre" (1810, 1827) says that twelve noblemen combined to allow a fixed sum every year to Wyatt, in return for any services rendered on their estates, so that he might have an independent income and not accept the Empress Catherine's invitation to Russia. See also Angelo's "Reminiscences."

PART I. CHAPTER VI.

THE ADELPHI CRISIS (1772), LAST YEARS, AND THE DEATHS OF ROBERT AND HIS BRETHREN (1792, 1794, 1822).

THE Adelphi enterprise would certainly seem to have arisen out of Robert's dream of erecting a great building. It appealed to him, perhaps, as a bid for lasting fame, for the éclat that must arise from such a work; one which was capable of arresting for a time, at any rate, the ever flying attention of the public. Somerset House had not, of course, then arisen in shining masonry, fostered by Royal patronage and the National funds, in a more dominant position both on the river and towards the Strand.

That the Adelphi would prove a millstone weighing down his hitherto supremely promising career must have been as far from Robert's anticipation as any idea that it would bring himself and his family to the brink of financial disaster. The resources of the Adam family, however, were, fortunately for themselves, very extensive, and they possessed in addition powerful friends who were both willing and able to help.

The following letter¹ introduces Baron Mure of Caldwell, a relation of Hutchinson Muir of Great Saxham, whom we have already met. It is interesting for the sidelight that it throws



ROBERT ADAM'S DESIGN FOR THE SOUTH FRONT OF STOWE FROM THE DRAWING IN THE ADAM COLLECTION AT THE SOANE MUSEUM, 1771.



THE SOUTH FRONT OF STOWE AS EXISTING.

upon the doings of Robert and his brother, no doubt John in this instance, in Scotland during the autumn of 1770.

Mr. Robert Adam, Architect, to Baron Mure.

Edin. Nov. 5, 1770.

DEAR SIR,

I am very sorry I have not had it in my power to wait on you at Caldwell. My brother and I went to Buchanan,² where we staid only two days, as I had an appointment at Edinburgh about the Register Office business.³ This prevented my having the honour of being at your house then, and a broken shin which I mett with at Edinburgh, on my return from Buchanan, has confined me for six weeks to my room, and prevented me from seeing any body. I sett out for London tomorrow morning. I have your letter of the 23rd July along with me, which gives a particular description of the house you want.

I will do my best to make out a sketch, according to your ideas both of conveniency and expense, and so soon as I hitt on what I think will answer, I shall send it to Edinburgh, unless you forbid me, or have views of being soon in London.

I hope you'll forgive my not writing sooner, but the constant hopes I had of getting the use of my limbs made me delay answering all letters, as I knew I was and could be of little service to anyone whilst I was lame myself.

I saw John Home⁴ yesterday; he is obliged to add to his cottage, and I have schemed two wings for him, to give the conveniencies necessary for a married man.

I am always, with the most perfect respect and regard,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and humble Servant,

ROBERT ADAM.

Two years later Baron Mure is one of the friends to whom Robert Adam can resort in the stress of his own and his brothers' affairs arising out of the threatened collapse of the Adelphi enterprise.

In March of this year, 1770, Miss Burney,⁵ the celebrated authoress of "Evelina," had met Robert and James Adam at a reception.⁶ "Mr. Adams, very sensible, very polite, and very agreeable,—the most so, Mr. Debieg excepted, of the whole party. Mr.—Adams, his younger brother, a well behaved good sort of young man. . . . During the time of rest, I was happier than in dancing, for I was . . . more pleased with the conversations I then had with Mr. Dundas, Mr. Adams, and others, than with my partners. . . . Mr. Dundas, the elder, and Mr. Adams are quite high conversers. I was never more pleased. . . . When supper was over, all who had voices worth hearing were made to sing,—none shone more than Mr. Adams; though in truth he has little or no voice, . . . yet he sung with so much taste and feeling, that few very fine voices could give equal pleasure: I cannot but much regret the probability there is of my never seeing him again. I may see many fools ere I see such a sensible man again."

Fanny Burney was eighteen at the time of this meeting with Robert Adam. She had already started writing in 1770, her well known diary dates from 1776, and in January, 1778, the publication, at first anonymous, of "Evelina" at once made her famous. As a picture of the period there are few better novels of society. The eminence of Dr. Burney in respect of the numerous circles, social, musical, literary and continental, that he touched, together with the contrasting character of the city connections of his second marriage, combined to place this exceptionally clever and reticent daughter of his first marriage in a unique position as an observer of the life of the time. Her record of Robert Adam has therefore a special interest and value, and it is a lasting matter of regret that they should have passed "like ships in the night."

Two years later a letter from David Hume, Robert Adam's family friend of college days, comments on the Adelphi crisis which he was watching with a detached if friendly attention from Edinburgh. Hume had just settled in the New Town, in a house for which we must suppose John Adam to have made the plans.

David Hume to Adam Smith.⁷

St. Andrew's Square.

27th June, 1772

We are here in a very melancholy situation, continual bankruptcies, universal loss of credit, and endless suspicions. . . . But two standing houses, Mansfields and Couttes . . . the case is little better in London. It is thought that Sir George Colebrooke must soon stop; and even the Bank of England is not entirely free from suspicion. . . . The George Carron Company is reeling, which is one of the greatest calamities of the whole, as they gave employment to near ten thousand people. . . . Of all the sufferers, I am the most concerned for the Adams, particularly John. But their undertakings were so vast, that nothing could support them. They must dismiss three thousand workmen, who comprehending the materials, must have expended above £100,000 a year. They have great funds; but if these must be disposed of in a hurry, and to disadvantage, I am afraid the remainder will amount to little or nothing.

People's [comp]assion I see was exhausted for John, in his last calamity, and everybody asks why he incurred any more hazards. But his friendship for his brothers is an apology; though I believe he had a projecting turn of his own. To me the scheme of the Adelphi always appeared so imprudent, that my wonder is how they could have gone on so long. If Sir George Colebrooke stop it will probably disconcert all the plans of our friends, as it will diminish their patrons influence: which is a new misfortune.⁸



THE GREAT PORTICO, STOWE: ROBERT ADAM FOR EARL TEMPLE.

The allusion to "John's last calamity" is explained by a letter of April 26, 1764, written by Hume from Paris to Dr. Blair.⁸

What you tell me of John Adams gives me great consolation. I had heard of the alarming news of his connections with Fairholm, and things were put in the worst light. I was just ready to write to Ferguson to get from him a just state of the case, but if he has £15,000 or £18,000 remaining, his industry will recover him, and he may go on in his usual way of beneficence and generosity. That family is one of the few to whose civilities I have been much beholden, and I retain a lively sense of them.

David Hume's reference is of great interest as the serious, if candid, opinion of a friend of the family, tending to show that the Adelphi was a regrettable and probably hasty and impulsive undertaking on the part of the united Brethren. The following letters to Baron Mure explain the courageous and resourceful way in which the Adams dealt with the dangerous situation in which they had thus involved themselves.

Robert Adam, Architect, to Baron Mure.⁹

London, Dec. 1, 1772.

DEAR SIR,

As my brother John is endeavouring to negotiate a loan upon his estate¹⁰ in Fife and Kinrosshire, in order to sett our affairs at ease, it becomes of very great importance to have a valuation made of it, by people whose names are known here,¹¹ and it struck us that nobody's name could give greater weight to this valuation than yours.

My brother has wrote by the same post to Sir Adam Ferguson, begging the same favour of him. Might I therefore entreat it as a most particular favour, that you would, if your time can possibly permit you, make a jaunt to the Blair along with that gentleman, and give your opinion of the value of that estate. Mr. Burril (an eminent professional Land Surveyor) was there before, and made a very accurate examination into the nature of the soil, and everything else he thought requisite.

Mr. Gray, who will deliver you this letter, can explain to you the great importance of this measure towards the compleat establishment of our affairs; and will also fix the time of going, when he knows what day will suit you best. Mr. Adam and my Nephew are now at the Blair, and will give you hearty welcome.

I must entreat you will forgive this freedom, which nothing but the particular situation of our affairs could have prevailed on me to take.

I remain, with the greatest respect and esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your obedient and very humble servant,

ROBT. ADAM.

Robert Adam, Architect, to Baron Mure.¹²

London, Dec. 28, 1772.

DEAR SIR,

My brother and I return you a thousand thanks for the readiness with which you fulfilled my desire of visiting the Blair, and the trouble and fatigue you underwent in going minutely over and examining everything.

Your report, both as to the rental and valuation, is perfectly satisfactory; and we flatter ourselves to be able to make out the loan we desire, which will make our affairs perfectly easie. I can only further say, that we shall all retain a most grateful sense of your goodness to us on all occasions, and on this in particular.

And I am, with the most perfect respect and esteem, &c.,

ROBERT ADAM.

I shall write you soon about your own affair.

MR. BARON MURE.

In February, 1773, the Adams attempted to sell the statuary and pictures, etc., which they had brought from Italy, as we shall see in the Chapter on the Adelphi, and it was on the non-success of this offer that they obtained their Act of Parliament for the Lottery.

The next letter contains a very interesting reference to the forthcoming "turning of the wheel," and also to the proposed house for Baron Mure at Caldwell, of which the plans are given at the end of this chapter, page 132.

Robert Adam, Esq., M.P., to Baron Mure.¹³

Adelphi, Feb. 28, 1774.

MY DEAR SIR,

The lottery goes on most swimmingly, and I am very much obliged to you for giving it an opportunity, by Number 324 (this day delivered to, and paid by Mr. Atkinson) of rewarding your good offices with a 40 or 50,000 prize.

I am bound, by that most powerful motive self interest, to wish you success, as I do believe either of the above sums would soon realise our ideas at Caldwell; and I flatter myself, when that happens, there will be few so good houses of the size in Scotland, and none so convenient.

As we are now within two days¹⁴ of the drawing, you may believe we are all very compleatly occupied from morning to night. But we do not in the least repine at the hurry, which bids fair to take off every ticket before the wheel turns round.

We have this day paid the half of all our mortgages, and whenever the deeds of assignment are ready will pay the whole. This is real felicity to honest minds

I am ever, most perfectly, My Dear Sir,

Your most obliged and sincere humble friend,

ROBT. ADAM.

The conclusion of the letter indicates the relief with which Robert hailed the promised escape from the Adelphi adventure.

Stratford Place, which has been so persistently ascribed to Adam, was being promoted by the Earl of Stratford from 1771, aided apparently by Richard Edwin, a surveyor, who evidently was also an architect. There is no doubt that the Earl himself was a keen builder and had much to do with this characteristic enterprise.

Whether this example had anything to do with the Adams Portland Place enterprise, first initiated about 1773, and actually building in 1776, cannot be known, but this new undertaking was intended to go much beyond the modest limits of the Mansfield Street scheme of 1770.

This new speculation of 1776 may have been of James's initiative, and an explanation may be perhaps found in the record of that strange and typical miser, John Elwes, of the family of Meggot, brewers in Southwark, who is stated¹⁵ to have been connected with some of the building enterprises of the Adams. "Mr. Elwes, from his father, Mr. Meggot, had inherited some property in houses in London, particularly about the Haymarket. . . . To this property he began now

to add, by engagements with one of the Adams, about building, which he increased from year to year to a very large extent. Great part of Marylebone soon called him her founder. Portland Place and Portman Square, the riding houses and stables of the second troop of life-guards, and buildings too numerous to name, all rose out of his *pocket*; and had not Lord North and his American war kindly put a stop to this rage of raising houses, much of the property he then possessed would have been laid out in bricks and mortar."

The "one of the Adams" would no doubt be James, who is particularly credited with Portland Place in the obituary notice of 1794, and in the records that we have of that affair.

It appears that Elwes used to live in any vacant house on these properties, though master of above a hundred, and at one time he was to be found in Great Marlborough Street. In 1788 he was in Welbeck Street, and had houses in course of erection in Marylebone. He died in the greatest apparent poverty after the fashion of an inbred miser on November 26, 1789.



DETAIL CENTRE OF SOUTH FRONT OF STOWE.

Too great importance must not, however, be given to his financial assistance to the Adams, as on page 84 it is particularly stated in reference to the year 1789 that a "Mr. Gibson had been appointed his builder, in the room of Mr. Adam."

Before 1782 Elwes had "supplied the money to build a crescent at the end of Quebec Street, Portman Square, where he expended certainly not less than seven or eight thousand pounds" on houses which are described as "never finished for want of inhabitants at that time and since fallen to Mr. Baker,¹⁶ the ground landlord."

Elwes was in Parliament for twelve years, and though in general a steady supporter of Lord North, was very independent and cared only for the public interest. He was a heavy loser by the American war, and also by loans to fellow members of Parliament which were never repaid.

A strange character, Elwes had been a gambler before at the age of forty he succeeded to an inheritance of a quarter of a million. He kept hounds and hunted for fourteen years on £300 a year, by economies that were notorious from their eccentricity. Capable of great generosity in

isolated acts, he was a prey to all tremors of the miser, and a victim to fits of extravagant penury. In various schemes he lost at least £150,000. In 1774, at the age of sixty, he was still very tough and would go to balls and races. Of his two illegitimate sons, George married Miss Alt of Northamptonshire, a goddaughter of Warren Hastings, while John, the second son, entered the Lifeguards, and afterwards bought an estate in Gloucestershire.

Certainly at this middle period of 1770-80, before the crisis of the American war, which ended in the collapse of the North ministry in 1782, Robert Adam had his attention fully absorbed by private work of the highest importance. It can only have been a general supervision and some occasional designs that Robert Adam can have given to this work for builders and others, in Portland Place, etc., an undertaking which was certainly largely left in the hands of James.

Stowe, in Buckinghamshire, is an instance of Robert Adam being asked to give designs for work of which he was not the architect in actual charge. The Earl of Temple in 1771 obtained from Robert an elevation for the vast garden frontage of that palatial residence. The actual work was apparently in the hands of Italians, of whom Signor Borra was the chief. As will be seen from the illustration, Robert Adam's design was substantially carried out, but a Roman flavour has been imparted to it by apparently slight departures from the original drawing, the importance of which, perhaps, only an architect would recognise. In view, however, of Robert's extensive knowledge of not only old Roman work, but also of the masterpieces of the Roman Renaissance,¹⁷ his acquiescence in and responsibility for the modifications from the first design to that actually built may very well be assumed.

Richard Grenville, whose sister Hester married William Pitt, Earl Chatham, married himself a fortune of £50,000, and in 1752, on the death of his mother, was said to be the richest man in England. He had inherited Baron Melcombe's money. Grenville was looked upon with suspicion as the secret supporter of Wilkes¹⁸ and his faction. Left out of Pitt's Ministry in 1766, Grenville retired to Stowe, where he died in 1779. There is now only this one drawing for the elevation of Stowe in the Soane Collection, and the internal work generally is certainly due to the Italians rather than to Robert Adam.

Samuel Curwen (1715-1802), an American Loyalist, who was in England during the war, visited Stowe on May 9, 1777,¹⁹ and gives the following interesting and valuable view of the state of the work at that time. "We arrived at the house, the front of which has a very noble and airy appearance; ascending a lofty flight of steps, we saw an elderly person sitting on a settee in half mourning, by the front door under the portico supported by lofty pillars of the Corinthian Order: approaching nearer I espied a star on his right breast, by which I recognised Earl Temple. Pulling off my hat, I was going to retire, when he put his hand to his hat, and beckoned with the other to approach, which we did, and entered the great hall (an oval rotunda) yet unfinished, the whole front having been lately taken down; the outside is finished, but within is yet in hand; many of the rooms are in disorder, though enough to manifest the elegance and grandeur of the owner's taste and riches."

We can compare this with Mrs. Philip Powys's account of her visit to Stowe on July 5, 1775: "The house, which will be one of the most noble in the kingdom, we then saw to infinite disadvantage, as entirely altering, a fine new saloon not even cover'd in, scaffolding around the whole building, every room unfurnish'd, all the fine pictures taken down." From these two accounts, with an interval of two years between them, we can form a very good idea of the progress of the work at Stowe.

It is a question whether in 1768²⁰ Robert's abandonment of the position of Royal Architect may not in part have been due to his recognition of the paramount influence possessed by Sir William Chambers, R.A., with his ex-pupil in architecture, King George III.

It remains inexplicable that Robert Adam was never included in "My Academy," founded in this same year, of which institution Sir William Chambers was to be, up to his death in 1796, the all powerful treasurer. The alacrity with which the Royal Academy hastened to elect the very youthful Wyatt in 1770 makes the non-inclusion of Robert Adam all the more extraordinary. The election of Yenn, Chambers's pupil, is another anomaly. The very defects of Chambers's art and character were, however, calculated to endear him to his Royal patron, while to both the master and his disciple the very brilliance of Robert Adam's gifts, no less than the freedom of his intellectual ideas, were certain to be in the highest degree suspect.

In the height of the troubles of the American war the King, as his letters to Lord North show, had grave concern for such matters, witness :

George III to Lord North.

5th June, 1777.

Worsley,²¹ the Surveyor General of the Board of Works, is dying, I think it would make a very pretty House of Common's employment. Adam, the architect, applied to you : but if any professional man is named I shall think Chambers hardly used.

It is by no means clear that James Adam is here referred to, in spite of his holding an official position as "Architect to His Majesty's Works."²² This office James Adam lost when Edmund Burke's Reform Bill abolished "The System," in 1782. A second letter of September 22, 1780, must similarly refer to William.

As Mr. Adam's wishes of being appointed to the Board of Trade have not taken place, I agree to his being Treasurer of the Ordnance. But if you had spoken as strongly to Mr. Eden, as I expected, there would yet be time to satisfy the reasonable desire of Mr. Adam.

These were largely sinecure offices held by party politicians and others commanding votes, like George Selwyn, or having personal claims,²³ such as Horace Walpole had through the services of his father, Sir Robert Walpole. It is the King's personal interest in Chambers that is interesting, and it must have been notorious, because that was certainly the key to the immense réclame of Mason's anonymous "Heroic Epistle."²⁴

It cannot be said that King George had the Stuart gift for artistic patronage. Already in 1764 Walpole had confessed in a letter to Sir David Dalrymple:²⁵ "I flattered myself that this reign would have given new life and views to the artists and the curious. I am disappointed; politics on one hand, and want of taste in those about his Majesty on the other, have prevented my expectations from being answered." It is certainly strange that George III should have spent in the epoch of Reynolds and Gainsborough no less than £34,000, between 1780 and 1801, on that dull painter Benjamin West. Sir Joshua Reynolds, though President of "My Academy," had to exert great pressure to induce the King to be his sitter. On books the King expended £130,000 in the purchase of 63,000 volumes. Handel remained his ideal in music, and though in Dr. Burney's "History of Music" the King took a certain interest, the actual patronage came from Edmund Burke, by whose care the zealous and popular "Historian of Music" was made organist of Chelsea Hospital. The King and



DETAIL OF THE END LAYS OF THE SOUTH FRONT OF STOWE.

Queen's relations with his talented daughter, the famous authoress of "Evelina," have been so widely discussed that there is nothing more to be said on that subject. On the whole the King's action must be regarded as having been negative in character, and his position one that was adrift of the real artistic current of the most brilliant period of his long reign.

George III's best time was under the Pitt ministry, from December, 1783, to October, 1788. The King's period of greatest personal power, however, had been during Lord North's administration, from 1770 up to the resignation of that ministry on March 20, 1782, when a new system was universally recognised to have become inevitable. The chief feature of the early part of George's reign had been his personal struggle against the fetters of the Whig Oligarchy, as it has not unfairly been described. Eight Dukes had been included in the early cabinet, *i.e.*, Russell, Lennox, Fitzroy, Cavendish, Manners, Bentinck, Wentworth, and Pelham. A decisive influence, perhaps, on the young King's future life was the thwarting of his early love for Lady Sarah Lennox,²⁴ to whom Walpole alludes as "The Ninth Statue," in a letter, June 13, 1761, to the Countess of Ailesbury.

The episode is a curious one, and it seems to have been an intrigue in which Henry Fox, Lord Holland, was pitted against the King's mother and Lord Bute. The subsequent German marriage was successful, except in the all important matter of the upbringing of the sons, but it is permissible to think that the story of George's life and reign would have been different if the development of the young King's character had been allowed a freer scope, both in this eventful crisis and in his earlier tutelage.

The irreverent Peter Pindar²⁵ briefly defines His Majesty's attitude towards those contemporaries who are now reckoned as the glories of the British School :

Who by the public, fain would have carest
The Works alone of Mister West !
Who thinks, of painting, truth and taste, the test,
None but the wondrous works of Mr. West !
Who mocketh poor Sir Joshua—cannot bear him ;
And never suffers Wilson's landscapes near him.
Nor, Gainsborough, thy delightful girls and boys,
In rural scenes so sweet, amidst their joys,
With such simplicity as makes us start
Forgetting 'tis the work of art.

A letter which throws much light on Robert Adam's "position not at Court" has been preserved in the "Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of William Smellie, F.R.S., F.A.S.,"²⁶ the Edinburgh printer, and Secretary of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries. It is a letter addressed to the President of the new Society, which was being established in 1781 :

Robert Adam, Esq., to the Earl of Buchan.

Adelphi, London.
19th September, 1781.

MY LORD,

It is with great regret that I have been obliged so long to postpone returning an answer to your Lordship's very flattering and obliging letter of the 14th July. I was in great expectation I might have found some proper channel of conveying your Lordship's wishes respecting your useful institution to his Majesty.

My own situation at court, or rather my own situation not at court, prevents me from having it in my power to do what would have been very pleasing to me on this occasion; and, what is worse, my having no correspondence with Sir William Chambers puts it out of my power to use that vehicle of intelligence : nor have I yet been able to find out any other person who could apply, or whose application would carry weight along with it.



STRATFORD PLACE.
Imitated Adam work.

If, in the course of the winter, when my friends come to town, I can in any shape contribute to promote the interest of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, your Lordship may be assured that I will eagerly seize the first opportunity of being useful.

In the mean time, I cannot delay one moment returning my most sincere thanks for the great honour your Lordship and the Antiquarian Society have conferred upon me : your Lordship in proposing, and the Society in unanimously electing me an honorary member of their body. I wish it were

in my power to acknowledge the sentiments of gratitude I feel, by doing something that might entitle me to merit so disinterested a mark of your Lordship's and their attention.

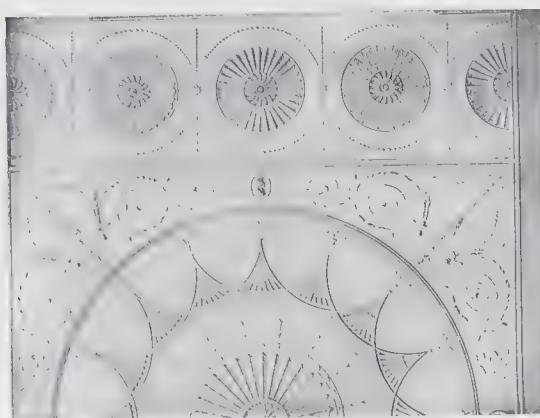
Not having Mr. Cumming's particular address, I have presumed to take this method of acknowledging the receipt of his letter of the 6th inst.; by which he communicates, in the most polite manner, the honour done me, by being chosen an antiquarian in my native land.

All the family of Adam desire their most respectful compliments to your Lordship.

My sisters request theirs to Lady Buchan.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

ROBERT ADAM.



A CEILING IN THE ADAM MANNER AT NO. 3 STRATFORD PLACE.

also obtained a charter and published a first volume of "Transactions" in that year, followed by a second in 1790.

Peter Pindar, the freelance journalist and pinchbeck Juvenal of the age, passes over Robert Adam, but has plenty to say about Sir William Chambers. He pictures George III dancing down from Windsor to Eton in "The Progress of Knowledge."

He asked if Cæsar ever star'd abroad.
(Instead of staring, as he ought, at home)
For Architects with trash the land to load,
And raise of gaudy gingerbread a DOME.
Such as is rais'd by that rare Swede SIR WILL,
The grinning mouth of RIDICULE to fill.

"The dome" is explained to be Somerset House, then the home of the Academy.²⁸ That Peter regarded Chambers as a dictator is shown by his remonstrance regarding elections at the Academy :

Therefore, Sir Knight, pray mend your manners,
And don't choose coblers, blacksmiths, tinkers, tanners :
Some people love the converse of low folks,
To gain broad grins for good-for-nothing jokes.
Though thou, 'midst dulness, mayst be pleased to *shine*,
Reynolds shall ne'er sit check-by-jowl with Swine.

Peter in Ode vii then hints at a growing rival—

Sir William ! cover'd with Chinese renown,
Whose houses are no sooner up than *down*,²⁹
Don't heed the discontented Nation's cry :
Thine are *religious* houses ! very *humble* ;
Upon their *faces* much inclin'd to *tumble* ;
So *meek* they cannot keep their heads on *high*.
I know the foolish Kingdome all runs riot,
Calling aloud for Wyat, Wyat, Wyat !
Who on their good opinions hourly gains.

The unexpected and sensational appearance of Wyatt at the critical middle period of Robert Adam's career must have been a very disturbing incident. The brilliancy of his opening career as a young man of only twenty-two deserves to be recalled.

Of actual relations between Robert Adam and James Wyatt we know little or nothing. Wyatt is reported to have declared that he had never spoken to any of the Adams in his earlier

life. It seems unquestionable that the new star did in fact deflect influential patrons and that the aristocracy of the time can be fairly described as having divided their patronage, from this period, between the two rivals. Neither Stuart, nor Chambers, in fact, commanded a large following, the former was too dilettante and the latter too narrow, and restricted in his ideas, to be able to compete on equal terms with such accomplished practitioners as Robert Adam and James Wyatt.

The career of the latter, so brilliant in its opening, was clouded over by his deflection into the orbit of Horace Walpole. Forsaking,²⁹ in pursuit of what he called "the National Style," his own early studies, and natural preferences, James Wyatt, through his rash tamperings with the genuine product of the middle ages, justly earned that fatal title of the "Destroyer," with which Pugin's indignation has for ever branded him. It is fairly apparent that Wyatt lacked the genuine originality of Robert Adam and his masterful genius, so that the submergence of Wyatt's better classical work in the general appellation of "the Adam style" has been a not inappropriate penalty.

The popular complaint that we know so little of the life of Shakespeare applies to the majority of great artists whose work is of lasting value. However eventful their earlier life, and wander-years, may have been, there must come a time when they are so absorbed by the stress of artistic production that their years can be counted only by their works. Undoubtedly the public likes the rock to be struck, and the water to flow, without effort, and it reck little of the price that is paid by the individual for his exceptional gifts and achievement.

Robert Adam must very soon have become wholly absorbed in his work, and have had little energy left for outside interests, and this of itself would be sufficient to account for the absence of contemporary allusion. As Miss Burney seems to include him in the "Scotch party," he may, in private life, mainly have associated with those of his own nationality. Probably he figured at those "formal Sunday evening conversations, strangely called Levées," of Lord Mansfield³⁰ of which James Boswell speaks on the occasion, March 26, 1775, when, as he tells us with obvious pride, he received his host's stately compliment on his travels with Dr. Johnson, whose "Tour to the Western Islands" had been recently published. Unfortunately Boswell has nothing, with one possible exception, to say about Adam, beyond confusing his "Works" with "Vitruvius Britannicus" in the matter of Kedleston.

The possible reference supposes an identification of the gentleman, who, "in spite of his professional engagements lived at home quietly with his sisters," with Robert Adam, who was a very old friend of Ramsay, with whom Johnson was dining in 1778, the occasion of the discussion reported by Boswell. It is assumed that Sir Joshua Reynolds is intended, but the description would certainly apply as well or better to Robert Adam. Much of Adam's time must have been occupied in journeys. From the records of the building of the Register House of Scotland,³¹ we know that he arranged to journey there once or twice every year, for which he was to have 50 guineas a time towards his expenses. On a rough note of office instructions, pencilled on the back of a sketch, is the following :

What rooms are the Garret Rooms as they are entirely out of the roof and Second . . . to be over the east and west bedrooms of the new part of the house, if so the timbers are not expressed as by the Sections.

Baillie MacMillan can send me a sketch of them as they in some degree serve to regulate the new garrets to be built.



ANOTHER CEILING IN THE ADAM MANNER AT NO. 3 STRATFORD PLACE.

Mr. Dunbar of Newton Stewart, real genius for laying out of grounds about a house, and understands such trees as will thrive best in different exposures.

Send Mr. Stevenson a letter telling of my sudden call to Scotland and to know if he received the drawings and the explanations of the Cambridge plan, in what state?

Lord Frederick Campbell.

It would be an amusing detective task to assign a date to this memorandum from internal evidence. "The Cambridge Plan" might date it as late as between 1784-89, while "Newton Stewart in Galloway, House for William Douglas," would suggest 1787-88.

How much travelling could be done in those days Wesley's journals prove, with their record of four to five thousand miles a year. William Cobbett (1762-1835), as we read in the "Rural Rides," covered 500 miles in three months, entirely on horseback.

Adam's journeys would extend to Devonshire, across to Worcester, and away to Mistley, near Harwich, in Essex, all through Yorkshire, and up to Scotland.³² It is evident that much was accomplished by means of reliable Clerks of Works, like James Salisbury of the Register House, men who were accustomed to Adam's methods and able to direct the different trades employed, so that the resulting work is so wonderfully exact to the drawings, as the photographs almost invariably show to have been the case.

In Robert Adam's last years the development of Scotland was in full bud, rather than in flower, and it is noticeable that, whereas the amount of Adam's work in England appears to be rather falling off between 1780-90, there is towards the end of his career a considerable increase in the number of designs for Scotch projects. It is obvious that this must have greatly increased the personal strain upon Robert Adam, as the difficulty of dealing with all the business details, and the reconciliation of many divergent interests, must have been greatly added to by the distance from his London establishment.

This may have been one of the chief causes of Robert's sudden breakdown at the age of sixty-four. Doubtless the number and importance of the opportunities offered to him at this time, the University and Charlotte Square at Edinburgh; Infirmary, Assembly Rooms and Trades Hall, as well as the various streets projected to be laid out at Glasgow, all in addition to houses, proposed or in hand, in the neighbourhood of both of those centres, must have caused the still enthusiastic architect to over exert himself to a dangerous extent.

The obituary notice which follows speaks of eight public works and twenty-five private buildings, all designed within the last year of his life, and these schemes appear to have been mainly for proposed works in Scotland. (See later and Note 35.)

It was one of the tragedies of Robert Adam's life that, after all his hopes of erecting a great building had one after another gradually faded away, he should at the very last hour have had in hand the great work of the University of Edinburgh, one which might to some degree have realised his early ideals and consecrated his devoted study of architecture. Hardly started on its way by a few partly built portions, this scheme was destined to languish for twenty years as a wreck, and then to be completed by another architect, and in a way which gives a very poor idea of Robert Adam's original intention. Even the Register House, which is Adam's most important public building, was only three-quarters completed at the time of his death, the back block, in its present interior finish, showing the same disregard as the University of his personal and artistic style. Robert Adam, in fact, would have needed to have survived the Revolutionary Wars (1793-1815) in order to have effectively shared in, and influenced, the coming development of Scotland. The sceptre was to fall into the far less worthy hands of Robert Reid, William Playfair and Gillespie Graham. Failing such prolonged life, Robert Adam was perhaps happy in the time of his death, as the war clouds were gathering, and a whole generation was to pass away before normal conditions could be finally re-established by a durable peace.

We may, in fact, believe that Robert Adam's work was done, and that fresh conditions must infallibly for a time have obscured his achievement, a new epoch having been ushered in. Other solutions were now to be tried of the never ending problem of reconciling architectural tradition with the demands of a new age.

On October 20, 1791, an Architects' Club was started at the Thatched House Tavern, when James Wyatt, George Dance, Henry Holland and S. P. Cockerell assembled. The club was to dine together on the first Thursday in every month at 5 p.m. S. P. Cockerell was elected treasurer. The subscription was fixed at five guineas. The original members, additional to

those given above, were to be William Chambers, Robert Adam, R. Mylne, R. Jupp, James Lewis, R. Norris, J. Soane, J. Yenn, T. Hardwick, R. Brettingham and J. Paine, with, as honorary members, J. Carr, N. Revett, T. Sandby and J. Gandon. No one was to be a member unless R.A., A.R.A., Gold Medallist, or member of the Academies of Rome, Parma, Bologna, Florence or Paris. Honorary members were to be those whose residence was not in London. In the ballot for members one negative was to exclude, and two-thirds of the society were required to be present at an election. Soane's note-book records : " 1792, March 29. Mr. Yenn, Mr. Holland. To define the profession and qualifications of an architect at the Freemasons' Tavern." The definition arrived at appears to have been that which Soane had already enunciated in the introduction to his book^{32a} of 1788. " The business of the architect is to make the designs and estimates, to direct the works and to measure and value the different parts; he is the intermediate agent between the employer, whose honour and interest he is to study, and the mechanic, whose rights he is to defend. His situation implies great trust ; he is responsible for the mistakes, negligences, and ignorances of those he employs ; and above all, he is to take care that the workmen's bills do not exceed his own estimates. If these are the duties of an architect, with what propriety can his situation and that of the builder or contractor be united ? "

This statement, to which Soane adhered all his life, and repeats in his " Memoirs " of 1833, may be regarded as the foundation of the future profession. Obviously it was not consistent with much that had been done in their individual capacity by the Adams, Wyatts and Hollands. Eventually out of this early Club grew the existing Royal Institute of British Architects, actually founded in the last years of Soane's life, when he had come to be regarded as the head of the profession. There is nothing to show that Robert Adam had ever attended any meetings of the Club, on the inauguration of which his death was to follow so soon, but he doubtless valued the recognition implied by his election as a foundation member.

In the " Gentleman's Magazine " of 1792,³³ appears under March 3, as the date of his death,³⁴ the following memorial of Robert Adam :

At his house in Albemarle Street, Robert Adam, Esq., Architect, Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies of London and Edinburgh. His death was occasioned by the bursting of a blood vessel in his stomach.



THE HOUSE OF SIR JOSEPH BANKS, P.R.S.:

32, SOHO SQUARE.

Imitated Adam manner, date about 1774-75.

The many elegant buildings, public and private, erected in various parts of the kingdom by Mr. Adam, will remain lasting monuments of his taste and genius : and the natural suavity of his manners, joined to the excellence of his moral character, had endeared him to a numerous circle of friends, who will long lament his death.

Mr. Adam was born in 1728, at Kirkaldy in the county of Fife, the same place that gave birth to Dr. Adam Smith, author of the "Wealth of the Nations."

He was the second son of William Adam, Esq., of Maryburgh, an architect of distinguished merit. He received his education at the University of Edinburgh. The friendships he formed were with men who have since eminently distinguished themselves by their literary productions : amongst whom were David Hume, Dr. Robertson, Dr. Adam Smith, Dr. Adam Ferguson and Mr. John Home. At a more advanced time of life he had the good fortune to enjoy the friendship and society of Archibald, Duke of Argyle, the late Mr. Charles Townshend, the Earl of Mansfield, and several other of the most illustrious men of the age.

Mr. Adam after his return from Italy, was appointed architect to his Majesty, in the year 1762, which office, being incompatible with a seat in parliament he resigned in 1768, on his being elected to represent the county of Kinross.

It is somewhat remarkable that the Arts should be deprived at the same time of two of their greatest ornaments, Sir Joshua Reynolds and Mr. Adam : and it is difficult to say which of them excelled most in his particular profession.

Sir Joshua introduced a new and superior style of portrait painting. It is equally true that Mr. Adam produced a total change in the architecture of this country : and his fertile genius in elegant ornament was not confined to the decoration of buildings, but has been diffused into almost every branch of manufacture. His talents extended beyond the line of his own profession : he displayed in his numerous drawings in landscape a luxuriance of composition, and an effect of light and shadow, which have scarcely ever been equalled.

The loss of Mr. Adam at this time must be peculiarly felt, as the new University of Edinburgh, and other great public works, both in that city and in Glasgow, were erecting from his designs, and under his direction. -To the last period of his life, Mr. Adam displayed an increasing vigour of genius and refinement of taste : for, in the space of one year preceding his death, he designed eight great public works, besides twenty-five private buildings, so various in their style, and so beautiful in their composition, that they have been allowed by the best judges, sufficient of themselves, to establish his fame unrivalled as an artist.³⁶

On the 10th instant his remains were interred in the South aisle of Westminster Abbey. The funeral was private,³⁶ being attended only by a select number of his friends, who esteemed him while living, and wished to bestow this last mark of their regard. The pall was supported by the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Coventry, the Earl of Lauderdale, Lord Viscount Stormont, Lord Frederick Campbell, and Mr. Pulteney.

Of the pall bearers enumerated above it may be noted that for the Duke of Buccleugh, Robert Adam was, at the time of his death, engaged on the bridge at Dalkeith, which James Adam duly completed.

With the Earl of Coventry Robert had been in touch from the earliest days of his practice, and he had frequently been at Croome. For the Earl of Lauderdale, Adam was, at the time of his death, making designs for a great addition to Lauderdale Castle. Lord Viscount Stormont was the nephew, and successor in 1793, to the great Earl of Mansfield, Robert Adam's constant friend and patron, while Lord Frederick Campbell, as Lord Register of Scotland, had been the moving spirit during the fifteen years of the building of that Adam masterpiece, the Register House of Scotland at Edinburgh.

For Mr. Pulteney, Adam had devised great schemes for the City of Bath, of which, unfortunately, the great river bridge alone was destined to be carried out. It will be seen, therefore, that this was no mere empty compliment, but that the friends of a lifetime accompanied the great architect to his last resting place. It is highly appropriate that in the venerable temple of silence and reconciliation the grave slabs of Robert Adam, Sir William Chambers and James Wyatt should all adjoin. Trodden under foot, or concealed beneath the benches in the South Transept, these slabs show no record of the undivided dead, and it is something yet to be done to record in an adequate way the memory of Robert Adam.

To the Adelphi group, stunned by the loss of their chief in the early days of March, came the further blow of the death of the eldest brother, John Adam, which took place on June 25 of the same year. It is recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*³⁷ as follows : "At Edinburgh, John Adam, Esq., of Maryburgh, County of Kinross, and father of William Adam, Esq., M.P. for Rossshire."

It does not appear that John played a very active part in spite of his seniority. The record of the Register House shows him as acting as a kind of referee, or as a deputy occasionally for Robert. His name occurs in the legal transactions, as in the matter of the building for the Society of Arts, but there is nothing to show that his influence on the architectural practice of the Adelphi Brethren was at all important. William Adam, M.P., Robert Adam's nephew, is mentioned with exaggerated disfavour by Walpole, in connection with a passing quarrel, and duel, with Charles James Fox. This William Adam's life was occupied with politics and law, and has little or no bearing on the present history.

It is certain that James Adam made a valiant attempt to carry on Robert Adam's artistic tradition and his immense practice. There is evidence enough, however, that

it was beyond his powers, and it is tragic that so early as October 16, 1794, he was similarly cut off.

An entry in Sir John Soane's pocket note book and journal, No. 1, first kindly communicated to me by the late Curator of the Soane Museum, is interesting :

1793, SEPT. 9TH. —House of Commons met the Architects at Waghorns,³⁸ asked for plans.

1793, SEPT. 19TH. —Met the Architects at the Freemasons Tavern³⁹ who produced plans, Brettingham, Holland, Adam, Cockerel, White, Grover, J. Wyatt.

Soane had been consulted, August, 1793, by Lord Grenville, with reference to a new House of Lords, and apparently he was to confer with other leading architects, whose opinions were, we may suppose, to be considered. Of the seven recorded above, four are architects whose names will often occur in this book. The dry brevity of Soane's record is very tantalising, and some Boswell was needed to record so interesting a gathering. It is far from clear whether these consultants were to produce plans of their own, or merely to advise on one to be made by Soane, who was hoping for definite instructions as architect for the work. If the former be the case, then there is reason to think that the plan and elevation for the Houses of Parliament, which is in the Soane Collection, may have been made by James Adam for this particular occasion.

The notice of James Adam's death is as follows, *Gentleman's Magazine*,⁴⁰ under the date of October 20, 1794 :

In an apoplectic fit, James Adam, Esq., of Albemarle Street, Architect. Before the reform of the Board of Works by Mr. Burke's Bill⁴¹ Mr. Adam held the office of architect to his Majesty.⁴² The Adelphi Buildings and Portland Place are monuments of his taste and abilities in his profession. Besides his excellent treatise on agriculture, published some years ago, Mr. Adam was preparing for the press a history of architecture, which all lovers of the art have reason to lament he did not live to finish. Several numbers of the works of the two brothers have been occasionally published.

William, the youngest of the Brethren, was thus left to wind up the immense business, which his prolonged life not only enabled him to do, but it is also to him that we probably owe the sorting out and binding up of the fifty-three volumes of the Adam drawings, which, purchased by Sir John Soane in 1833, have happily escaped the too common destruction of architects' drawings as waste paper.

The work of selection and the arrangement of between eight and nine thousand of these drawings and sketches must have occupied an immense amount of time, and it seems to have been inspired by a pious if indiscriminating reverence on William's part for every scrap of paper that bore Robert's pencillings. To William is always supposed to have fallen the financial management of the affairs of the Brethren, and the account⁴³ for professional fees, with its reference to an "amount due to William Adam & Co." for patent cement supplied, seems to bear this out. The only definite building work associated with William Adam appears to be the bridge across William Street, in the Adelphi, built in connection with Coutts' Bank. This bridge, erected under a special Act of Parliament, still exists. Tradition also attributes to him some plain brick houses that stood at the north-east corner of Whitehall and Whitehall Place.

Probably the Adelphi practice gradually ceased as the various works in hand were wound up, and as William, who was, there is every reason to believe, of a very retiring nature, attracted no fresh clients. There is, however, evidence that, when it was possible to resume the building of the Edinburgh University in 1815, William Adam claimed to submit a design, in company with Playfair and seven others, for the reduced scheme then unwisely proposed as a continuation and completion of that great building. His plans, which were unsuccessful, have survived.⁴⁴

It also seems to be proved that he made designs for a proposed new Houses of Parliament, but whether solely for his own amusement or not is uncertain.



CEILING: 32, SOHO SQUARE.
Imitated Adam manner (see page 127).

It would appear that William Adam's circumstances gradually grew worse, as in 1818 there was a great sale of Robert Adam's effects which had been willed by the latter to his two unmarried sisters in 1792, James and William being the executors. In 1794 James had left his effects, evidently including Robert's, to William and these two sisters in equal thirds, William being the sole executor. This sale on May 20-22, 1818, of the Adam artistic treasures (see Appendix) included pictures, drawings and antiques of all kinds, and books. Possibly a good many lots were bought in, or else a good deal must still have been reserved, as there was a further and final sale on July 9-12, 1821, when the effects are still curiously described as those of "Robert Adam, Esq., deceased." This sale was held on the premises, No. 13, Albemarle Street, which had been the scene of Robert's and James' activities from the time of their removal from the Adelphi in 1786.

The furniture, porcelain, drawings, pictures and books all came under the hammer, and it is important to note that the unsold impressions of the various prints, and of the books published and unpublished of Robert and James Adam, were also disposed of.

I have been at some pains to check the twenty-five plates of the last, the third, volume of the famous "Works," from which it is evident that William Adam can have had nothing to do with this last volume, which came out in 1822, after his own death. The book is made up of ten previously issued engravings, and of fifteen copper plates, described and sold in 1821, as prepared for the third volume of the "Works." Only three of these plates, however, are signed by Robert Adam, and while six others may have been proposed to be so used, six at least of the fifteen in question would appear to have been merely rejected plates from the two previous volumes. The whole third volume is a remainder, put together by a publisher's hack in a very inferior way, with an absurd preface, and no description of the plates. It has had the value of bringing together the ten prints of the Admiralty Screen, Ranger's Lodge, Adelphi, the famous Fête Pavilion, and the Edinburgh University, but it is, needless to say, a very different production from the two previous volumes of the "Works" which had been issued under Robert Adam's own eye.

No doubt it was after this sale that William moved with his niece into Welbeck Street, where he died in January, 1822. His will is dated the fifth of that month, and he therein describes himself "as late of 3, Albemarle Street, but now of 43, Welbeck Street." The number in Albemarle Street should be read as 13, and the house is now blotted out by the "Royal Gallery." After providing for funeral expenses and just debts, he leaves all to his niece, Susannah Clerk, "now residing with me," and he adds the pathetic remark, "which I am afraid will produce little or nothing." This, to the public, may seem a most extraordinary ending to the strenuous and romantic career of the Adelphi Brethren. By architects, and those acquainted with the vicissitudes of artistic and professional life, it will be noted with an appreciative sympathy. William's anticipation was certainly correct, as the executor renounced, and nothing was done until 1844, when a legal firm took up the administration of the estate.

The simple entry in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Vol. xcii, page 190) says of the last of the Adelphi Brethren, "Lately in Welbeck Street, aged 84, William Adam, Esq., Architect."

Of the buildings carried out after Robert's death, those at Glasgow seem to be the most important, and they illustrate the great falling off that ensued. The Adam idea is there, weakened and attenuated, but still not entirely overshadowed by the Greek of the School of Playfair, Reid and Gillespie Graham, which was destined to supersede it.

In laying down the pen I confess that, of what the architect interested in Robert Adam's personality would like to know, next to nothing has been said. How Robert, as an artist, secured the minute fulfilment of his ideals, in the face of the difficulties of practical life, remains his own secret. Not, of course, that he effected all that he hoped and dreamt, but that his actual achievement is so astonishing. "The suavity of his manners," like "the tact of Reynolds," is the unrevealing phrase of the semi-official biographer. We cannot stand by while Robert Adam, in company with the Earl of Northumberland and Horace Walpole, receives the great amateur's suggestion that his Lordship's Gallery of Sion shall be "after the manner of a Roman Columbarium." Imagination fails us over the interviews of the architect with the heiresses whose wealth originated from the coal mines of the north, or the trade of the East and West Indies. When we realise that Adam not only built the house, but furnished it down to the fire screen

and the bell pull, that he was consulted about the lady's watch and chain and provided the design of her embroidered work bag, we can only marvel at his unique autocracy.

Of the fact that Robert Adam could be all things to all men, one brief glimpse has been obtained. A letter to the sixth Earl of Coventry from Robert Adam was once seen by the present earl, in which the architect dwells on the great attention he has given to his design for a column. It was conceived in terms which the smallness of the present centre feature of the stable courtyard at Croome hardly seemed to justify. Adam's drawing, however, for this lamp-bearing column is to an unusually large scale, and of a high degree of finish, and in Walpole's and Selwyn's letters the earl's character is so sketched as to complete the picture. In the submitted sketches of interiors for that wealthy, but unfortunate, Georgian banker, Sir George Colebrooke, Bt., in the days of his magnificence, there may be seen suggested a shade more than the usual amount of gilding. The triumph of Robert Adam is not that he knew how to bow his head in the "House of Rimmon," but that, in the executed work, he contrived in so few cases to fall below his own very high standard of artistic achievement. The curb that he imposed, when the stage of execution was reached, on a redundancy of features arising naturally from his own unequalled fertility of design is a greater artistic quality than that of a mere negative correctness, for the observance of which too much praise has been so often bestowed on other less richly gifted architects of his own and subsequent ages.

Whoever shall one day attempt to determine an order of precedence among the great architects of Britain may hesitate long in assigning to Robert Adam his place among "the greatest." It is certain, however, that it can only be alongside Inigo Jones, Sir Christopher Wren, Sir John Vanbrugh, and Sir Charles Barry.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI.

¹ Caldwell Papers, Part II, Vol. II, page 178, Maitland Club Publications.

² Buchanan House (?) near Stirling.

³ There was a meeting of the Trustees of the Register House, August 3, 1770, and some preliminaries were going on in connection with the proposed site in the New Town, where the same was afterwards built. See Chapter XXXII.

⁴ Home being an old friend of Adam, this would be very interesting, but, unfortunately, the only Home drawings in the Soane are for Joseph at the Ninewell House, near Dunse, Berwick, and the date is July, 1790.

⁵ Frances B. (1752-1840), daughter of Dr. Charles Burney, musician and author (1720-1814), who, in 1744, had been a pupil of Dr. Arne. Friend of Johnson, Reynolds, Burke, Garrick, Mrs. Thrale, etc. Dr. B. had just married again, and the family were moving to Queen's Square from Poland Street. Frances (Evelina) B. was daughter of the first marriage.

⁶ Apparently given by Captain and Mrs. Pringle. Also present, Captain and Mrs. Debieg, Mr. James Dundas of Castle Dundas, Linlithgow (election 1768, M.P. 1770), Major Dundas, younger brother, and John D., a cousin. Related to the Arniston family. Mr. Farquhar, Mr. Robinson, Captain Pringle, Mr. Alexander Seaton, Miss Peggy Adams, twenty-six or twenty-seven, "ugly in person and reserved in manner," Mrs. Seaton, Miss Stuart, Miss Dalrymple, Miss Burney. (Early Diary, F. B. Edit. A. Raina Ellis, 1913, Vol. I, pages 90-95. See also Adelphi, Chapter xvii).

⁷ There is a reference to Sir G. C.'s bankruptcy, April 19, 1773, Hume Papers, Vol. II, page 467. Also in the Malmesbury Papers, Vol. I, page 271. "His affairs are so embarrassed that they cannot be settled for 7 years, he is in contract for all the alum in Bohemia, all the chip hats in Italy, and the hemp in Russia."

⁸ Vol. II, pages 193 and 459. "Life and Correspondence of D. Hume." Edited by Dr. Hill Burton, 2 Vols., 8vo, Edinburgh, 1846.

⁹ Caldwell Papers, Part II, Vol. II, page 208.

¹⁰ Blair Adam. See Chapter I, pages 5-9.

¹¹ Sir George Colebrooke, Bt., M.P., afterwards chairman of the East India Company, purchased extensive estates in Lanarkshire on Baron Mure's advice. R. Adam made designs for work at his house in Arlington Street in 1771. Robert Colebrooke his nephew was owner at this period of Chilham Castle in Kent, which passed to Thomas Heron in 1774.

¹² Caldwell Papers, page 209.

¹³ Caldwell Papers, page 230.

¹⁴ March 3. See Adelphi, Chapter xviii.

¹⁵ "Life of the late John Elwes, Esq., M.P., Berks," by Mr. Edward Topham. (First edition published, 1790.) Twelfth edition, 8vo, London, corrected and enlarged, 1805, page 31.

¹⁶ In the rate book of Portman Square, between 1774-77, Mr. Baker pays for No. 18 on north side, adjoining Adam's house for Lady Home, No. 20.

¹⁷ Analysis of R. A.'s library. Paper, Bibliographical Society, January 15th, 1917, by the author.

¹⁸ Walpole in his old age told Pinkerton that he was convinced Wilkes was in the pay of France. "I am sure of it as of any fact I know." Wilkes, he said, at first cringed to Bute, the Embassy at Constantinople being the object of his ambition. "It was refused and you know the rest." Walpole, Vol. I, page 2.

¹⁹ "Journal and Letters of Sam Curwen," ed. by G. A. Ward, 8vo, London, 1842, page 119. "Passages from the Diary of Mrs. P. L. Powys," ed. by E. J. Climenson, 8vo, London, 1899, page 155.

²⁰ Swarbreck states that official records of the Board of Works show that R. A. continued to attend meetings of the Board to September 22nd, 1760, when he resigned and was succeeded by James Adam (page 22).

²¹ "Worsey is made Surveyor of the Board of Works, he was the King's Equerry, and passes for having a taste for architecture of which I told you the King is very fond." (December, 1760. H. W. Letters, Vol. V, page 9.)

²² In the Royal Kalendar, 1772, R. Taylor and James Adam, F.R.S., appear as architects to the Office of Works, with £300 a year each. Civil Promotions, 1780, Dec. 5th: "A grant to William Adam, Esq.; of the office of treasurer and paymaster of his Majesty's office

THE ADELPHI CRISIS AND LAST YEARS.

of ordnance. A grant to James Adam and James Paine, Esqrs., of the office of architect of his Majesty's works. A grant to Thomas Sandby, Esq., of the office of master carpenter of all his Majesty's works in England. Also a grant to Robert Taylor, Esq., of the office of His Majesty's master mason." (*Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. I, page 592.)

²³ H. W. Letters, Vol. VIII, pages 251 and 257, March, 1773

^{23A} H. W. Letters, Vol. VI, page 19, Feb. 23rd, 1764.

²⁴ Lady Sarah Lennox (1745-1826), seventh daughter of second Duke of Richmond. Married (1) 1762, Thomas Charles Bunbury, from whom she divorced in 1766; (2) 1782, Hon. George Napier, by whom was the mother of Sir Charles and Sir William Napier. H. W. Letters, Vol. V, pages 19 and 66

²⁵ "Brother Peter to Brother Tom," Vol. II, page 74, P. P. Works, 1794.

²⁶ Vol. II, page 48. "Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of Wm. Smelte, F.R.S., F.A.S.," by Robert Kerr, F.R.S., 2 vols., 8vo, Edinburgh, 1811

²⁷ Letters to Sir John Sinclair, Bart., respecting Edinburgh in 1763 Wm Creech, 1793

²⁸ It may be taken as relating to the actual dome of the river front which, for economy, was constructed only of wood and stucco, and manifestly of an inadequate scale for so large a building. Works of Peter Pindar, Vol. III, page 241, London, 8vo, no date.

²⁹ An allusion to some settlement, or partial collapse, at Somerset House. P. P. Works, Vol. I, pages 92, 101 and 179

³⁰ H. W. Letters, Vol. XIII, page 323, Sept., 1785. Wyatt was at Strawberry Hill in 1781. Also Vol. XIV, pages 47 and 197 (Salisbury Cathedral)

³¹ The famous tour was made in 1773. Johnson's book came out at once but Boswell's only in 1786, after Johnson's death (1784). Lord Mansfield retired, 1778. His house in Bloomsbury Square was burnt 1780. Boswell's "Life of Johnson" came out in 1791, while Robert Adam was alive

³² For Example.—In November, 1772, to meet the Trustees June 24th-27th, 1773, for Foundation ceremony. About August 12th, 1776. At the request of the Lord Registrar a special visit to Scotland to examine the Register House and attend meeting on the 16th On December 15th, 1781, "Mr. Adam is desirous of receiving payment before he returns to London." For the year 1786, a claim for two visits

³³ From the back of an envelope used for a sketch we get an address "Robert Adam, Esq. at Mrs. Drysdale, 14, Nicholson Street, Edinburgh"

³⁴ "Plans, Elevations and Sections of Buildings executed in the Counties of Norfolk etc." by John Soane, architect, London, folio 1788

³⁵ *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXII, page 282. Cave, the editor, was a personal friend and the account is authoritative

³⁶ See will made March 2

³⁷ The eight Public Works and twenty-five Private Buildings "designed in one Year preceding his death" (March 3rd, 1792), cannot be absolutely determined, but the following list has been made. In or near Edinburgh, 1791. (1) College of Justice. (2) Advocates Library. (3) Couerl Rooms (opposite University). (4) The South Bridge and the proposed Viaduct from Princes Street to Calton Hill. (5) Bridewell. (6) Lasswade Church, and at Glasgow, (7) The Assembly Rooms. (8) Trades Hall. (The Glasgow Infirmary is quite doubtful, as the date has been trimmed off the drawings in Vol. XLVIII.) I. & the two I. & the two II. Private Buildings it seems as if the Year 1790 must be brought in. July, 1790, Arthry, Stirlingshire. R. Halidon, Esq., (classic and also castle style). Sept., 1790, Irchester Berwick. Mr. Nisbet (incomplete, chiefly interiors). Jan., 1790, Balloch, Badnoch, J. Macpherson (additions and alterations). Jan., 1790, Champfleurie Linlithgow, Alex. Johnstone. April, 1790, Coghton East Lothian Wm. Grant. Oct., 1790, Drini. Lord Kinnaid (castle style). Sept., 1790, Glencairn, Perthshire. Thos. Hunter. Dec., 1791, "House of the Irish," Edinburgh, R. Trotter (castle style). Dec., 1791, Linn House, near Glasgow, Mr. Sproul. 1791, Maudsley Castle, Lanark Earl of Hyniford (castle style) (built by J. and W. Adam, 1792-93). July, 1792, Ninewells, J. Home. 1792, Rosebank-upon-land, J. Dunlop. 1790, Thirstane Castle, Berwick, Earl of Lauderdale (castle style), see Texl, 1791, Semple Castle, Renfrew. Wm. MacDowell. April, 1791, Ryall's Hall, Lord Loughborough (additions). Sept., 1791, Millar Street, Glasgow, house for John Alston Youngest. Feb., 1792, St. George's Square, Glasgow, John Mair, Esq. 1792, Dalkeith Bridge 1792 Bathgate, near Edinburgh; Gosford (drawings wanting in Soane); 1790, Fitzroy Square, London; 1791, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh (See Chapter XXXI). Completed by J. A.). As more than one design was made in several instances, as for Arthry, it is probably not necessary to further extend the list. It will be noticed that five of the above designs are in the Castle Style.

³⁸ It is probable the writer had in his mind the public honours of David Garrick's and Sir Joshua Reynolds' funerals

³⁹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXII, number for July, page 673

⁴⁰ The famous Coffee House near the Houses of Parliament Soane had been written to by Mr. Secretary Long to supply copies of his survey (?) plan (August 26, 1793) to thirteen leading architects

⁴¹ Queen Street, near Lincoln's Inn Fields

⁴² *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXIV, for November, page 1056.

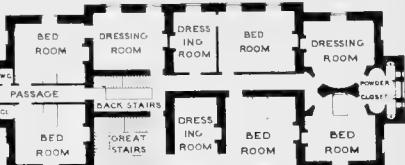
⁴³ Fassed in 1782

⁴⁴ See Note 22 above. See also George III Correspondence with Lord North September, 1780.

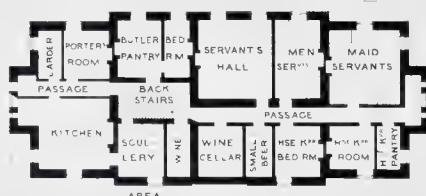
⁴⁵ See Chapter on Register House of Scotland.

⁴⁶ See Chapter on the University

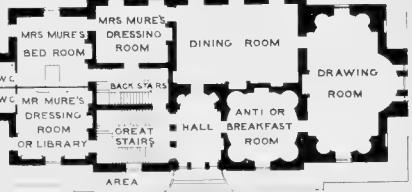
HOUSE FOR MR. BARON MURE AT CALDWELL ROBERT ADAM 1771



PLAN OF ONE PAIR STORY (ANOTHER STORY OVER)



PLAN OF GROUND STORY



PLAN OF PRINCIPAL STORY

PART II. CHAPTER VII.

HATCHILANDS PARK, WORSLEY, SURREY.

FOR ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN, NOW THE SEAT OF LORD RENDEL.

CHARMING, in an age when Britain is victorious in every quarter of the globe, you are not yet enrolled in the annals of its fame! Shall Wolfe and Boscawen and Amherst¹ be the talk of future ages, and the name of Mary Coke² not be known? "Tis the height of disgrace! . . . "Tis a vexatious thought, but your Ladyship and this age of triumphs, will be forgotten unless somebody writes verses worthy of you both."

Such a joyful and flattering apostrophe from Horace Walpole, written February 12, 1761, may well recall the vicissitudes of fame to our minds. Wolfe's death at the moment of his gallant exploit, and the national pride in Canada, have well secured "the talk of future ages," but the fame of the other two heroes has become unjustly dim.

The surrender of Louisbourg in 1758 by the French to the British Navy and Army under Boscawen and Amherst was one of those innumerable feats which have built up the British Empire, while lost to sight in themselves, like the minor features in the fabric of a great cathedral. To Walpole the victory evidently was epoch marking, but now the circumstances need to be recalled.

Walpole had already recorded on September 9, 1758, "the standards taken at Louisbourg have been carried to St. Paul's with much parade," and had written February 9, 1759, that "Wolfe . . . has great merit, spirit, and alacrity, and shone extremely at Louisbourg." This victory, in fact, paved the way to the more dramatic episode of the fall of Quebec and capture of Canada.

The Hon. Edward, afterwards Admiral, Boscawen, born in 1711, entered the Navy at an early age, but had reached captain's rank in 1737. He was with Admiral Vernon, the hero of the last days of Sir Robert Walpole's administration, at Porto Bello in 1739 and at Carthagena in 1741.

That "War of Jenkins's ears," as it was called, was to prove fatal to the statesman who, first opposing, ended by an acquiescence, half-hearted to the last. In 1747 Boscawen commanded a line of battleships in the great engagement with De Jonquiere's fleet, when ten of the enemy ships were taken and he himself received a wound in the shoulder.

As Rear-Admiral of the Blue, Boscawen was sent with six ships and the command of the land forces to the East Indies, to attempt the capture of Mauritius and Pondicherry. It is interesting to recall that he landed and refreshed his troops at Cape Town on the way out.

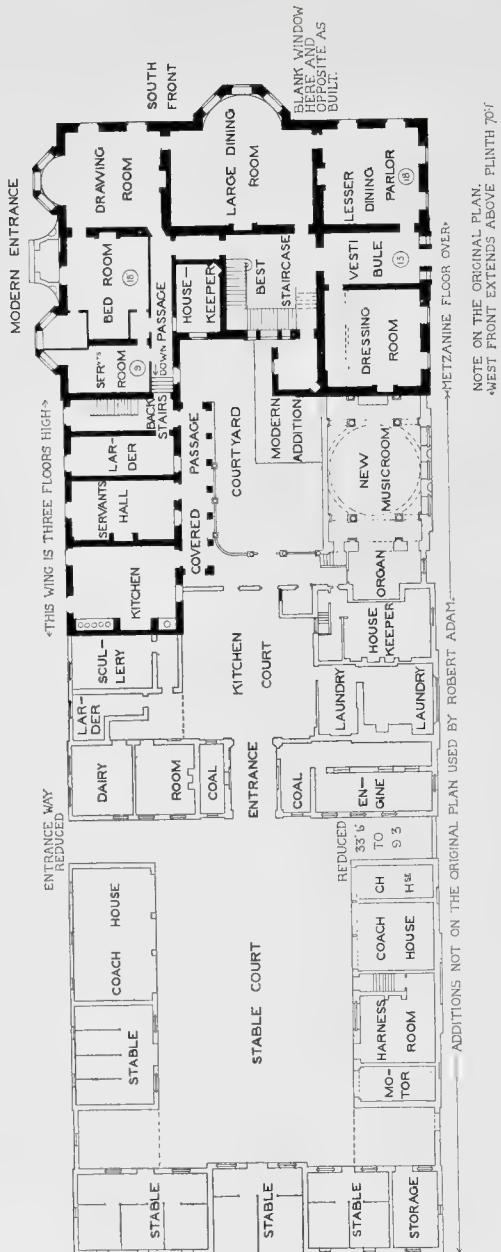
The peace of 1748 brought Boscawen home again in October, 1749, and three years later he became a Lord of the Admiralty. Too active for a long spell of shore work, he was off to America again in 1755, as Vice-Admiral of the Blue. Three years later he was Admiral of the Blue, and achieved his great success at Louisbourg in conjunction with Amherst, for which he received the thanks of Parliament,



T. Ripley, Architect

ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN'S HOUSE.

HATCHLANDS PARK
NEAR GUILDFORD SURREY
PLAN OF THE GROUND FLOOR FOR THE HON EDWARD BOSCAVEN ESQ.
MARCH 6 1757 PROBABLY BY RIPLEY ARCHITECT OF THE ADMIRALTY
INTERIOR COMPLETED BY ROBERT ADAM 1759-61



NOTE ON THE ORIGINAL PLAN.
WEST FRONT EXTENDS ABOVE PLINTH 70f

THESE ADDITIONS FROM
A SURVEY IN 1918 BY
A.H. SCOTT

FROM THE ORIGINAL PLAN
IN THE SOANE
ARTHUR T. BOLTON FR.B.A.



THE EARLIEST DECORATIVE WORK OF ROBERT ADAM, DETAIL OF CEILING OF DINING-ROOM.

addressed to him by Speaker Onslow.

Repeated experience has taught Britain the secret of the successful prosecution of combined land and sea attacks, though in times of peace the lesson is occasionally forgotten, until recalled by some unfortunate incident, or disproportionate losses.

Boscawen was then appointed to the command of the Mediterranean and set sail on April 14, 1759. After watching the French fleet at Toulon, on August 18 and 19 he obtained and took the occasion for their defeat at the battle of Lagos. Given the rank of a general of the Marines, he seemed as if about to settle down. He had married in 1744 Frances (died 1806) daughter of W. E. Glanville of St. Clair, Kent, an heiress with £3,000 a year, and his family consisted of



CEILING OF BAY WINDOW OF DINING-ROOM.



DINING-ROOM FOR ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN, BY ROBERT ADAM.

three sons and two daughters. The Admiral had also started the building of Hatchlands, a plan for which, dated March 6, 1757, has, fortunately, been preserved by the accident of its inclusion among the Adam drawings in the Soane Collection.

In January, 1760, however, Boscowen was off again to Quiberon Bay, but his health had been so impaired by his heroic exertions in tropical climates that he retired in the autumn of that year to Hatchlands, where, to the national loss, he died on January 10, 1761, at the early age of fifty.

In 1751 Walpole² had commented on his appointment in Whitehall, writing to Horace Mann on June 18: "The Admirals Rowley and Boscowen are brought into the Admiralty under Lord Anson, who is advanced to the head of the board. Seamen are tractable fishes! especially it will be Boscowen's case, whose name in Cornish signifies obstinacy, and who brings along with him a good quantity of resentment to Anson."

There was a Boscowen of the Manor of Rose in Cornwall in the time of King John. Edward Boscowen appears in the Restoration Parliament, and Hugh was created in 1720 Baron Boscowen of Rose and Viscount Falmouth.

He had married in 1700 Charlotte, daughter and co-heiress of Colonel Charles Godfrey, and a niece of the great Duke of Marlborough. "Old Falmouth," as Walpole calls her, died in 1754. It is her third son, Edward, ninth child in a family of eighteen, with whom we are here

concerned. His wife, who long survived him, was "the accomplished Mrs. Boscowen" whose name is so familiar in the memoirs of the last half of the eighteenth century.

Horace Walpole writes to the Countess of Upper Ossory December 4, 1776. "I heard a good story of Mrs. Boscowen, the Admiral's widow, who lives near London,³ and came to town as soon as she had dined at her country hour. She said, 'I expected to find everybody at dinner, but instead of that, I found all the young ladies strolling about the streets, and not thinking of going home to dress for dinner; so I had set out in the evening, and yet got to town in the morning of the same day.'"



DINING-ROOM FIREPLACE BY ROBERT ADAM.

The story is illustrative of the gradual declension of the dinner hour,⁴ which was already in progress; but it was not from Hatchlands that she set out, as Manning tells us that this seat was sold by her in 1770 to W. Brightwell Sumner, Esq.

Hatchlands preserves in its servants' hall interesting traces of the admiral's domestic rule in the form of a tablet lettered in white on a black background fixed over the fireplace. The last item of this Domestic Discipline Act, "Whoever defaces these rules in any manner shall forfeit 5s.," seems to have acted as a charm for its preservation. The light thrown on the habits of the domestics of that time makes it worth while to give the clauses, with the remark that all the forfeits are 3d., except numbers 7 and 14, which are 1d. and 6d. respectively.

- (1) Whoever is last at breakfast to clean the table and put Copper Horns, Salt, Pepper, etc., in their proper place, or forfeit 3d.
- (2) That the Postillion and Groom shall have the Servants Hall cloth laid for dinner by 1 o'clock and not omit laying salt, pepper, spoons, etc.
- (3) That the knives for dinner and the housekeeper's room to be cleaned every day by the Postillion and Groom, and in case one is out, the other to do his business in his absence, be it which it may.
- (4) That if any person be heard to swear or use any indecent language at any time when the cloth is on the table.
- (5) Whoever leaves any powder or pomatum or anything belonging to their dress or wearing apparel out of their proper places.
- (6) That no one be suffered to play at cards in this hall between 6 in the morning and 6 in the evening.
- (7) Whoever leaves any pieces of bread at breakfast, supper, or dinner.
- (8) That if anyone be detected cleaning liveries, cloaths or any leather breeches at any time of meals and shall leave any dirt after cleaning them, at any time.
- (9) That the Postillion and Groom to have the hall decently swept and the dirt taken away before dinner-time.
- (10) That every servant shall assist to pump water for the use of the house every Wednesday.
- (11) That no one shall put any kind of provision in any cupboard or drawer in the hall after their meals but shall return it whence they had it.
- (12) That the table cloth shall after all meals be folded up, put in the drawer for that purpose.
- (13) That if anyone be detected wiping their knives in the table cloth at any time.
- (14) That if any stable or other servant take any plates to the stable or be seen to set them down for dogs to eat of.
- (15) That no wearing apparel or hat boxes be suffered to hang in the hall but shall be put in the closets for that purpose.

It appears that the admiral had an inclination of his head to one side, popularly ascribed to his shoulder wound, but really, it is said, due to his mimicry of a servant so afflicted, when a boy. It is pleasant to think, therefore, that the way of the martinet was merely an accretion upon the native stock.

With his strong Cornish connections it is not surprising that the admiral was buried at St. Michael Penkevel, "where a monument of exquisite workmanship designed by Mr. Adam, and executed by Mr. Rysbrick,⁵ stands erected to his memory."

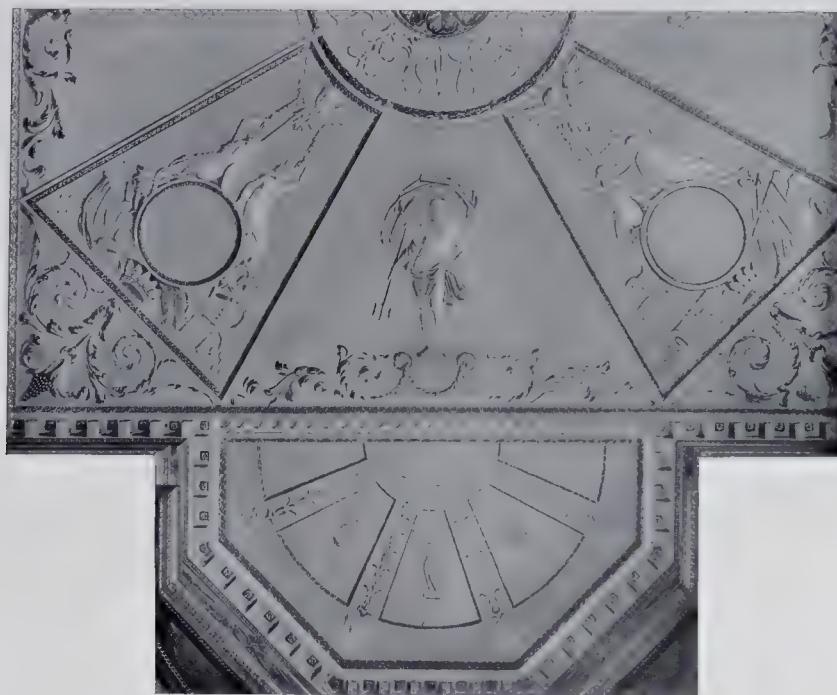
The very long epitaph commencing, "Satis Gloriæ sed haud satis reipublicæ," concludes with the statement that "he died . . . at *Hatchlands Park*, in *Surrey*, a seat he had just finished

(at the expense of the enemies of his Country), and amidst the groans and tears of his beloved *Cornishmen*, was here deposited. His once happy widow inscribes this marble, an unequal testimony of his worth, and her affection."

The happy discovery of this clue has at last cleared up the mystery of the locality of Robert Adam's earliest known work. It may seem strange that these early drawings of his should have no indication on them other than the heading "Designs for Admiral Hon. E. Boscawen," and the date 1759. At the time, however, everyone knew where the popular hero lived. The fact is also buried in the three great volumes of Manning's "*Surrey*,"^{5a} which,



ADAM FIREPLACE IN LIBRARY.



DETAIL OF THE LIBRARY CEILING.

however, makes no mention of the architect's name. Robert Adam only returned from Italy in January, 1758, and he was not, therefore, the original architect of Hatchlands.

The plan he was using is headed, "Plan of first floor for the Hon. Edward Boscawen, Esq., March 6th, 1757," certainly a misleading description. It is clearly the ground floor of the present two storey house, which has only cellars and no regular basement. The most probable first architect and author of the plan is "Ripley, the Carpenter," who built the Admiralty, where Adam was also called in, at about this time, to veil the notorious artistic failure of the portico. As Ripley had died February 10, 1758, there was no personal difficulty in either case. To this happy intervention we owe the beautiful Admiralty screen in Whitehall, one of the best known of the early works of Robert Adam, already illustrated in Chapter ii.

Unfortunately, it has been mutilated by the loss of two of its Doric columns, which were removed in 1827 by "Octogenarian Taylor" to please the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV, by forming a double instead of a single entrance drive.⁶ Despite the complacency of the Vandal Taylor, this Adam screen still remains the admiration of all who can appreciate fine architecture, and will, no doubt, some day come into its own again.

At Hatchlands, therefore, in a house very dull externally, and one which is quite reminiscent of the old Admiralty, without, however, any portico, Robert Adam made his first essay in interior decoration. The illustrations of the ceilings and mantelpiece which still remain will be seen with the greatest interest as work probably earlier even than Shardenloes, hitherto considered to be Adam's earliest remaining work.

Ripley⁷ is supposed to have walked from Yorkshire to London. He had married a servant of Sir Robert Walpole, and in 1721 was appointed Chief Carpenter in succession to Grinling Gibbons. He was at Houghton carrying out Colin Campbell's design, and came in contact with Kent.

Ripley was actually given Sir John Vanbrugh's post as Comptroller of the Board of Works. His Admiralty was built between 1724 and 1726, while Wolverton in Norfolk, for Lord Walpole, was completed in 1730.

Pope remarked that :

Heaven visits with a taste the wealthy fool
And needs no rod but Ripley and a rule.

As Admiral Boscawen returned November 1, 1758, and sailed again on April 14, 1759, the date of the Adam drawings can best be placed early in the latter year. The admiral was home again on September 15, 1759, and set out on his last expedition in January, 1760.



Robert Adam, 1759-61.

ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN'S LIBRARY.

In December he had been given the Freedom of the City of Edinburgh in consideration of his many favours to Scotsmen. If he had "just finished" the work at his death, January 10, 1761, two years would be none too long a time to allow for the execution of the Adam work at Hatchlands.

From the evidence of the drawings in the Soane Collection, which are few in number, the house appears to have been finished in part already, and Adam's share must be confined to the completion of some of the chief rooms. No doubt, a great deal of the woodwork—the staircase, doors, etc.—had already been put in hand by Ripley. As Hatchlands never has had the inestimable advantage of a traditional association with Robert Adam, it has been treated in the course of time with a scant respect. It is satisfactory, therefore, to find that so much yet remains of this early essay. Naturally, it is unrestrained in design and bursting with the enthusiasm of the first return from Italy. The actual work is better than the drawings; the design evidently underwent a process of revision in execution, though naturally it is less chastened than it would have been, after even a brief experience on the designer's part of actual work.

Ignoring the altered direction of the approach, and the new entrance, it will be as well to enter by the old hall, now the garden entrance. The internal treatment here, as well as the actual doorway, has been modified, perhaps as late as the period of 1790. Right and left are two rooms, 24ft. square, which, by Palladian rule, were made 18ft. high. This wasteful height seems to have tempted the practical Ripley to contrive a mezzanine over the left hand room and the entrance hall, approached from a landing of the main staircase. He has attempted the same intricacy of floor levels over the servants' offices, working three floors of the wing to two of the main building, with a result which is sufficiently confusing on the spot.

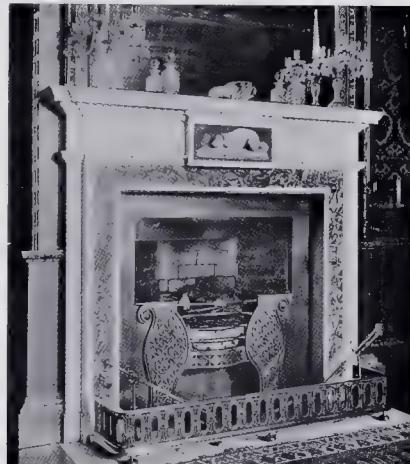
It is too fussy a scheme for domestic architecture, and nothing like it occurs in Robert Adam's own practice. The room on the left of the old entrance hall was reduced by a passage, and has a ceiling apparently of an earlier date than Adam's appearance on the scene. On the right the Adam ceiling has gone, and the mantelpiece is only an interesting example of the Early Georgian type which was in vogue at the time of his return from Italy. By the Adam designs we see that the original ceiling of this room was based on a large circle, of the same character as one which still exists on the first floor.

The principal staircase ceiling is possibly due to Adam, though the drawing for it has not been preserved. It shows early Adam ideas, such as very prominent pendent pateræ, features which he very soon discarded. A good deal of additional ornamentation may have been affixed to the walls of this staircase and to the centre of the ceiling, so that the Adam character has been rather overlaid. The big entablature, however, with the leaf frieze is on the lines of the treatment of the so-called older staircase at Bowood, which itself may have been completed by Adam. By that analogy the Hatchlands staircase walls would originally have been very severe, plain and typically Early Georgian in character. The large window with the columns may have been introduced about 1790 in place of an original arched Venetian. The light metal balustrading was probably at that time also substituted for original balusters of oak, which Ripley would most likely have used.

The centre room of the chief front, the present great drawing-room, is the interior with which the chief Adam drawings that remain are mainly concerned. The ceiling is centred on an oval, enclosed by strong lines of a prolonged octagon, with an outer border enlivened by sea-horses. The concentration of ornament in the corners is an Italian feature. The drawing for this is missing, but the main lines are shown by a pencil note on the plan. The walls are simply framed up in panels, now filled in with silk. These are shown in Adam's drawings as decorated with stucco arabesques of the Shardeloes type, with two painted landscape ruins in the centre panels, and a subject piece in the overmantel frame, which now contains a mirror. The intended stuccoes are said to have been sketched on the walls, as in the case of the gallery at Croome. The fine white marble mantelpiece displays a pair of tall figures, a composition which was Robert Adam's earliest ideal. The central tablet of the frieze in



IN "LESSER DINING PARLOUR."



IN THE PRESENT DINING-ROOM.

the original design is a lively sea subject of classic type, while the present idea seems to be that of Night and Morning, the chariot reminiscent of the "Noctis equi" of Horace. The ornament either side of the tablet is not shown on the drawing, but the general exactness of the whole is remarkable. The chief change is in the fuller drapery gathered about the feet of the two figures. (Compare examples at Croome and Harewood.) The curious inner arches of the window openings are due to the exposure of the original construction of the carcase of the building by Ripley, these windows having been raised in the last century.

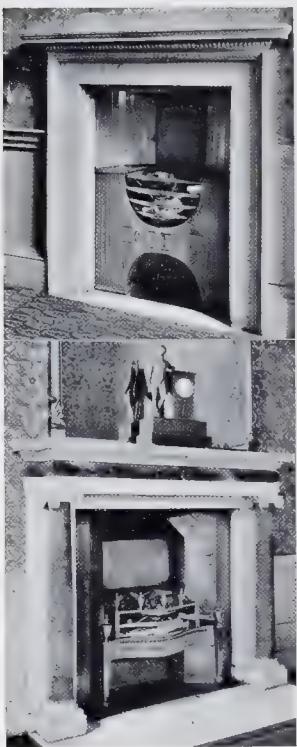
All the wood casings of the room are richly carved, without the use of composition, as is usual in Adam's earliest work. The adjoining library has, perhaps, even more character. The scheme of the ceiling seems to have a personal reference to the hero's career. The set-out is a radiating one, forming a series of panels with an effect rather like that of the gussets of an octagonal dome. The four chief subjects are Neptune, Justice, Fame and Victory, the last a figure with a laurel wreath and palm branch. The alternative panels contain twin mermaids in a composition, which rises from a base of cannons, rifles, anchors, flags, swords, spears, and even drums, a mass of decorative symbols of a type dear to the heart of the eighteenth century. The whole design has evidently a monumental significance and symbolic intent. The mantelpiece in white marble, of which the drawing exists, is interesting as an early example of the time, when Adam was disposed to follow massive architectural types. The very pretty mahogany bookcases are said to be those of the original room.

The present dining-room was originally the alcove bedroom, and has been a good deal modified in consequence. The marble mantel no doubt belonged to the house and was, doubtless, selected by the admiral, and one might hazard the guess that the dog on the central tablet had some special significance.

The great staircase is of a scale and amplitude which suggests that it was worthy of the important salon planned to be on the first floor. Adam's design of the ceiling for this interior exists, and he calls it the withdrawing-room. The design is a large oval, and the surrounding band is filled with octagonal coffering. This centre room, which was immediately above the present great drawing-room,

has, however, since been divided up into three rooms, and has now lost all trace of the original ceiling and other Adam decorations. The two end square rooms on this garden front show original ceilings of great interest as early Adam examples. The one over the library has a good architectural mantelpiece with Ionic columns; the other room shows a design of the Inigo Jones type, with a head on the central tablet; both of these are of marble.

There are no Adam drawings for these mantels and they represent current types of the period. In a dressing-room is a small wood mantel, with marble slips enclosing a brick built interior, with an early cast iron front. There are other metal grates downstairs of the basket type, which are also original. The Adams early took an interest in the Carron Works and gave attention to the improved design of these important accessories. The early manufacturers, like Mathew Boulton of Soho, Wedgwood of Etruria, and others, were amenable to influences which are apt to be disregarded by successors who do not, with mad Malvolio, "think nobly of the Soul" at any rate, of that crowd to whom the necessities of that age compel them to make their chief appeal.



TWO BEDROOM FIREPLACES.

The abiding interest of Hatchlands will always be that of possessing the earliest decorative essay of Robert Adam, who, by native force of genius, made a deep impression on his own age, revolutionising current practice and leaving a tradition which is likely to be an increasing rather than a diminishing force in domestic architecture.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII.

¹ Major-General Jeffrey Amherst (1717-97), captured Louisbourg and Cape Breton, July 26, 1758, also Montreal, Sept. 7, 1760. Created (1776) Baron Amherst. Governor Virginia, 1759-68; General, 1778; Commander-in-Chief, 1772-82 and 1793-95; Field-Marshal, 1796. H. W. Letters. T. Ed. Vol. v, page 25, also Vol. iv, pages 184 and 240.

² Lady Mary Coke, widow of Edward Viscount Coke (only son of Thos. Earl of Leicester) and daughter of John, Duke of Argyle and Greenwich.

³ H. W., Vol. iii, page 58.

³ Glan Villa, Colney Hatch. H. W., Vol. ix, page 446.

⁴ Sir Joshua Reynolds in Leicester Square, 5 p.m.; Thrale in Grosvenor Square, 4 p.m.; The Club, 4.30 p.m. Plays in Garrick's time at Drury Lane, 6 p.m. Boxes, Dress Circle, 5s. a seat; Pit, 3s.

⁵ Jan Michiel Ryckbrack, born Antwerp, 1693. To London, 1720; employed by James Gibbs and Wm. Kent, architects. Studio, Vere Street, Retired, 1763; died, January, 1770. Works: Monuments in Abbey and at Blenheim. Eusts of Palladio, Fiamingo and Inigo Jones for Chiswick.

⁶ "History and Antiquities of Surrey," three vols., folio, by O. Manning, 1804-14. Vol. iii, page 49. He says estate was "purchased, 1749, by Hon. Ed. Boscowen (son of Hugh Viscount Falmouth), who pulled down the old house and built the present handsome one."

⁷ Secretary Croker, who seems to have had some doubts, asked Smirke to meet him on the spot, but Taylor encountered them, and addressing his rival, said, "Mr. Smirke, this is forestalling me! This is but a temporary expedient to remedy a great inconvenience, and will not prevent any future more extensive alteration of the facade, which by the bye, has no beauty in it."

⁷ Hawkins in his "Life of Johnson," page 375, says that Ripley, the carpenter, kept a shop and also a coffee house in Wood Street, Cheapside.



FIRST FLOOR LANDING OF STAIRCASE AS EXISTING.

PART II. CHAPTER VIII.

SHARDELOES, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

THE SEAT OF MR. TYRWHITT DRAKE.

THE building of Shardeloes near to Amersham, in Buckinghamshire, has hitherto very reasonably been regarded as Robert Adam's first work, subsequent, that is, to the return in January, 1758, from his memorable Italian tour. Francis Drake came of the Devon family of the Drakes of Ashe, and his father, Richard, had been Equerry to Queen Elizabeth, of whom there is a fine portrait in the drawing-room. He himself was a gentleman of the Privy Chamber of James I, and acquired Shardeloes and a fortune by his marriage with Joane Denman. Their son was made a baronet in 1641, and on his death in 1669 was succeeded by his nephew, Sir William Drake, to whom we owe the charming brick market-house of Amersham, built in 1685. Father and son the Drakes represented the town in Parliament up to the Reform Bill of 1831.

William Drake, who lived from 1723-69, undertook the reconstruction of the former house by additions so large as to convey the idea of an entirely new house.

It is quite possible that this new work had been begun before it was handed over to Robert Adam to complete and decorate. The only general plan in the Soane Collection of Drawings is hardly more than a key plan, explained by an elaborate schedule of the names of the different rooms. This plan is, moreover, pencilled with suggested alterations, a part only of which were actually adopted. In the Soane Collection are also detail drawings in outline, office copies for the internal design of the different rooms; and it is remarkable that on these larger

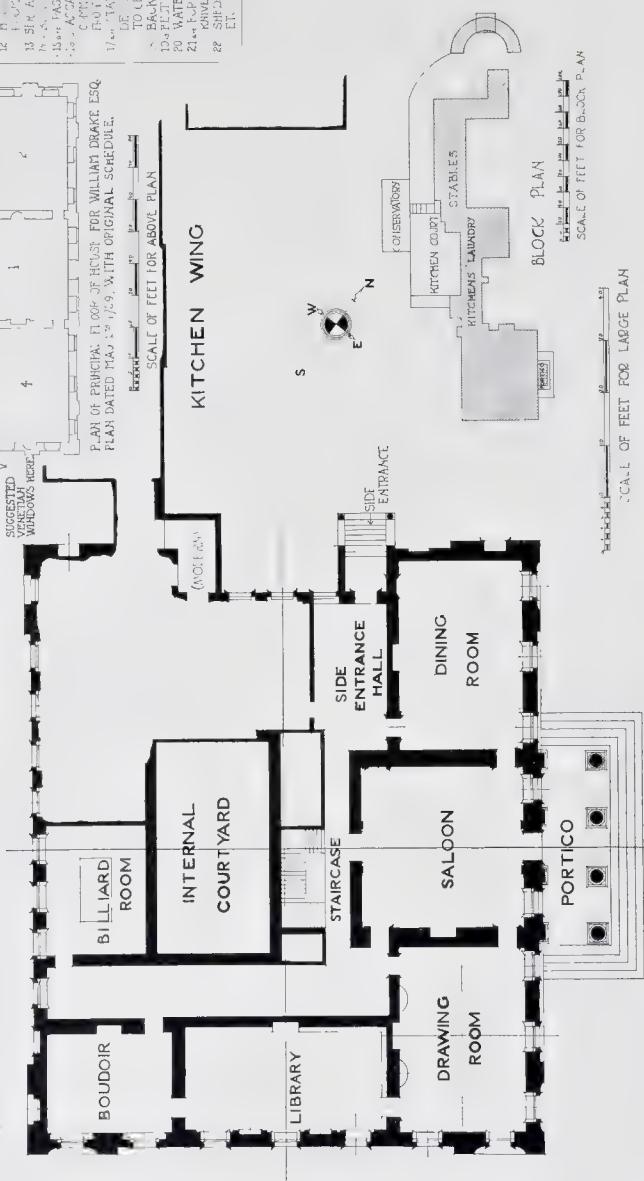


SHARDELOES: THE SOUTH-EAST SIDE.



THE ENTRANCE PORTICO, BY ROBERT ADAM, 1759-61.

SHARDELOES, NR AMERSHAM.BUCKS.
WILLIAM DRAKE
ROBERT ADAM, ARCHT
1759-1761.



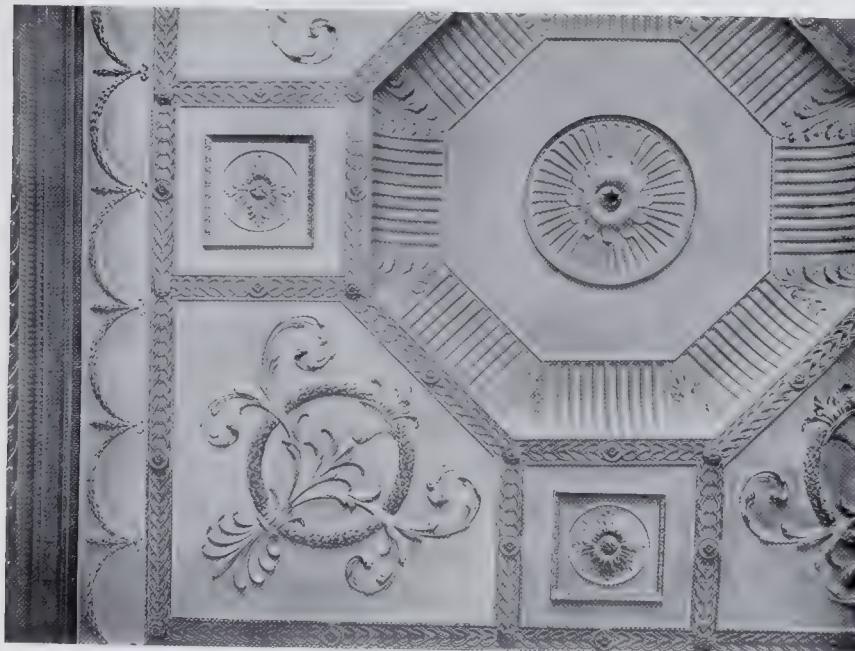
scale drawings are shown some of the same pencil suggestions that are to be seen on the small key plan, such as the large Venetian windows, which were not, in fact, adopted. The main portico itself is one of these pencil suggestions which, in this instance, has been fully realised.

Whether or not the carcase of the building may have been already begun at an earlier date, and by someone else, there can be no question that Robert Adam made the house entirely his own, and Shardeloes can still assert for itself the distinction of being one of his earliest essays in domestic architecture.

The interiors of this house illustrate the claim which Robert Adam made when publishing the "Works" nearly twenty years later, as, for example, in the following passage from the first of his Prefaces: "In the decoration of the inside, an almost total change. The massive entablature, the ponderous compartment ceiling, the tabernacle frame, almost the only species of ornament formerly known, in this country, are now universally exploded, and in their place, we have adopted a beautiful variety of light mouldings, gracefully formed, delicately enriched and arranged with propriety and skill. We have introduced a great diversity of ceilings, friezes and decorated pilasters, and have added grace and beauty to the whole, by a mixture of grotesque stucco, and painted ornaments, together with the flowing rainçean, with its fanciful figures and winding foliage." Shardeloes represents, of course, the origination rather than the full accomplishment of these ideas. As an early work it has a strong hold on what had gone



DOORWAY IN SALON.



DETAIL OF CEILING OF SALON.

before, with all the added interest of the germinating stage of a new manner. In the interiors we see the heavier and bolder ornamentation of the beginner, who is shaking himself free of the Early Georgian style. The wild curves and scrolls of leafage in this preliminary essay of Shadelloes, as in the first Adam designs executed at Kedleston, had yet to be modified and harmonised into a new system. Naturalistic tendencies are observable, and forms not as yet subdued to the restraint of Robert Adam's classical ideal.

The wall decorations of the dining-room are perhaps the most symptomatic achievement at Shadelloes, work which seems to demand less of the taming process than the ceilings throughout the house. In these wall panels the sphinxes and the inserted bas-reliefs which were to form the central motives of his system already appear and strike the true Adam note.

The finish and delicacy of the later work is indicated rather than achieved at Shadelloes.

As is the case in other early works by Robert Adam, there is at Shadelloes a much greater use of real materials, more carving and less composition ornament, than became the custom later on.

Thus the house contains an immense quantity of wood carving in the enriched skirtings, the dado rails, and the casings to door and window openings. The doors themselves are magnificent specimens of mahogany, aged to the colour of a tawny port wine, and dulled in polish to a delightful surface.

The walls being of a noble thickness, most of the doors are double, leaving room to stand between them, a feature,

alas! which the economics of modern building have well-nigh banished from our homes. At Shadelloes the interiors of the rooms remain seemingly the same and untouched. The wall colourings are now faded to pleasant tones of green, lilac and grey, while the ceilings are mostly white. The house reveals Robert Adam as a designer of an English home. The interiors appeal to the visitor as absolutely reasonable and liveable, in spite of the century and a half that have elapsed since their completion. As rooms, they are, of course, on a considerable scale; the salon for instance, is 20ft. square, and all the ground floor rooms are 18ft. high; but these are not impossible proportions, such as are often found in the earlier or contemporary eighteenth century houses. The bedrooms in particular would have been passed by Mrs. Thrale, whose "eyes were deadened" by those at Kedleston. The salon, entered from the great portico in the centre of the east front, is a stately hall, treated in that form of Doric which Adam afterwards developed so



THE FIREPLACE OF SALON.



THE HALL OR SALON : EARLY ADAM DECORATIONS.

effectively at Harewood, Lansdowne, and many another of his houses. The doorways in this salon, with their triglyph door cases, are interesting pieces of woodwork, but they are not in such good proportional relation to each other as is the rule in his later works.

This hall, treated now as a salon, is a very pleasant apartment, being hung with tapestries, and decorated by busts and fitted with specimens of interesting furniture.

The dining-room at the northern end of the east front is a fine interior, richly decorated, the large spaces of the wall panelling being entirely filled with stucco reliefs. The design of the ceiling is based upon a large oval modified by very free flowing foliage. The crossed thyrsis and the ivy seem a rather obvious allusion



DETAIL OF DINING-ROOM CEILING.



THE DINING-ROOM: EARLY ADAM DECORATIONS.

to Bacchic rites. As a whole this ceiling suffers from the use of heterogeneous ornaments insufficiently welded together. Adam more than once hereafter, using the same idea, effected great improvements on this early design. The white marble chimneypiece is quite characteristic. There is a central tablet of boys at play, better executed than the anthemion frieze on either side of it, which is rather thick in its lines. Relief is given to this ornament by a red marble ground. The mahogany sideboard, which is an interesting piece of furniture, is flanked by two vases on pedestals, decorated in white and gold. These are inferior types of those afterwards made for Kedleston.

The drawing-room, in contrast to the faded blue of the salon, is all in cream relieved by two fine mirror frames, in gold, of a typical Adam character. They stand on gilded console tables with scagliola tops of quadrant form, placed on either side of the fireplace. The white marble mantelpiece has fluted Ionic columns. The pierced steel grate, with columns and vase terminals, is interesting. The notable pictures in this room are the original portraits of Queen Elizabeth and of Hatton, her Chancellor. Some landscapes and views of buildings in Italy also deserve attention. The plaster ceiling has a central circle, with four lions' heads, linked up by bold swags. Four fans are introduced, features which Adam afterwards developed with great effect. The somewhat wild scrolling on the ceiling illustrates the early character of the work.

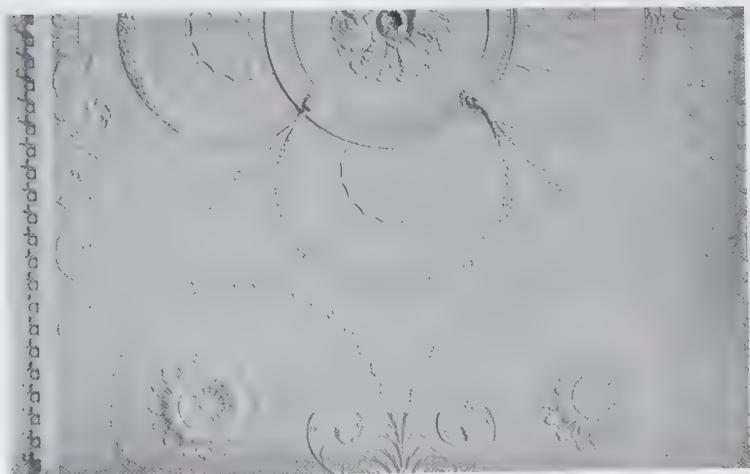
The library, occupying the centre of the south front, is, perhaps, as characteristic as any of the rooms. The distribution of the south wall in a shallow arcade, with the bookcases worked in as projections on the piers between the arches,



IN THE DRAWING-ROOM.



THE DRAWING-ROOM FIREPLACE.



DETAIL DRAWING-ROOM CEILING: EARLY ADAM DECORATIONS.



IN THE DRAWING-ROOM.

was an idea which evidently pleased Robert Adam. In one of his designs for the much larger library at Kedleston he recurs to this suggestion. The other walls of the room are entirely lined for two thirds of their height with white deal casings framing up wire panel doors, behind which the books are visible.

These bookcases are pleasantly detailed with a fluted frieze and characteristic Adam finishings. The dado base is perfectly plain, but the skirting and the chair rail are both very fully enriched. The doorways are worked into the scheme so that the line of the bookcasings is kept throughout. Above, there is a series of wall panels, filled in with chiaroscuro paintings in white on green, like a Wedgwood cameo on a large scale. The fine mantelpiece is in white marble, with sienna yellow background. It has long fluted consoles and on the central tablet of the frieze is a vase in low relief.

The last of this fine suite of rooms is the boudoir at the south-western corner. The white marble mantel has a frieze of verde antique, with a central tablet representing a vase with grapes. The consoles with realistic ivy wreaths are curious, and over them are set birds pecking at grapes. This room has a very pleasing and appropriate effect, that of a resting place after the tour of the other more stately apartments.

In the office wing a fine kitchen has been formed, with a raised central bay in the ceiling, cross vaulted in a typical Adam fashion. One side wall is taken up by three widespread elliptical recesses, two of which are fitted with ranges. Sculleries, larders, and laundry are all on a great scale, and the stabling is extensive. The Adam drawing for the stable block is dated 1761. It is an effectively simple piece of external architecture.

These annexes group well with the house, as seen from the lower level near the lake, the whole block standing out in grey and cream tones against glorious verdant masses of the trees that fill in the background.

In the grounds is an orangery, having a wood-framed façade of arches and Doric columns carrying a pediment. This structure appears to be of the same date as the house.

At the extreme end of the stable block is a kind of square tower, with quadrant wings, possibly a pigeon house on a large scale. Its position rather suggests that it was intended to close a vista, but, owing to additions made to the stables, it has now been masked, and no longer serves as a terminal. It is a perfectly plain piece of stuccoed brickwork, interesting in its mass. The natural lie of the valley doubtless determined the position of the house, and the chief apartments could hardly be better placed to command the view.

The design of the exterior is as reasonable as that of the interiors, and, assuming that the spirit of the eighteenth century required the satisfaction of the great Corinthian portico, surely there never was one less sacrificial than this of Shardenloes. The columns are no detriment to the salon, and only one bedroom on the east front can be said to suffer from the overshadowing effect of the portico projection. Much of the reasonableness of this portico feature at Shardenloes is due to the absence of any podium involving a basement. Here the ascent of a few steps, wide and easy, seems rather to lead to a pleasant covered space, accessible from the salon, than to a formal place of state entry.

It is true that the road passes the portico and proceeds round to a covered porch on the north side, which is now the general entrance. This, however, is probably a concession to the unceremoniousness of subsequent times, which has deleted the formalities of the state entry from the chain of customs required to be observed.

The grand portico loses, of course, in the distant view because the fall of the ground is rather sharp, and there are no terraces to give the elevation requisite to develop the full effect of a feature



DOOR IN BOUDOIR.

*Robert Adam, 1759-61.*

THE LIBRARY: EARLY ADAM DECORATIONS.

so essentially dignified. Shardeloes seems, therefore, incomplete in respect of lay-out. It stands as though dropped upon the ground amid lawns whose rise and fall is quite irrespective of the architectural lines of the house.¹ Another point, in which the portico may be thought



THE LIBRARY.

to lie open to criticism, is the defect of a relative excess of width, the façade as a whole seeming hardly of sufficient extent for so large a feature. This may be accounted for by a consideration of the facts, which suggest that it was an addition or afterthought. The set-out of the portico must, therefore, have been practically dictated by the pre-existing openings of the windows and their pier intervals.

The south and western fronts of the house are particularly happy instances of that quiet form of classic architecture which so nearly became a permanent tradition in England.

It is not exclusively Adam, as the ideas of the Burlington-Kent school, deriving from Inigo Jones, still persisted, though in an attenuated form. The façades have no orders, but are composed simply of well proportioned openings and piers, with accentuated end bays crowned by a modest cornice and simple balustrade.

At Shardeloes the end bays of the façades are particularly happy, with their arched recesses, elliptical on plan, holding delightful shadows of subtly curving forms.

*Robert Adam, Architect, 1861.*

THE STABLES.

Leaving Shardeloes, it is this effect of wide sunlit sparkling masses, emphasised by well defined shadows from architrave and cornice, that lingers in the memory. In a deep setting of June foliage the house is like a pearl carelessly disposed in the folds of an emerald velvet gown.

NOTE TO CHAPTER VIII.

¹ Humphrey Repton (1752-1818) would appear, from his book on Landscape Gardening (published 1803), to have given advice as regards the disposition of the trees on the surrounding slopes. He quotes Shardeloes on three occasions in support of his arguments.



THE PORTICO ENTRANCE FAÇADE.

Robert Adam, 1759-61

PART II. CHAPTER IX.

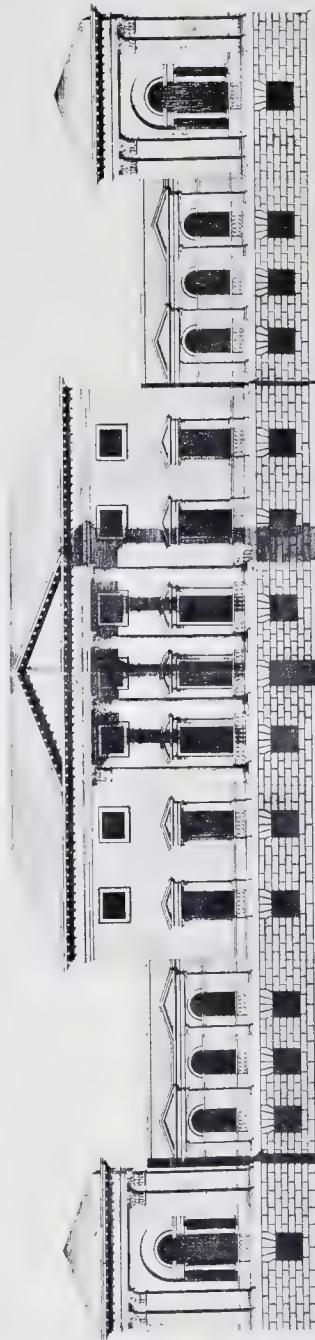
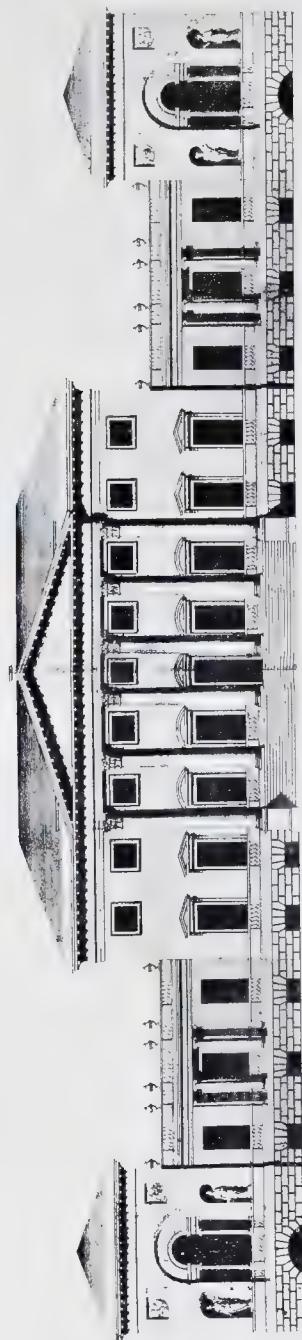
HAREWOOD HOUSE, YORKSHIRE.

THE SEAT OF MR. EDWIN LASCELLES, AFTERWARDS LORD HAREWOOD.

TO the building up of a great home many minds will bring their share of thought and work in the course of two centuries, and it is impossible to narrow our sympathies so far as to limit them to the work of one generation, and thus to quarrel with a composite result that may have achieved a harmony of its own. The building up of Harewood as we see it to-day commenced with a duality that is likely to be of permanent interest to the enquiring mind. Between Robert Adam, the highly trained, far travelled and cultivated designer of deeply artistic instincts, and John Carr, the strongly traditional and practical architect of the county, there seem at first sight to be few points of contact. In the result, however, it is far from easy to assign the respective parts played by each in the resulting work, revealing the existence of an unsuspected link. Carr, by publishing the drawings, plans and elevations of Harewood in the fifth volume of the readily accessible "Vitruvius Britannicus" under his sole name has secured a long start. Anyone, however, who has studied Adam's unpublished drawings in the Soane Collection made for Harewood will read between the lines of the statement—not, perhaps, written by Carr himself—in the text of "Vitruvius Britannicus" as follows: "The seat of Edwin Lascelles, Esquire, in Yorkshire, which was erected in 1760, in a very agreeable spot, from the designs made by Mr. Carr, of York. The entrance into the principal story is by an ascent of ten steps, which extend the whole length of a beautiful hexastyle of Corinthian columns, three feet diameter, crowned with a pediment in the centre of the north front. The south front is adorned with a

*Robert Adam and John Carr, Architects, 1760, and Sir Charles Barry, R.A., 1843.*

HAREWOOD HOUSE: SOUTH OR GARDEN FRONT FROM THE SECOND TERRACE.



NORTH AND SOUTH ELEVATIONS OF HAREWOOD, AS PUBLISHED BY JOHN CARR UNDER HIS SOLE NAME IN "VITRUVIUS BRITANNICUS,"

HAREWOOD HOUSE, YORKSHIRE.

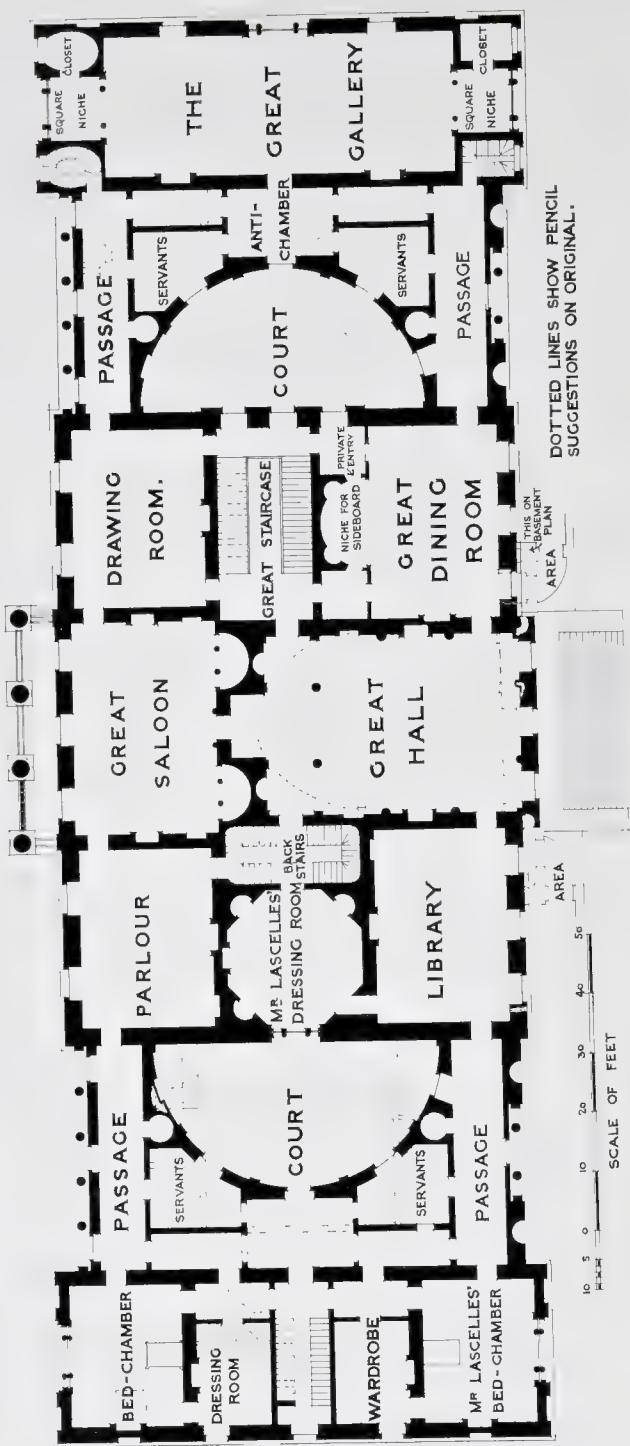
159



NORTH AND SOUTH ELEVATIONS OF HAREWOOD, FROM THE ORIGINAL ADAM DRAWINGS.

PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL FLOOR OF A HOUSE FOR EDWIN LASCELLES, Esq.
AT HIS SEAT AT GAWTHROP IN YORKSHIRE. ROBERT ADAM, ARCHIT.

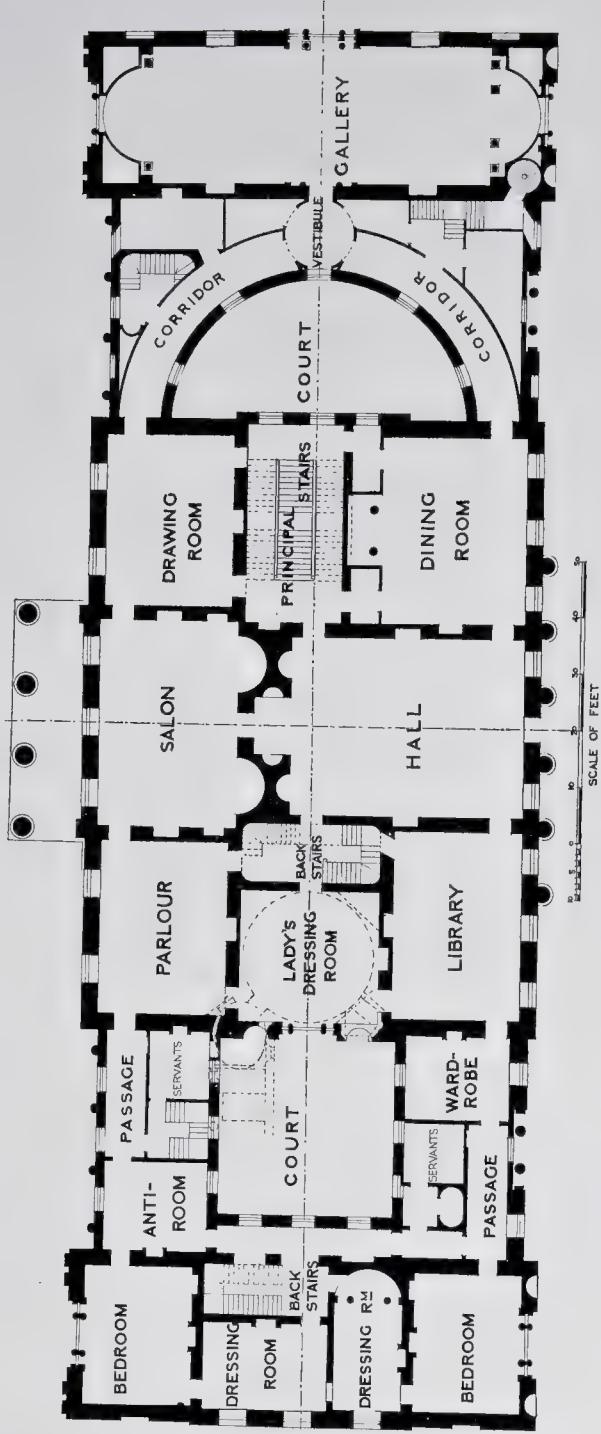
NOW HAREWOOD HOUSE. THE EARL OF HAREWOOD, NEAR LEEDS.



INTERMEDIATE PLAN FOR HAREWOOD

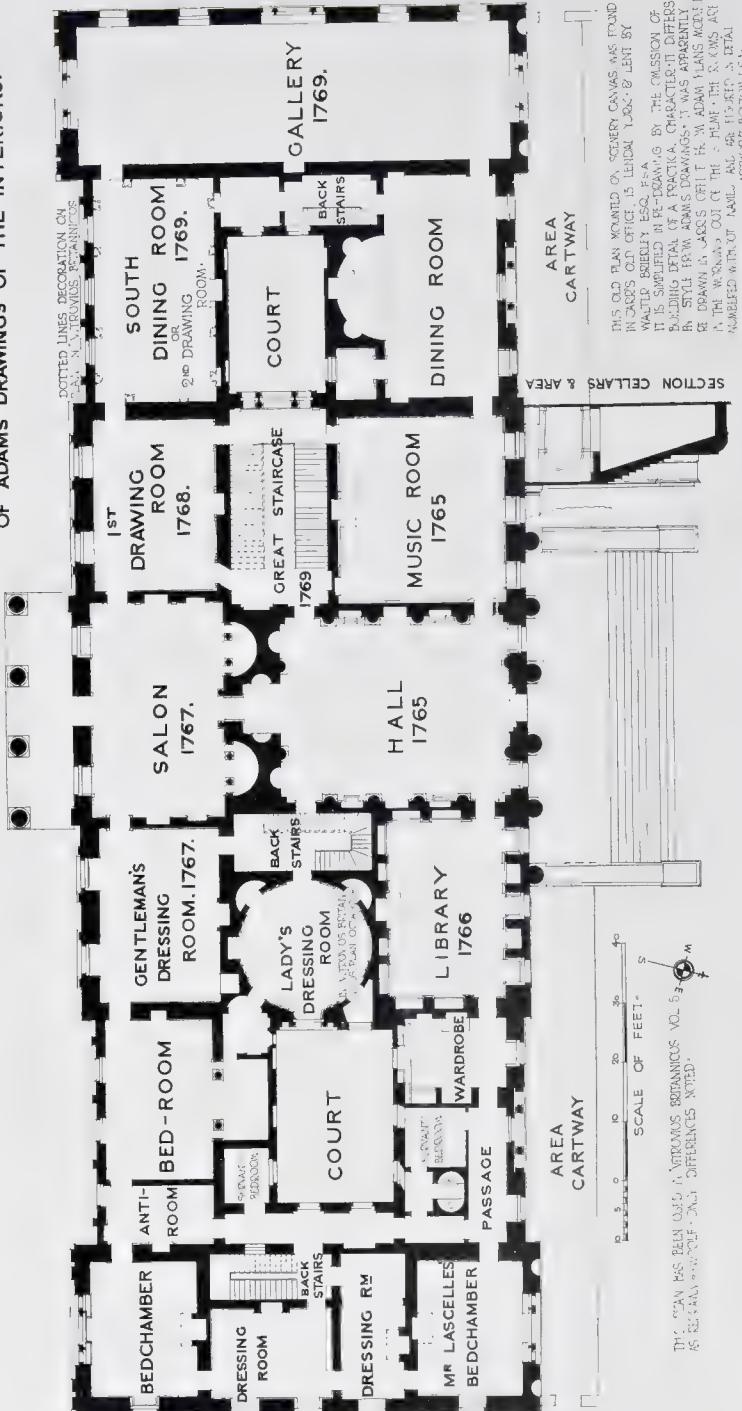
BELIEVED TO BE BY ADAM IN 1759.

ORIGINAL HEADING, DATE & SIGNATURE MISSING. FOUND AT CARR'S OLD OFFICE IN YORK.
DRAWN FROM THE ORIGINAL KINDLY LENT BY WALTER BRIERLEY, F.S.A.
THE DOTTED LINES SHOW PENCIL SUGGESTIONS ON ORIGINAL, FOLLOWED OUT IN LATER PLAN.
THE ORIGINAL HAS NOT BEEN COMPLETED, OR THE WALLS COLOURED.



PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL FLOOR AT HAREWOOD HOUSE
 ROBERT ADAM & J. CARR. ARCHTS: 1759-70 FOR EDWIN LASCELLES NOW ~~1769.~~

THE DATES ON THE PLAN ARE THOSE
 OF ADAMS DRAWINGS OF THE INTERIORS.





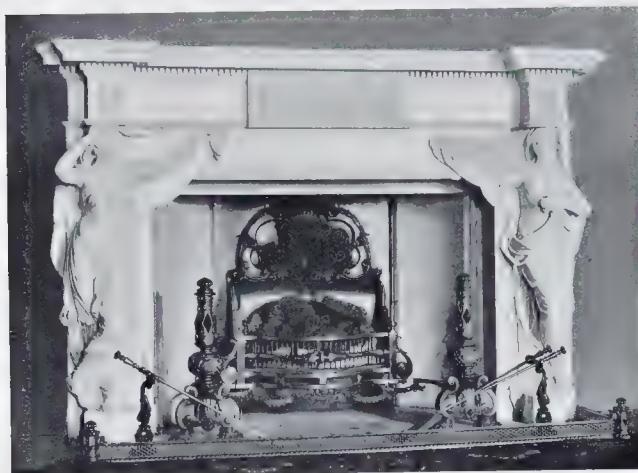
THE ENTRANCE HALL.

Robert Adam, 1765-67.

tetrastyle Corinthian portico, upon a handsome rustic basement, which is continued round the building, and the wings terminate in a Corinthian pilastrade. The worthy owner has spared no expense in decorating the principal apartments, from designs made by Mr. Adam."

No one could suppose from this that Adam had made plans and elevations for the entire house, but, as a matter of fact, his plans and elevations, with some modifications in the working out, are, in the main, the house as it was built. It is quite possible that both architects were invited to make designs for the house and that an amalgamation of their schemes was then effected. It appears that Chambers was asked for a scheme, and it would be quite likely that Paine was invited as well. Carr, it is thought by Mr. Kitson, who has written an interesting account of his life and work in the R. I. B. A. journal,¹ was a distant kinsman of Edwin Lascelles, whose family had long been settled in Northallerton. The maiden name of Carr's mother was Rose Lascelles, and she was of that neighbourhood. Mr. Lascelles' father had made a fortune as a collector of Customs at Barbadoes and as a director of the East India Company.

On the other hand, Robert Adam may have been asked to arrange with Carr, as the architect



Robert Adam's early ideal (see Hatchlands and Croome).

THE GALLERY CHIMNEYPIECE NOW IN THE DINING-ROOM.

and weight in all building questions of a practical nature. Adam was only back from his travels some two years, if Carr's date of 1760 can be relied upon. John Jewell of Harewood, writing in 1819, says, "the first stone was laid by the late Earl at the S.E. corner, March 23, 1759. John Muschamp of Harewood, mason," and that "the house was first inhabited 1771." There are no dates on the general drawings, i.e., plans and elevations of Harewood by Adam, but it is very significant that he was at the spot on April 23, 1759, a month later than Jewell's date, because his sketch plan and elevation of the church at Harewood bears that date. The note on the drawing says: "To add a finishing to the top of the steeple in the Gothick taste." Carr had removed to York in 1750, and seems at first to have been in partnership with a speculative builder who may have been a relative. On his failure, Carr settled down to steady practice, and quickly took the place that James Paine had hitherto held in Yorkshire. Possibly he was architect and builder at once, for he is said to have been the builder of the stables at Harewood in 1755, for which Chambers, then a young man newly returned from Italy, gave the designs. This lends colour to Chambers' own statement that he was invited and made designs for Harewood House as well.

Previous to this Carr had been the builder of Kirby Hall at Great Ouseburn in 1750, the designs of which were given by Lord Burlington and Robert Morris. This fact is of importance because John Carr, having come under these influences, represented at Harewood the older traditional school, which Robert Adam was destined to revolutionise.

on the spot, for the actual carrying out of the work as designed by himself. More particularly in regard to the execution of the exterior this may have been the case, as, undoubtedly, Carr was an expert in masonry, and would have the further advantage of a full knowledge of local conditions.

John Carr was born at Horbury near Wakefield in 1723, and was thus five years older than Robert Adam and, being the son of a hereditary family of masons, would naturally be regarded as the man of experience



MUSIC ROOM: ADAM CARPET AND DECORATIONS.



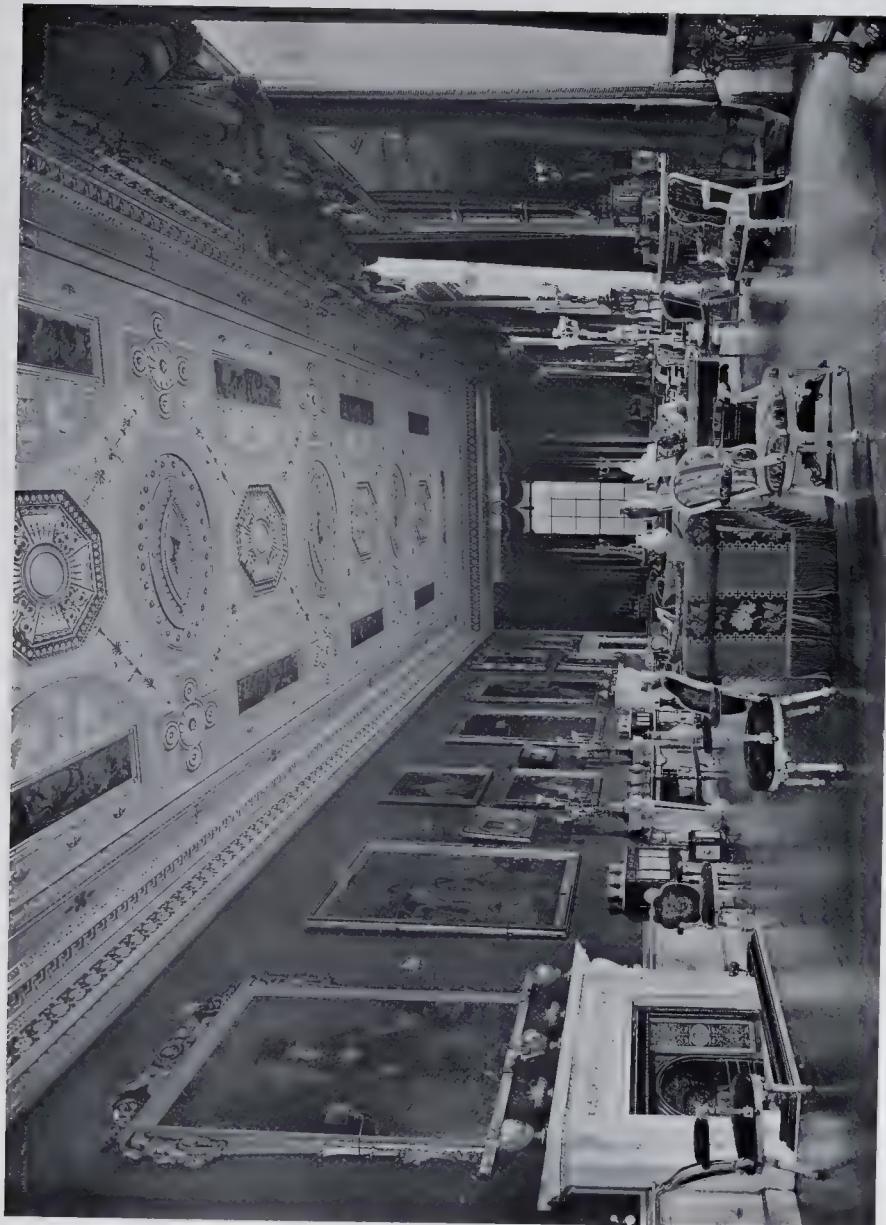
A CONSOLE TABLE.



A GALLERY WINDOW.

Carr, in 1754, scored a great success with the grand stand of the race-course at York, and thereupon ceased to be a master mason and developed his practice as an architect. He was much indebted to text books, and in 1758 had acquired and made a companion of "Select Architecture, being regular designs of Plans and Elevations, well suited to Town and Country," by Robert Morris, surveyor, published in 1755. In his own copy of this work Carr made sundry sketches, and the book eventually found its way into the Soane Collection. Plate No. 23 shows a house plan which would seem to explain Carr's influence on the scheme of Harewood. The adoption, therefore, of Adam's scheme was conditioned by strong local influences. It is the north elevation of Harewood in particular which follows the traditional type, of which Paine's design for Nostell is, for instance, a good example, having the same widespread, many columned centre. On the south side the original narrow portico, vertical in effect, was much more Adam-like.

As regards the plan, the actual differences consist mainly in such a filling in of rooms between the centre and the wings, with such restriction on more practical lines of the open courts, as would be certain to follow from the actual working out of Adam's first and



BARRY MANTELPIECE.

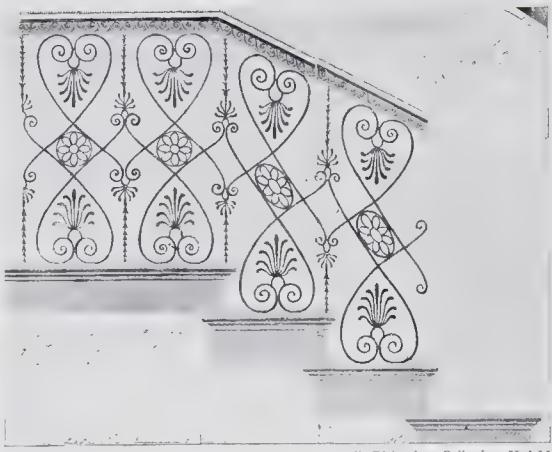
THE GALLERY, BY ROBERT ADAM.

ALTERED WINDOW.

more ideal plan. Some alterations indicated in pencil on Adam's plan do, in fact, show this tendency at work. The apsidal dining-room on the north side is indicated, for instance, where it was afterwards built (see dotted lines on plan). By the kindness of Mr. Walter Brierley, F.S.A., I have been able to utilise three original plans found in Carr's old office at 13, Lendal, York. There is reason to think that two of these originals, the basement and ground floor plans, are those from which Wolfe redrew the two plans of Harewood, which he gives in the fifth volume of "Vitruvius Britannicus." The third plan, which I have marked "Intermediate," is much more interesting, as it probably originated from Adam's own office. It is not only drawn in a different manner, without all the practical detail of the two former plans, but is also schemed with more regard to artistic considerations. This plan, likewise, has pencil sketches of alterations,

which look like hasty notes made by Robert Adam while discussing the plan with his client. These indications in the reproduced plan are shown by dotted lines, and will be seen to have been carried into effect in the final result. There is no heading, date, or signature to this third plan, which has been cut down from its original size, and has, moreover, been mounted on a finer canvas than the other two plans.

This intermediate plan shows that Adam made a hard fight to retain his lunette-shaped courts—at any rate, the one on the gallery side of the house. The circular corridor he has here introduced, leading round to a domed lobby, preceding the central entrance to the gallery, may possibly be a reminiscence of a similar



C. J. Richardson Collection, V.A.M.

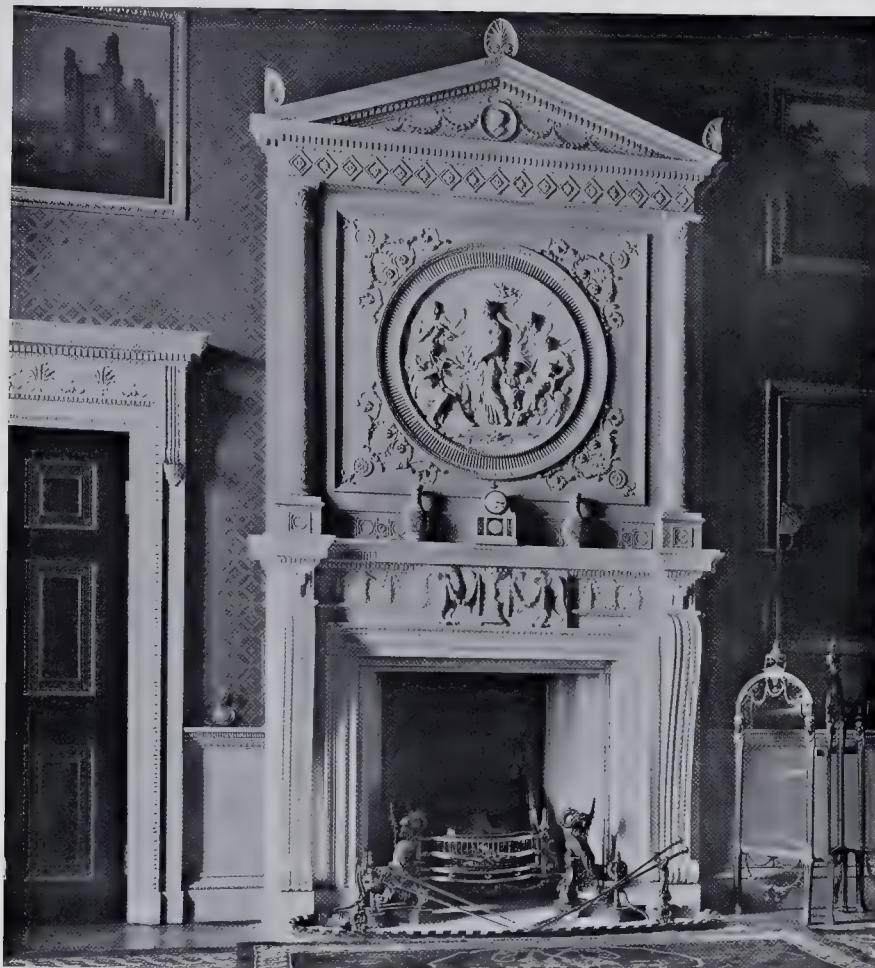
BALUSTRADE DESIGN FOR HAREWOOD.



THE STAIRCASE BY ROBERT ADAM.

feature proposed in Inigo Jones' great plan for Whitehall Palace. Adam in this intermediate plan has also endeavoured to retain that end treatment of the gallery which was so distinctively his own. This scheme also shows the final plan which was adopted for the staircase, that of a central flight between two returns, an idea which has been carried out at Harewood with a good result. Carr himself assigns the whole interior to Adam, and as to that, subject to later alterations, to be presently referred to, there can be no doubt at all.

The Adam drawings for the interior of Harewood form an important group of designs all dated 1765, and this fact may be connected with the return of Lascelles from Paris, as recorded in



CHIMNEYPIECE, BY ROBERT ADAM, IN THE SALON (NOW THE LIBRARY).

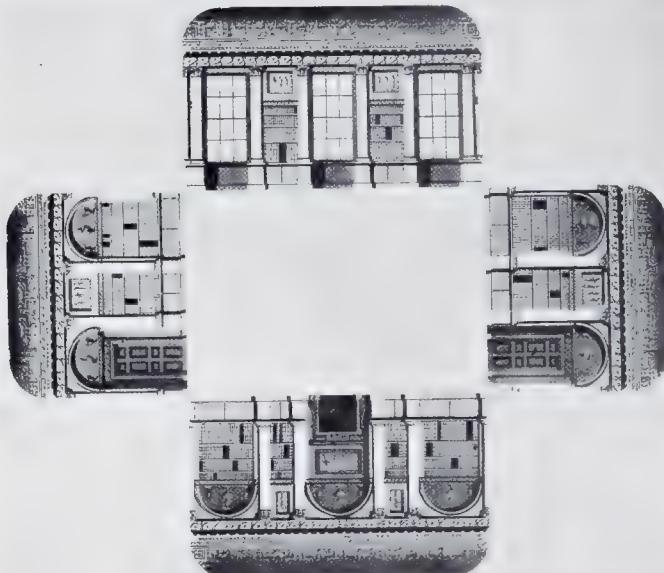
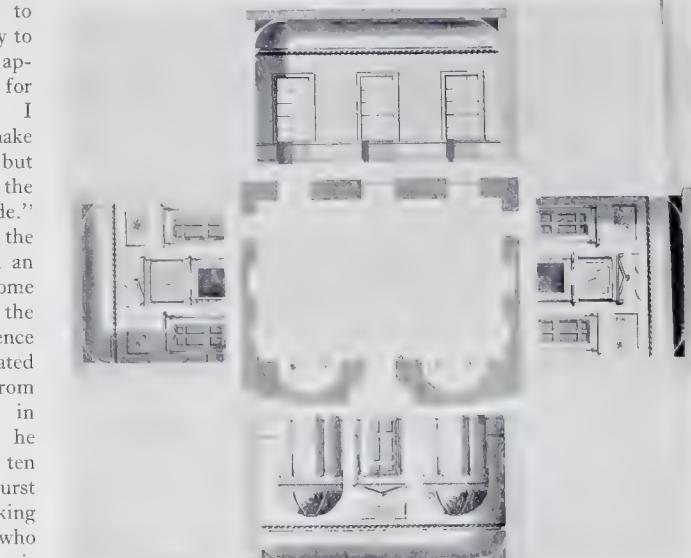
a letter from Gilly Williams to George Selwyn, dated August 22, 1765: "Lascelles, the Yorkshire member, landed yesterday in the packet from Dieppe, and brought the prettiest watch for Lady Coventry I ever saw. It has all the taste and elegance which Dulac and others say our friend the Earl is remarkable for. I think about the autumn, we must be toad eaters enough to swear to this, or to anything else that his chaplains advance. Lascelles made me laugh by telling me he had brought over some manuscripts, which treat of the longitude : they are to be delivered to you,

and you are desired to explain them properly to the Commissioners appointed by Parliament for issuing the reward. I don't think they can make you a mathematician, but by the same degrees the mock doctor was made."

This reference to the Earl of Coventry and an expected visit to Croome is interesting. In the Garrick correspondence there is a letter dated August 14, 1765, from Monsieur Monnet, in which he says that he has dined with ten Englishmen and burst his eardrums talking English. Lascelles, who was one of them, is mentioned as having been good enough to take charge of the letter.

The mention of James Wyatt's Pantheon by Edward Gibbon also contains a passing allusion to Lascelles. It is probable that, the carcass of Harewood being now well advanced, this return of Lascelles from abroad was a signal for the actual start upon the interior finish of the house for which

THE ORIGINAL ADAM DRAWING FOR THE SALON (NOW THE LIBRARY).



ADAM DRAWING FOR A LIBRARY AT HAREWOOD HOUSE FOR MR. EDWIN LASCELLES (AFTER LORD HAREWOOD) 1765.

we may suppose that Robert Adam had prepared these numerous drawings during his client's absence. Adam's plans and elevations for interiors at Harewood amount to many sheets and show more work even than was ever realised in execution. His drawings cover the whole of the interior and include designs for entrance gateway, lodge and conservatory. Each room is shown by a separate sheet, giving a detail plan with the four elevations of the walls

drawn round it. The correspondence of these drawings with the work shows that extraordinary fidelity which is so astonishing in Adam's work. The detail can be identified by the photographs throughout and it proves that what Robert Adam designed was faithfully carried out. Many alternatives, first and second designs, etc., exist, but once the drawing was approved, the work seems to have been henceforth carried through exactly as it was shown by him. It is a great testimony to the confidence that was placed in Adam and to his own power of securing the realisation of his intentions.

To this first duality of Adam and Carr must be added the contribution of the next century, when another powerful mind was at work upon Harewood. Sir Charles Barry was not of a temper, or training, which would make him an instinctive appreciator of the work of Robert Adam, and he



THE SALON, AS ALTERED FOR A LIBRARY, PROBABLY BY SIR CHARLES BARRY, 1843.

was too close to Adam's day to realise its historical importance. Barry's work at Harewood must therefore stand on its merits as an honest effort to improve, which means really to attempt to give a different artistic expression to a design which he found in existence. It is an attitude which has always prevailed, except in those periods of time in which historic feeling has been too strong for the rashness of the innovator. Barry had no doubts and, like all artists, he could not escape entirely the colour of his own times. His was a doctrinaire generation, and as the modern historian shudders at the cocksureness of Macaulay, so the present day student of architecture has no liking for dogmatic opinion of the type of Gwilt and Ferguson, which now appears to him as a mere outcome of a rather defiant personality. At Harewood Barry was asked to add extensive bedroom accommodation and to effect improvements in planning to meet later standards of domestic life, and he proceeds at once to impress his own personality on the corpus of the older building.

On the whole he succeeded greatly. He invested the south front with a new and more Italianate character, and with his grand terraces and general horizontal treatment undoubtedly produced a powerful effect. In the interior, however, Barry cannot be said to have been so happily inspired, for here he was dealing with a great master—as many others have also found when they have rashly tried to improve upon Robert Adam in the sphere of decorative architecture.

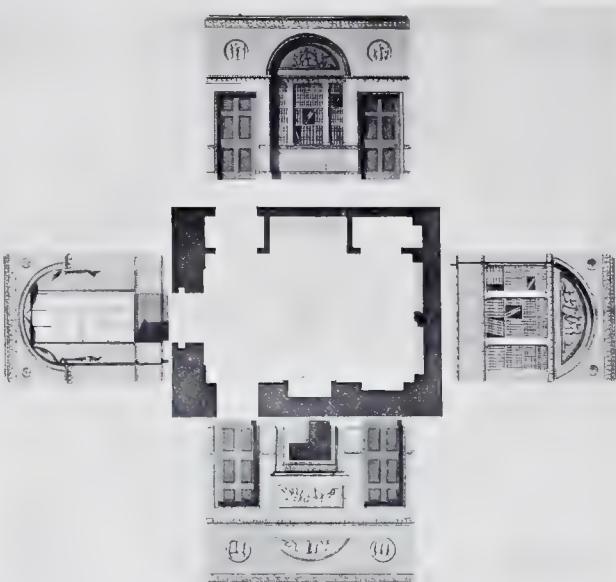
It is time, however, to enter the house, and a splendid start is made with the great hall, which is a monumental example of Robert Adam's work.

The bold engaged columns, being unusual with Adam, who habitually used pilasters, might be rashly taken to be part of Carr's scheme by a visitor unacquainted with the fact that these columns were to be fully three quarters, according to Adam's own original design.

The main feature of each wall is emphasised by an arch. In particular, opposite to the entrance doorway there was a deeply recessed archway with niches, which is now cut off and lined with books, in connection with the library, which has taken the place of the original salon. The hall ceiling is flatly treated with a central octagonal feature. There are panels and medallions on the walls, and on one of these is the date 1767, inscribed on a flag. The year will be that of the completion of this interior, as Adam's drawing is dated 1765.² The drawing for the hall fireplace is dated a year later.

The music room is entered on the right, a fine Adam room with the original carpet whose design is related to that of the ceiling. The medallions on the latter are said to be by Angelica Kauffmann. There are framed landscapes on the walls by Zucchi, and a fine portrait of the first Earl of Harewood by John Hoppner, R.A. (1759-1810) in an Adam frame. The mantelpiece below does not agree with the Adam drawing for this room, and the spandrels of the ceiling have been simplified, as a reference to the carpet below will show. Adam's drawings for this room are dated 1765. Gilt mirrors and console tables between the windows maintain the character of his style.

The dining-room, which follows, has been extensively altered, and the present mantelpiece belonged originally to the great gallery.³ Adam's design (June 13th, 1777) shows the continued use of the pair of tall figures, which was his ideal, as we have seen at Hatchlands and Croome. At Harewood it was intended to have the frieze and enclosing mouldings in ormolu, with a purple ground to the bas-relief panels. Light and graceful swags unite the two figures in his original design. Two mirrors were also designed for this room. The suppression of the apse is believed to have been due to the impossibility of otherwise hanging a very large picture, though, as the room appears distinctly narrow on the old plan, the alteration may also have been for dining purposes. It must be remarked at once that all Adam's drawings for the Harewood furniture are missing. It is probable that they went direct to, and were never returned by, Chippendale, who supplied a great deal of furniture for the house.



ORIGINAL ADAM DRAWING FOR THE ROOM NOW CALLED THE OLD LIBRARY.

The great gallery, which occupies the entire wing, has had, as already described, a chequered history. The three great Venetian windows have probably been altered, as the internal columns or pilasters have been replaced by console brackets, doubtless in order to obtain more space in each of the window recesses. The fine ceiling was carried out by Rose from a large, fully coloured drawing by Adam dated 1769. It is exceedingly good in relative scale and very ingenious in pattern. The present mantelpieces are, no doubt, by Barry.

The curtain boxes are characteristic, and the pendent valances, carved by Chippendale in wood, are so skilfully executed as to quite deceptively match the deep blue colour as well as the fabric of the curtains. This was doubtless so arranged in order to obviate the evil effect of the dust and corrosion upon a woven material at that height. The window piers have magnificent console tables, with mirrors over them. These console tables follow a design made by Adam for Sir Lawrence Dundas, in 1765, with interesting modifications of detail. The white marble tops have coloured inlays and gold framings. The ovals above are said to be by Angelica Kauffmann.

The superb family portraits by Reynolds have particularly good Adam frames. There is a pair of very tall and graceful standards, in which all is original except the standing boys on the top. Such openwork stands with tapered framework were used for lamps in Adam houses. The settees and chairs in gold framework, with the original woven stuffs, are of Adam design.

The suite of rooms then follows the south or garden front. The first state room on this side is named on the plan in "Vitruvius Britannicus"—"The South Dining Room," and it is there shown with an architectural treatment of columns. Adam, however, in designing the ceiling in 1769, heads his drawing as "The Second Drawing Room." This room has been somewhat altered, as the interesting painted panel in the centre of the ceiling and those in the coves are, of course, not Adam work. They were carried out for the third Countess of Harewood. The original cove was patterned over with a fret-like fluting, which has been removed. Adam's ceiling treatment is very interesting, the narrow sides and wide ends being analogous to the example at Osterley Park, where octagons have been used in a similar distribution.

The mirrors in this room have two sphinxes and a vase as a cresting, and stand on console tables with scagliola tops. The framework below has fluted supports with female heads and scrolls, united by swags. In the open space between the standards are groups of reclining boys.

The set of chairs is covered with an old woven fabric with a pink ground. The walls are now hung with a silk of pale green and silver. Then follows the first drawing-room of 1768, which is now the billiard-room. The walls have been repainted.

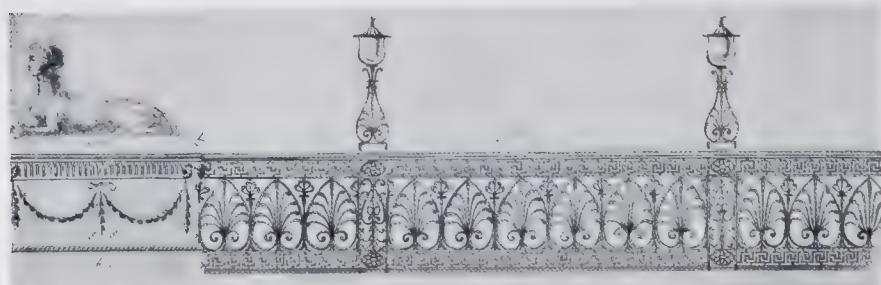
The ceiling drawing by Adam is fully coloured in pink and green. The mantelpiece is marked "second design," and dated 1771. The rather complex frieze has fans of feathers and lozenges, and boys in medallions. There are two door-cases with pilasters and a frieze of cameos, containing boys riding on dolphins. The original carpet has barely survived. There is an oval mirror by Adam on an earlier console table placed between the windows. The Adam settee and chairs exist.

The staircase is a fine example, and is more decorative than those at Kedleston and Nostell. Even the half landing⁴ was not overlooked, as there is a drawing dated 1769 for the soffit. When we come to the salon in the centre of the south front we are again in touch with Barry, to whom the fine bookcases, following the lines of the original apses, must be due. Adam had placed screens of columns



Robert Adam, 1765.

IN THE OLD LIBRARY.



C. J. Richardson Collection, V. i. M

AN ADAM DESIGN FOR IRON RAILING TO AREA IN FRONT OF HAREWOOD, NORTH ELEVATION.

across these apses, and a pedimented doorway in the centre, as there was originally no idea of a library on this side of the house. The fine ceilings, both of the room and the apses, due to Adam can be distinguished from the later painted decoration on the walls below the cornice and in the centre spandrel. A frieze of vases and leaves was designed by Adam for this room. The pair of splendid mantelpieces with overmantels remains complete, in exact accordance with the Adam drawings. The centre composition shown in his drawings is a "Sacrifice." In the frieze of the overmantel the lozenges have, as drawn, only a single bead instead of a double, which was an improvement in execution. The following room, now the second library, was the principal dressing-room. Designed in 1767, it still retains the original carpet, ceiling, frieze and mantelpiece.

Adam evidently was greatly exercised in his mind by the bedroom and dressing-rooms that follow. The lady's dressing-room was tried several ways, octagonal and circular. The dressing-room, as we see in Hogarth's pictures and learn from Walpole's letters, was a most important apartment at this period, one in which company was received and many hours of the day were passed, and from Jewell's account⁴ in 1819 such a room, of which now only the shell remains, did exist at Harewood.

Adam could be trusted to excel himself in dealing with these rooms, but his ideas have not always survived the changes of fashion.

The room, now called the "Old Library," on the north side of the house, and on the left side of the hall, brings us back to our starting point. It is a fine room, designed by Adam in 1766, with a treatment of pilasters and arched recesses. As the illustration shows, it is a delicate and graceful composition, though it has no longer the original bookcases which, as we know from the Sion Gallery and other Adam libraries, were an integral part of the scheme.

The designs made in 1779 for the "Green-house," if carried out, no longer exist, and the present grand entrance gateway was begun December, 1801, and is ascribed to "the late Mr. Carr of York" by Jewell (1819). It is in sympathy with Adam ideas, but lacks his characteristic touch. The original drawing for the first gateway and lodges, as designed by Adam in 1779, seems to have been re-drawn by Carr, whose drawing has also survived. Both drawings are exactly to the same scale and differ only in a few practical points and in the mishandling of Adam's detail, which is most disastrously evident in the parapet and attic, and in the cresting on the screen wall. The coincidence of these gateway drawings seems to prove the relationship between the two architects in an even clearer way than the house itself, as all the working drawings of the exterior appear to be wanting.

The effect on Carr of this meeting with Adam was that henceforth he adopted decorative motives which he never really understood. It is not that he had not got the patterns, and even the workmen, who had worked for Adam, but simply that the instinct of their proper employment was wanting. This fact is of great value in showing that the genius of Robert Adam was neither a myth nor an easily acquired trick.

The anonymous author of the "Tour to the Western Highlands," visiting Harewood on September 28th, 1787, after noticing "the neat village of stone houses built by Mr. Lascelles"⁵

and the "Lodge" to the park, "extremely handsome," says : "This noble house, on the outside, claims every merit of Corinthian Architecture. . . . The body is well proportioned and joined to two superb wings. The south front has still superior excellence, and its apparent greater elevation gives it more grandeur." The latter advantage is, of course, due to the fall of the ground on a site which was originally a rough hill.

The tourist's account of the interior has value as it shows that Robert Adam's designs were actually carried out, and this helps in defining for us the extent of the subsequent alterations. He says :

The apartments are very numerous and large, and finished in the highest taste of elegance and fashion ; the ceilings many of them richly ornamented with beautiful designs by Zucchi and others.

The music-room is very superb, and contains four fancy pieces by Zucchi, and the ceiling exhibits soft paintings of the muses, with Midas's Judgment in the middle, and at each corner figures representing the four corners of the world.

All the rooms are equally elegant and costly, particularly the state apartments ; but the large gallery and the great drawing room present such a show of magnificence and art, as the eye hath scarce seen, and words cannot describe ; the former takes up the west wing, and is seventy seven feet by twenty four and a half and twenty two high.

On one side are four most superb plate glasses ten feet high, also another of the same over the chimney-piece, and two large oval ones in other places.

The designs on the ceiling are admirably executed by Rebecchi, and represent seasons of the year, intermixed with figures from the heathen mythology ; the stucco work is done by Rose, and esteemed the first of its kind.

The great drawing-room is also as handsome as designs and gilding can make it ; here are seven elegant glasses ornamented with festoons, particularly light and beautiful, also tables with the same. The whole has been finished only a year⁶ by Chippendale, St. Martin's Lane.

We lastly went into the adjoining lesser drawing-room, hung and ornamented in a most singular manner ; here, as if fancy and art had exhausted all their choice treasures, are exhibited colours and mixtures the most odd and disagreeable.

The doors were now all open, and we had a vista of about 250 feet truly delightful.

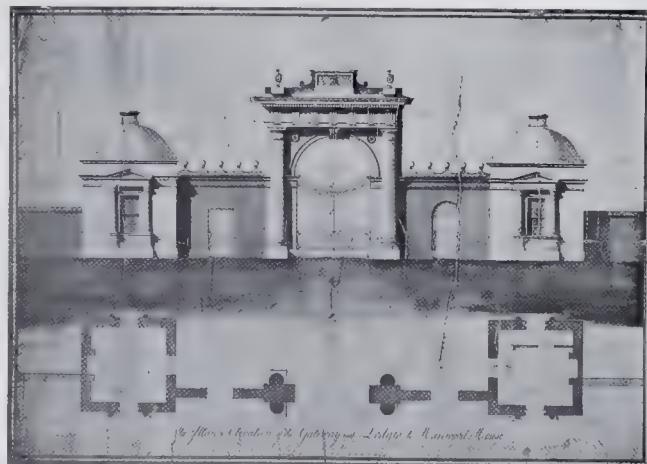
Evidently the "lesser drawing room" was in Adam's Etruscan manner, the same that affronted Walpole so much at Osterley Park.

As showing the reaction from Adam's popularity, at its high water mark perhaps in 1775, the Rev. Richard Warner's "Tour" in 1802 gives us the following *aperçu* of Harewood (Vol. I, page 241) :

"But nothing within interests the mind, no productions of the arts, unless indeed the labours

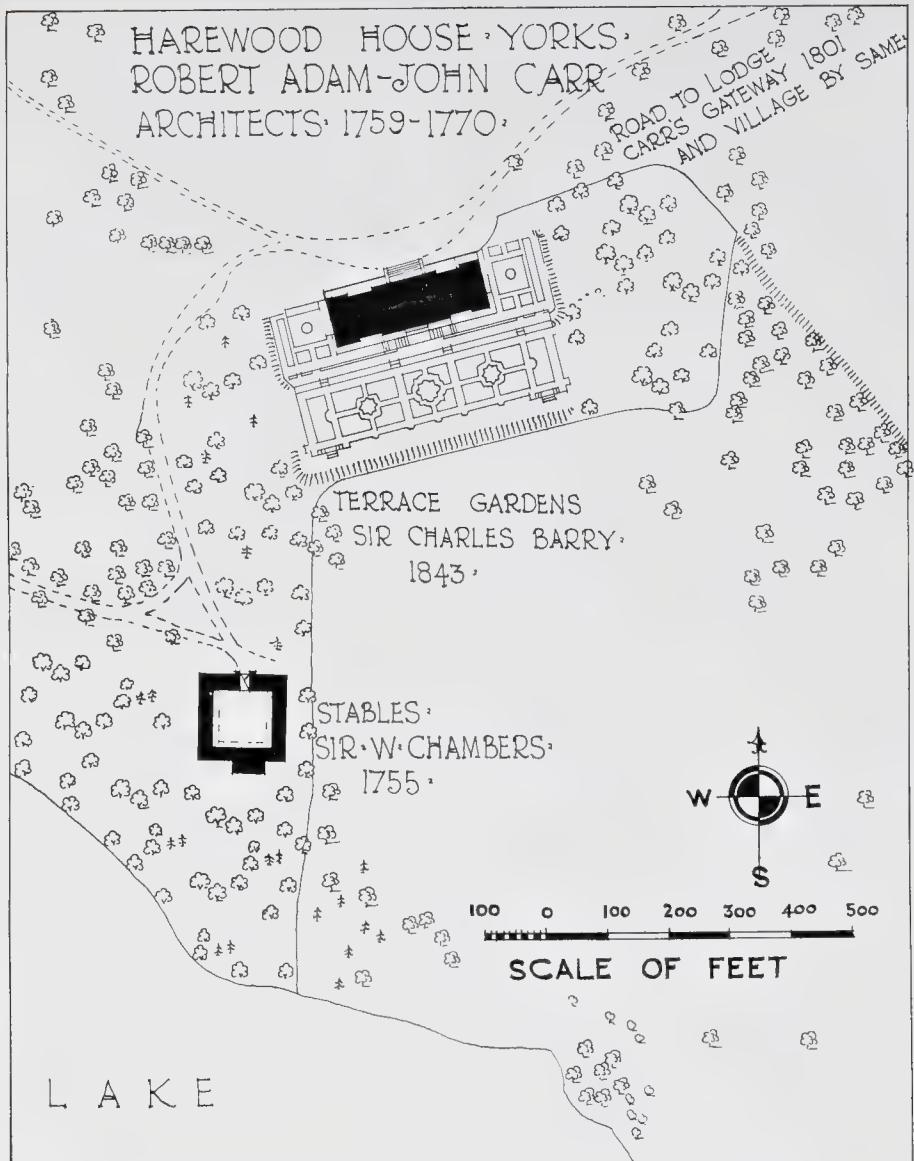


THE ORIGINAL ADAM DRAWING FOR GATEWAY AND LODGES.



From a Drawing in J. Carr's Office.

ADAM DESIGN FOR GATEWAY AND LODGES, AS MODIFIED AND EXECUTED. (?)



SITE PLAN OF HAREWOOD.

of the gilder and upholsterer may be considered as deserving that character. Rich hangings and fine furniture may catch the gaze and captivate the fancy of the multitude, but taste and sensibility require some other food, and turn away with satiety from the glitter of golden cornices and the lustre of satin hangings."

The tourist's attitude is the more remarkable because he also visited Newby and admired the Adam work there, as seen in conjunction with the sculptures of that gallery. Evidently the fine interiors of Harewood were of no value in the absence of pictures and statues.

This is surely the high art ideal of Burke and Reynolds *in excelsis*. The ensuing practice of James Barry, R.A., Benjamin West, P.R.A., and Benjamin Haydon, the last of the prophets of the High Art School, quite as much as the narrowness of the Academy, combined to reduce decorative art in England to the abyss which was most fully realised at the Great Exhibition of 1851.

The Rev. John Wesley, who had been a visitor in April, 1779, was a more acute critic, for he hit upon the point in which Harewood is not wholly Robert Adam in plan and idea. He says: "I was not much struck with anything within. There is too much sameness in all the great houses I have seen in England, two rows of large square rooms with costly beds, glasses, chairs & tables." He also sees a likeness, "the whole floor just on the plan of Montague House."⁷

Next month found Wesley at Alnwick,⁸ and the same subject was still in his mind. "We walked through the Castle. Two of the rooms are more elegant even than those of Harewood House. But it is not a profusion of ornaments (they are exceedingly plain & simple) it is not an abundance of gold & silver but a 'Je ne sais quoi' that strikes every person of taste." In other words, Wesley felt the quality of architecture.

Wesley's point of the monotony of the prevailing Early Georgian plan had long ago been seized by Robert Adam, whose particular idea had been to introduce a much needed variety in house planning. At Harewood, however, as we have already seen, he had by degrees been driven to relinquish some of his most cherished features in respect of the plan.

Perhaps to this house can be related one of the very few traditional personal stories that can be traced back to Robert Adam. It is quoted from a MS., unpublished and incomplete, life of the famous architect, which was seen and used by W. H. Leeds, the writer, but has since been lost again to view. According to this now lost document, Robert Adam used to tell, as an instance of the difficulties met with by an architect, how, on visiting a house of his in the country, he found, to his surprise, that the slope of the pediment had been raised by the lady's orders to accommodate the family coat of arms. It may be only a coincidence, but the south portico of Harewood, taken down by Barry, had just such a coat of arms in its pediment.⁹ It would be difficult, no doubt, for Carr on the spot to resist such a wish, and Robert Adam may have experienced just such a surprise on visiting Harewood. This may have also been one of the contributing reasons why Carr's name only appeared on the published drawings in "*Vitruvius Britannicus*," a fact from which, as we have already seen, so much misunderstanding as to the extent of Robert Adam's real share in the work has arisen.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX.

¹ Royal Institute of British Architects Journal. Third Series, Vol. xvii, No. 6, January 22, 1910.

² "We visited many fine places in the neighbourhood and particularly Harewood, the seat of Squire Lascelles, now Lord Harewood, where there is a very fine house built by Robert Adam, and then not inhabited. The house might have had a finer site had it been a quarter of a mile more to the north where there is a full view of one of the finest vales in Yorkshire." A. C. Auto., page 462, July, 1763.

³ In a magazine article of 1830 is a description of the gallery at Harewood House: "the superb chimneypiece, supported by two bewitching figures of nymphs, is a *chef d'œuvre*."

⁴ Jewell says the landing is one stone, 18ft. by 6ft.: a notable "York stone landing."

⁵ John Jewell of Harewood, "The Tourist's Companion," first edition 1819, 12mo, Leeds; second edition 1822. He copies freely from earlier accounts and is writing two generations after. He says the first stone was laid at the south-east corner, March 23, 1759 (cf. Adam, dated sketch for church, April 23, 1759). The four medallions on the north front, Liberty, Britannia, Agriculture and Commerce, are, he says, by Collins, from drawings by Zucchi. He mentions the railing along the front with the sphinxes (see text, page 174). His account of the interior shows that it had recently been modernised by marbling. "The Entrance Hall lately fitted up in the Egyptian Style . . . the walls are resembling siena marble by Mr. Hutchinson of London." There are six bronzed statues and Greek chairs. In the Gallery the columns and pilasters are verde antique, while the walls of the staircase are siena with porphyry columns all by the same audacious decorator. "The Circular (Dressing) Room, twenty feet in diameter, the furniture blue and white, here is a pier glass so placed that each single object reflects seven representations. The ceiling terminates in a cornice, supported by sixteen pilasters with Ionic capitals, and is richly ornamented with an antique marriage, the rape of Proserpine, a group of the Muses, Jupiter, Juno and Neptune. Petition by a Roman Emperor by Milo, and four paintings of boys playing by Zucchi." He states this room in the 1822 edition as not shewn to the public. The shell of it exists cut through by a modern corridor.

⁶ Wm. Bray, F.S.A., 1st edition, page 265, 1777, says, "Mr. Lascelles built a neat range of houses in the village intending to establish a ribbon manufactory; unfortunately it did not succeed, but the attempt does him honour." Bray gives no detail in his account: "the family were there and most obligingly permitted us as a traveller to see the house on a day on which it is not usually shown. It gave additional pleasure to that arising from the sight of a place finished with so much taste."

⁷ The "Tourist" of 1787 must be quoting from an earlier guide, probably of 1772, or thereabouts. Thomas Chippendale's death is given as 1779. See Chapter on Furniture.

⁸ Montague House, the first British Museum, since rebuilt.

⁹ See Chapter 11.

¹⁰ See photograph in *Country Life*, March 7th, 1914, page 360, Correspondence Column.

PART II. CHAPTER X.

CROOME COURT, WORCESTERSHIRE.

THE SEAT OF THE EARL OF COVENTRY.

Lying immediately south of the ever-faithful city of Worcester, and half way between it and Tewkesbury, Croome Court owes much to the river Severn. The lakes created by Lancelot Brown winding through the park imitate the larger bends of the river as it runs northward from its junction with the Avon at Tewkesbury. The long ridge of the Malvern Hills shelters the level plain in which Croome lies on the west, while towering Bredon protects it on the east.

The Avon winding its way between Worcester and the eastern hills forms with the Severn the two sides of a triangle whose apex is at Tewkesbury, and Croome is contained in the centre.

This lie of the country explains the great work of the sixth Earl of Coventry, who, by building bridges¹ at his own expense, by great works of drainage, and by the institutions he founded, not only created his own estate at Croome Court, but also benefited the county to the extent, it is said, of some £400,000. For this great outlay other properties were drawn upon and, unfortunately, the ultimate result has been a very poor one for those who have sunk such sums in the development of the land.

A letter from the sixth earl to Sanderson Miller of Radway, written in 1752, says:^{1a}

DEAR MILLER,

. . . Whatever merits it (Croome) may in future time boast it will be ungrateful not to acknowledge you the primary Author. . . . It was owing to your assurances that Nature had been more liberal to me than I apprehended. . . .

And again in January, 1756:

Croome . . . is a good deal altered since you saw it, but I fear will never deserve the encomiums you have so plentifully given it.

It is necessary to bear these letters in mind, because the energetic Lancelot, or "Capability" Brown, who was employed to lay out the grounds, contrived to annex all the credit to himself for the house and church as well as for the gardens.

The design of Croome Court, however, bears the strongest resemblance to that of Hagley, where Sanderson Miller was afterwards architect for Lord Lyttelton.

In 1752 William Coventry, the sixth earl, married Maria Gunning,² the elder of the two famous sisters. "Two Irish girls, of no fortune, who are declared the handsomest women alive. I think their being two



THE HOUSE, AFTER A DESIGN BY SANDERSON MILLER (?) 1751 :
GARDEN FRONT.

so handsome and both such perfect figures is their chief excellence, for singly I have seen much handsomer women than either; however, they can't walk in the Park, or go to Vauxhall, but such mobs follow them that they are generally driven away."

Such is Walpole's brief characterisation in June, 1751, of the lady; while of the bridegroom he writes, February 27, 1752: "Lord Coventry, a grave young Lord, of the remains of the Patriot breed, has long dangled after the eldest."

We hear in July, 1752, of a shoemaker at Worcester who makes two and a half guineas by showing, at a penny apiece, a shoe that he was making for the lady and of a blue dress with spots of silver as large as a shilling, and with silver fringes, which led George Selwyn to reply to the Countess, "Why, you will be change for a guinea." That was in November, 1759, and all this interest and curiosity aroused by the admired beauty ended next year in her tragic death from consumption at the very early age of twenty-seven. Reynolds' great portraits of the young



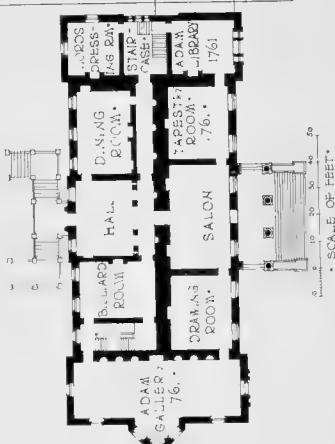
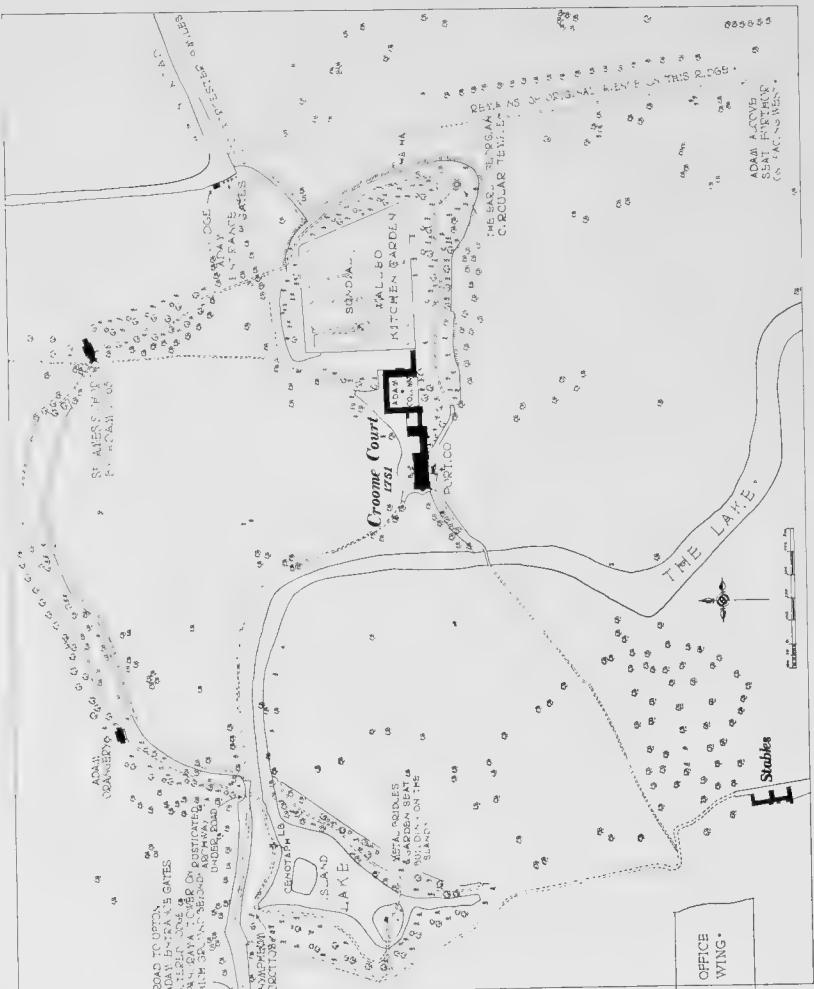
CROOME COURT: ENTRANCE FRONT FROM SOUTH-WEST.

couple adorn the walls of the salon at Croome. Lord Coventry, who had been appointed Lord of the Bedchamber in 1757, resigned with Lord Rockingham in 1770. He had married again, in 1764, Barbara, daughter of Lord St. John of Bletsoe, who died in 1804.³ Lord Coventry lived until 1809 and is commemorated by an interesting classical vase set upon a pedestal, inscribed:

Sacred to him the genius of the place
Who reared these shades and planned these sweet retreats,
With every incense breathing shrub adorned,
And flower of fairest hue.

Lord Deerhurst, the eldest son, who met with a desperate, but not fatal, horse accident in 1780, became seventh earl in 1809, and was Recorder of Worcester and High Steward of Tewkesbury, dying in 1831. The eighth earl died in 1843 and was succeeded by his grandson, the present

CROOME COURT,
WORCESTERSHIRE, 1751.
THE EARL OF COVENTRY.
INTERIOR WORK AND
BUILDINGS IN THE PARK
BY ROBERT ADAM. 1760-91.





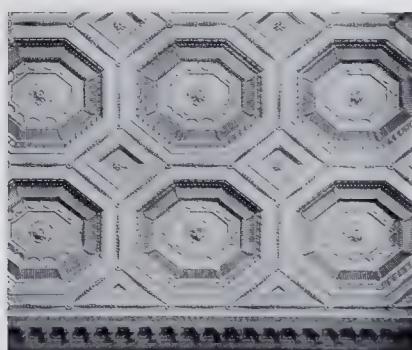
EARLY ADAM DECORATIONS IN THE LONG GALLERY.

earl, who was born in 1838. The founder of the family was John Coventry, citizen of London, one of the executors of Dick Whittington. He was High Sheriff in 1416 and Lord Mayor in 1425. Sir Thomas Coventry, his descendant, was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1606 and, marrying Margaret, daughter and heir of Jeffries of Earles' Croome, or Croome d'Abitot, had a son Thomas, who in 1628 became the first Baron Coventry. In 1621 he had been Attorney General for four years, later Keeper of the Great Seal. By his second wife he had a son, Sir John Coventry, M.P. for Weymouth, who, on December 21, 1670, was assailed by a party of courtiers, supposed to have been set on him because of a too candid criticism made by him in

Parliament at Charles II's expense. Following on this the "Coventry Act" was passed, providing for his assailants' banishment, and expressly depriving the King of the power to pardon them.

The fifth son was the Sir William Coventry, Secretary to the Admiralty, of whom we hear so much in Pepys' Diary. He died in 1686. Thomas, the first earl, was created by King William in 1697. William, the fifth earl, was Clerk of the Green Cloth and M.P. for Bridport, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum for the County of Worcester, P.C. and D.C.L.

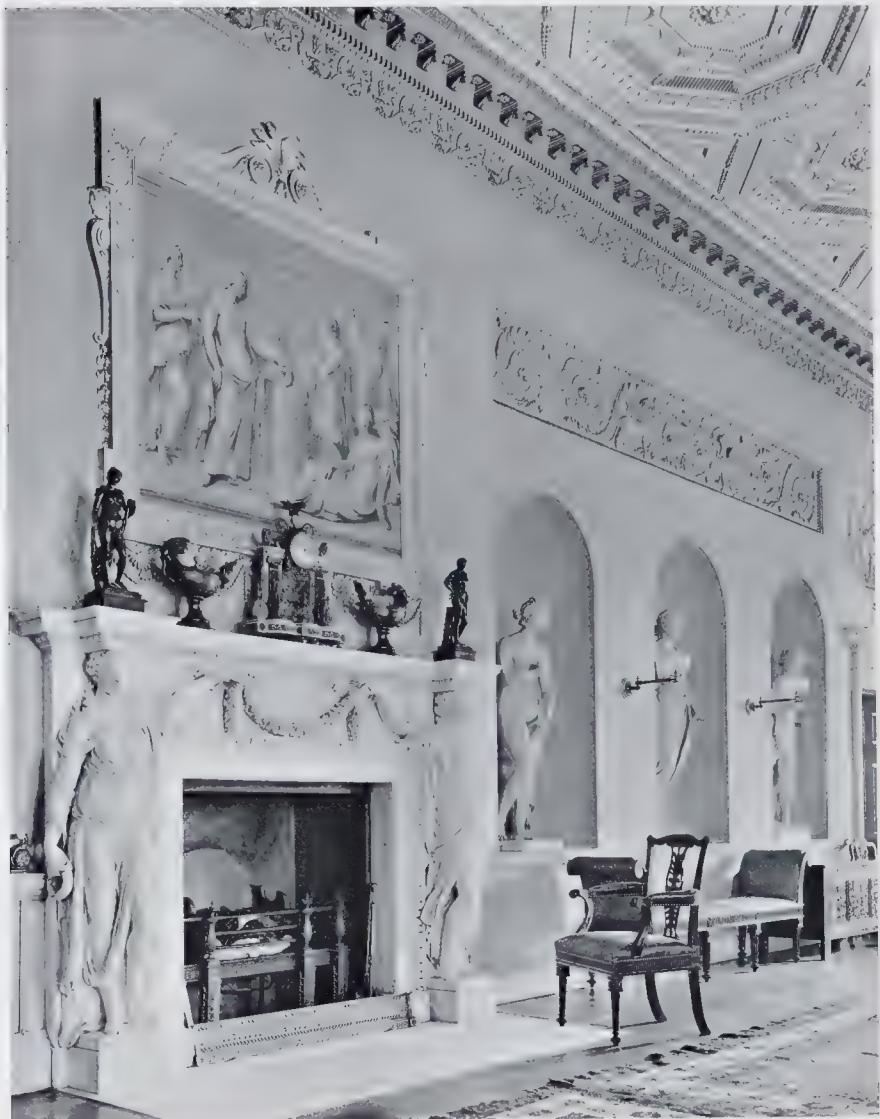
He died in March, 1751, and was succeeded by his second son, the sixth earl, who, while Lord Deerhurst, must have already commenced operations at Croome, because Sir Edward Turner³⁴ writes to Sanderson Miller on August 20, 1748,



DETAILS OF THE CEILING.

"Lord Deerhurst has conducted his river well"; and again in 1751, "Lord Coventry is furnishing his house with elegance. He complains of its amplitude." The building of the present Croome Court involved pulling down the older house, which stood on a different site in the park, and it was also necessary to transfer the church of St. James the Apostle to its present more elevated position.

It is impossible with our present information to say at what stage in the works at Croome Robert Adam first appeared upon the scene. The earliest existing drawing for work in the house



THE GALLERY FIREPLACE, BY ROBERT ADAM.
See Hatchlands and Harewood.



CEILING OF TAPESTRY ROOM, BY ROBERT ADAM.

itself would appear to be a design for the gallery ceiling, dated September, 1760. This was not executed, being set aside for one dated March, 1761, which shows the elongated octagons and lozenges that we see existing. The library ceiling is dated January, 1763, and the latest date is 1791, for a gateway design, so that Robert Adam's probable connection with the work extended practically over the thirty-four years of his career as an architect in London.

Evidently the hall, salon and other principal rooms, excepting the library, gallery and tapestry room, were all completed in the earlier Georgian manner, of which they are, in fact, refined examples, being remarkable for their total effectiveness.⁴ For the gallery, library and tapestry room, and one bedroom, there are undated Adam designs. The ceilings, however, as separate designs, are dated 1760-3, and the chimneypieces, 1762-65.

The gallery, occupying the whole wing of the house, has all the characteristics of the earlier Adam decorative work. The marble fireplace in the centre, with the pair of life-size figures holding a swag of flowers, is flanked by three niches on either side, occupied by copies of antique statues, exactly as in the dining-room at Sion.

The other walls are panelled and still exhibit shaded full-size sketches in oil showing arabesque stuccoes of the Shar-deloes type as intended to be carried out. It is interesting that these should still be there, as only on the fireplace side have the actual stuccoes been

THE LIBRARY, BY ROBERT ADAM.
See Nostell. Vol. ii, chapter 23.



ADAM LAMP COLUMN IN THE STABLE YARD.

executed. The painted wood curtain boxes and the original curtains still surround the windows.

The Adam settees and chairs and the fine tapering standards or pedestals for lamps are all good examples. There are also many wheel back chairs, and a small carpet worked by the second Lady Coventry, Barbara St. John, to Adam's design and colouring for the Piccadilly House.

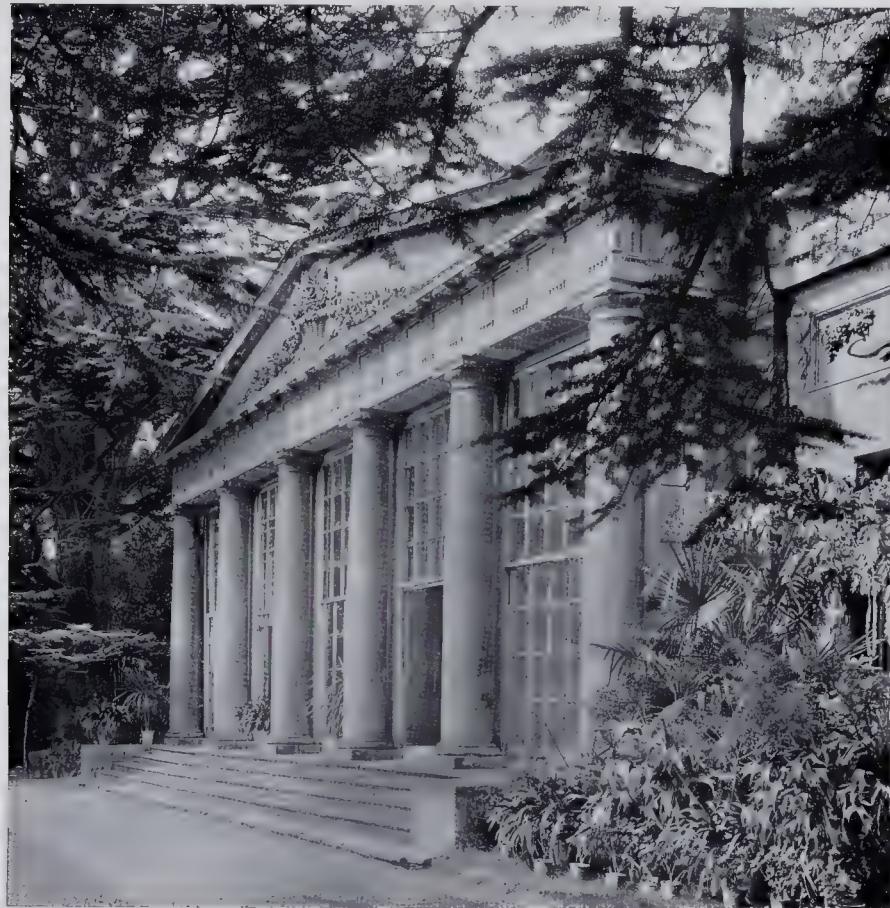
In the library the bookcases in fine old tawny mahogany attract attention. They are somewhat like those in Nostell, only simpler in their disposition and decoration. It was at first intended to fit up the gallery as a library, and these cases agree with Adam's first design for that room. The ceiling of the library is an interesting example of the early type. In the fine collection of old gilded calf-bound books are many treasures. Leoni's "Palladio" and Desgodetz' "Rome" illustrate the sixth earl's interest in architecture. The tapestry room contained a fine Boucher-Nielson set of wall hangings, such as exists at Newby, and when sold it realised £50,000. The ceiling is of the early Sion type. The mantelpiece is from an Adam drawing of 1762, modified by the



EARLY GEORGIAN GARDEN ROOM, POSSIBLY BY ROBERT ADAM.

introduction of Early Georgian carved ornament. In what is called on the old plans "The Lord's Dressing Room" is a mantelpiece in wood with well carved swags. The mantelpieces, with long fluted and decorated consoles, in the bedrooms immediately over the gallery follow an Adam drawing.

The building of the house involved a new church as well, though it is possible that parts of the old masonry were transferred to the new site and re-used in the present structure, particularly in the case of some niches and canopies, and, perhaps, also in the parapets and pinnacles. It is a problem who was the architect of this interesting specimen of eighteenth century "Gothick."



CONSERVATORY GARDEN ROOM, ROBERT ADAM, 1760.

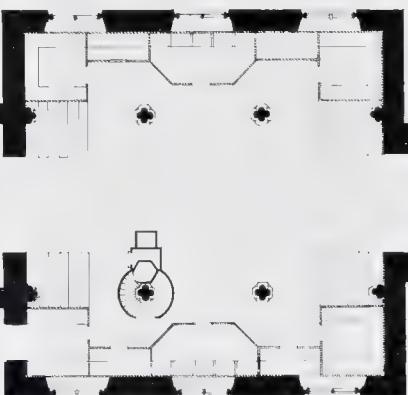
Sanderson Miller might have done it; but, seeing that Robert Adam was making the drawings in the Soane Collection, for interior work at this very church in 1761, and looking at the general character of the building, it seems only reasonable to assume that the latter was the author of the entire church. The faculty to take down and rebuild the church of St. James the Apostle is dated March 16, and the deeds of conveyance of the two sites, July 4, 1758, but the agreed plan annexed thereto is for a classic structure, very like the chapel at Compton Verney, but with a western portico of four columns. These facts add greatly to the probability of Adam's authorship of the church actually built.⁵ The consecration of the fabric

CROOME COURT
WORCESTERSHIRE
THE EARL OF COVENTRY

PLANS OF BUILDINGS IN
THE PARK
ROBERT ADAM, 1759 - 66



CHANCEL WITH
THE COVENTRY
MONUMENTS



PLAN OF THE
CHURCH OF
ST. JAMES THE
APOSTLE

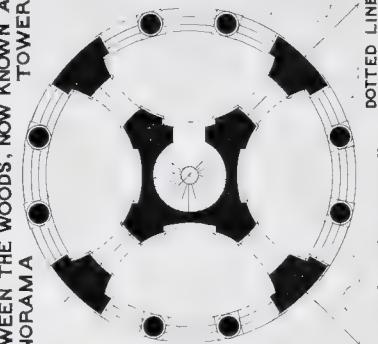
FROM ADAM'S
DRAWING IN
THE SOANE MUSEUM.
THE ORIGINAL
SEATING AND
POSITION OF PULPIT
HAS BEEN ALTERED



COPY OF PLAN OF THE
CHURCH IN THE DEED OF 1759
REDUCED TO SAME SCALE

SCALE OF FEET

THE EXECUTED PLAN OF THE BUILDING
BETWEEN THE WOODS, NOW KNOWN AS THE
PANORAMA TOWER



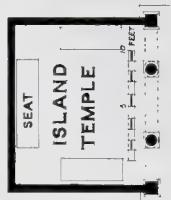
DOTTED LINE OF
ORIGINAL PIER DESIGN

BACK PART
OMITTED



ALCOVE SEAT
ROBERT ADAM, 1766.

REDUCED TO
EXTENT
27 6



ISLAND
TEMPLE



took place on June 29, 1763. I am obliged to the Register Clerk of the Diocese for these important particulars.

Croome Church is very well placed on the rising ground in a gap between the trees, which gives emphasis to the western tower, whose base is an octagonal domed porch. Like most churches of the time, the whole body is comprised in a single span of roof. The internal pillars, quatrefoil in plan, run up to longitudinal beams, which serve to carry the barrel plaster vault of the nave and the flat ceiling of the aisles. Every part is amusingly decorated with tracery as understood at the time, and the "Gothick Taste" is emphasised by as many cusps, foils and lozenges as could be crowded in. The pulpit is a great effort in "Gothick," while the font keeps more closely to the Renaissance type.⁸ In the chancel are the fine monuments, belonging to the last half of the seventeenth century, of the former earls, which, lining both of the side walls, produce a picturesque effect. In the nave on the north side is a stately monument⁷ to Sir Henry Coventry, who was buried at Croome in 1686. On the east wall of the nave is that of the sixth earl, who died in 1809, aged eighty-eight. For fifty years he had been Lord Lieutenant of the County of Worcester.



INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH.



THE CHURCH AT CROOME, PROBABLY BY ROBERT ADAM,
1759-63.

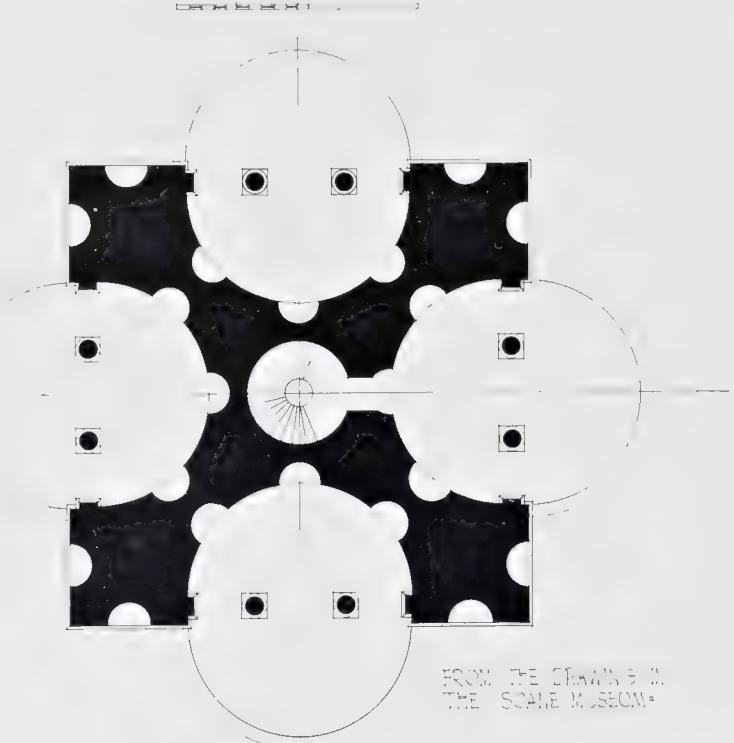
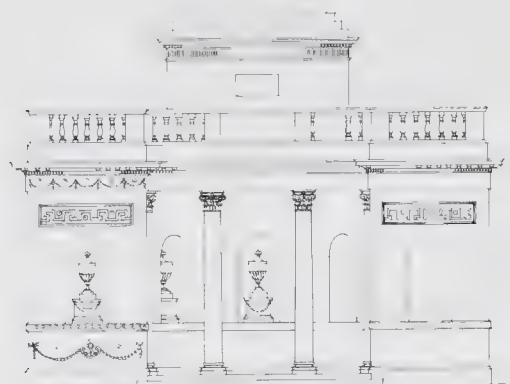
It is characteristic of Croome Court that so much interest lies in its grounds, where scattered about at numerous points of vantage are several buildings by Robert Adam, of which the drawings fortunately exist.

Some of the later structures, subsequent to Adam's death, are believed to be by James Wyatt.

Between the church and the lake stands the orangery of 1760, with a columned and pedimented façade, somewhat like the one at Osterley Park. It is a fine specimen of Robert Adam's garden buildings, and is remarkable for the well carved basket of flowers in the pediment. There is a crude draft of June 4, 1759, for this same building, which can hardly be by Robert Adam, in view of the very superior design and drawing dated 1760. It seems, however, to connect Adam with Croome as early as the year 1759.

DESIGN FOR A BUILDING BETWEEN
THE WOODS FOR
THE EARL OF COVENTRY
CROOME COURT, WORCESTERSHIRE.

ROBERT ADAM - ARCHITECT.



FROM THE DRAWINGS IN
THE SCOTT MUSEUM.

The most original and interesting of Adam's garden buildings at Croome is, perhaps, the circular belvedere known as the "Panorama." Adam's own description is "Design for a building between the woods," which answers very well to the locality, only to-day one of these woods is seen to have been thinned out. The building stands on an elevated position and the view commanded by it is most extensive.

In the original design the main building was square, the angles being treated as piers flanking the half circle recessed porticos on each face. In converting the design, as built, to a circle, arches have been introduced, piercing the solids, which give a cross view, and also link the four alcoves together.

The adjacent entrance, with piers, gates and a lodge, is from an Adam design, modified, however, by the rebuilding of the lodge as a two storey and more convenient lodging. The main entrance to the park is by a grand archway flanked by Ionic coupled columns. The panel in the attic is decorated with a graceful bas-relief figure, very possibly in marble or terra-cotta.

It is remarkable how much terra-cotta was used at Croome. The two great sphinxes on the portico steps are of that material. So is the casket of the cenotaph to Lancelot Brown (died 1783), erected October 25, 1809, most probably from James Wyatt's design. It is inscribed :

To the Memory of
Lancelot Brown
who by the powers of
his inimitable
and creative genius
formed this garden scene
out of a morass.

The whole effect of the casket and its tall shaft is distinctively graceful. It is placed close to the path which circulates round the lake. Near at hand is an archway under the road, faced with rocks of deeply rusticated terra-cotta, on which Coade's name appears with the date 1797.

At the entrance to the nymphæum, or artificial grotto, at the head of the lake is built in a terra-cotta panel inscribed :

En—Scopulis pendentibus Antim
Intus aquæ dulces vivo sedilia Saxo
Nymphae domus.

This panel, like the reclining figure of the nymph, was from Coade and Sealy's terra-cotta works at Lambeth, and illustrates the durability of the material. Like all the early examples, it is of a pale biscuit colour.

The path along the lake then reaches an interesting foot-bridge of an arched form, constructed of wrought iron bars as frames to carry the planking. By this means the main island is reached, on which is a small rectangular temple of a Corinthian Order in antis. The walls inside have



TEMPLE SEAT ON ISLAND. POSSIBLY BY JAMES WYATT.



THE PANORAMA TOWER AS BUILT. POSSIBLY MODIFIED BY JAMES WYATT.

pretty bas-relief panels in the Adam style, as well as characteristic wood framed and ornamented seats. Closer to the house is a circular temple with a dome, the detail of which, particularly inside, is in the Early Georgian style.

As there is a clear and very unusual instance in the case of the mantelpiece for the tapestry room, designed in 1762, of Robert Adam's design being modified by the introduction of Early Georgian carved ornament, it is possible that this temple might also be a modified design of his. A similar design, but octagonal in plan, is in the Soane Collection, as well as another, more elaborate with columns and niches, at present included in the series of designs for temples for Sir William Stanhope, dated 1764.

Beyond it in the deer park is an alcove seat, set on a high level to command the winding course of the lake as well as a good distant view of the south front of the house. The drawings for this were made in 1766 by Robert Adam, and are exactly carried out, except that the flutings of the columns and some other ornaments have been omitted, and the scale has also been reduced, doubtless on reconsideration of the locality and the distance at which it was to be seen. Away behind this, distant about half a mile, is one of those strange Gothic ruins that the taste of the age demanded.

In the walled garden is a pretty sundial on a triangular base, and in the stable yard stands a column carrying a lamp. As to this latter, a letter from Robert Adam to the sixth earl has been seen in which he explains that he has given much thought to its design.

It is, in fact, a characteristic of Croome Court that a scrupulous nicety of taste presided over the work, and even the early Georgian work aims at a harmony and refinement which were not generally observed in the generation antecedent to Robert Adam.



SUNDIAL, IN THE WALLED GARDEN.



ENTRANCE GATEWAY, BY ROBERT ADAM.

NOTES TO CHAPTER X.

¹ There are several Adam designs for these bridges.

² Eighteenth Century Correspondence to S. M., pages 214 and 322.

³ The mother, Mrs. Gunning, was a daughter of Colonel G. of Castle Coote, Roscommon, and of Bridget, daughter of the Earl of Mayo. She held the post of State Housekeeper at Somerset House. Of her other daughters, Elizabeth married (1) the Duke of Hamilton, who died young, and (2) the Duke of Argyll. She died 1790. The youngest daughter, Kitty, married Mr. Tracy. "Intimate Letters." Edited by the Duke of Argyll. H. W., Vol. III, pages 59, 85 and 104, and Vol. IV, page 318.

⁴ It was after this marriage that Robert Adam completed and decorated Coventry House, Piccadilly, in a splendid manner between 1765 and 1768.

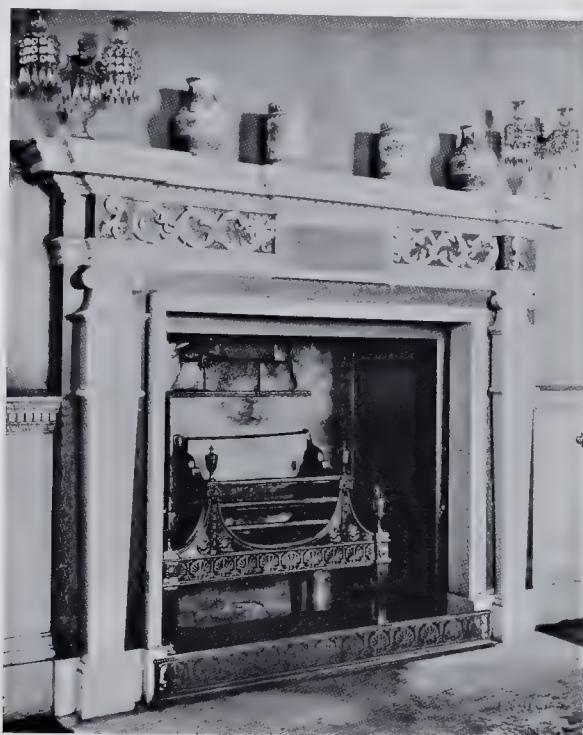
⁵ Eighteenth Century Correspondence, pages 138 and 184.

⁶ The silvery lacquer effect of the old gilding of the Salon ceiling is a notable feature.

⁷ It has been already mentioned in chapter ix that Adam made a sketch, "Harewood Church, April 23rd, 1759, to add a finishing to the top of the steeple in the Gothick taste," which was, in effect, a new belfry stage to the tower of that old church.

⁸ In the V. A. M., C. J. Richardson Collection, are two early coloured drawings for stained glass in the windows of Croome Church. One of three lights and the other of six. The latter has well put in figures of Saints or Apostles and below is a "Last Supper" of the full width of the windows. There is also a late design for a gateway to the park (3324); there is also a drawing at Croome, probably a duplicate of the stained glass window design.

⁹ It was rescued by the present earl from the crypt of St. Martin in-the-Fields.



FIREPLACE IN TAPESTRY ROOM.

Early Adam design (1762) modified.

(Pilasters, 5 flutes and plain. Rosettes over. Frieze, ogee section, fluted.)

PART II. CHAPTER XI.

BOWOOD, WILTSHIRE.

THE SEAT OF THE EARL OF SHELBURNE, AFTERWARDS MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE.

WILLIAM FITZMAURICE, afterwards Earl of Shelburne,¹ a notable figure in the political, social, literary and artistic life of the last half of the eighteenth century, was born May 20, 1737, in Dublin, but spent the first four years of his life with his grandfather in Kerry. Thomas Fitzmaurice, the first Earl of Kerry, died in 1741, and the second earl, William, in 1747, and the third, Francis Thomas, in 1818, by which time the family estates had been reduced to the churchyard of Lixnau, which, with the title, passed to Henry, third Marquess of Lansdowne. This Irish connection requires to be remembered because Robert Adam made plans for a large house in Portland Place, in 1774, for the last Earl of Kerry, in addition to the decorative work proposed at Kerry House in Portman Square in 1769.

William Fitzmaurice was wont to deplore all his life the deficiencies of his early training and education. In 1753, at the age of sixteen, he was sent to Christ Church, Oxford, but in 1757, we hear of him as already in the Army, he having joined the expedition to Rochefort planned by General Clerk, an old friend of Robert Adam, whom we shall meet again in the chapter dealing with Lansdowne House. Fitzmaurice in this campaign came under General Wolfe. He was present at Minden and Kloster Kampen under Lord Granby, and was noticed for gallant behaviour in October, 1760. On his return in December, 1760, he was appointed colonel and

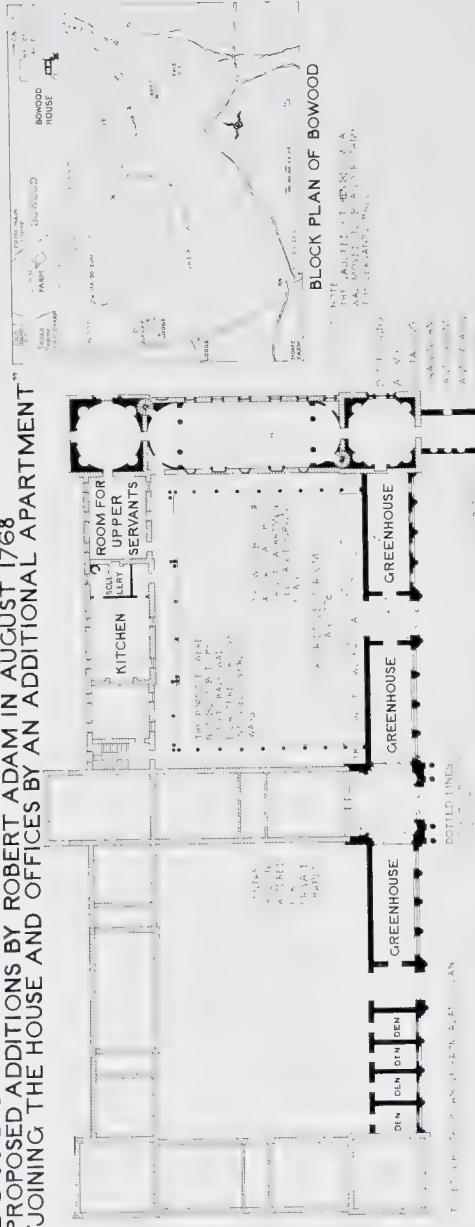


THE DIOCLETIAN WING.

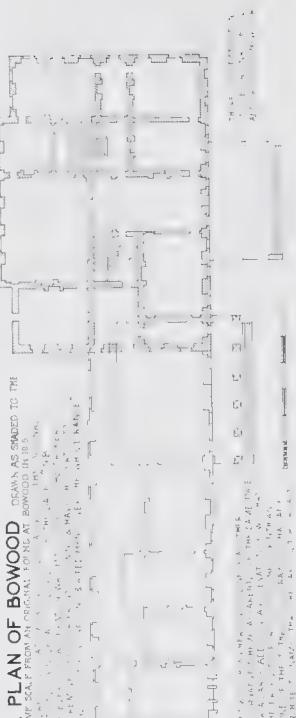


THE CENTRE OF THE DIOCLETIAN WING.

BOWWOOD WILTS THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE
PROPOSED ADDITIONS BY ROBERT ADAM IN AUGUST 1768
"JOINING THE HOUSE AND OFFICES BY AN ADDITIONAL APARTMENT



PLAN OF BOWOOD BY THE REV. SEAFAR FERGUSON, OF MEAT BOWOOD IN 1815.



BLOCK PLAN OF BOWOOD



Dioctetian wing.

(Drawing-room and staircase.)

Main house.

GENERAL VIEW OF BOWOOD.

aide-de-camp to George III, and so was brought into touch with Lord Bute. He had relations also with Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland. He was Member of Parliament for Chipping Wycombe, but the death of Lord Shelburne brought him into the House of Lords.

In April, 1761, he was refused the Comptrollership of the Household and talked of retirement, but Fox addressed him in terms of friendly remonstrance on June 29, 1761, writing : " Why should you not like farming, but you are too young for anything that savours of retirement or philosophy. I should say more of this topic but that in the same letter, I see you have ordered Mr. Adam to look out for space to build a hotel upon. The late Lord Leicester and the late Lord Digby were about a fine piece of ground for that purpose, still to be had, the garden of which, or the court before which may extend all along the bottom of Devonshire Garden, though no house must be built there : the house must be where some paltry old stables stand at the end of Bolton Row.² You see I can cherish this idea of yours. The other is quite unsuitable to time, and place, and years, and talents."

Shelburne was acting at this time as an intermediary between Fox and Bute, particularly with reference to the peerage for Lady Caroline Fox, granted May 6, 1762. On the twentieth of that month, however, Shelburne refuses Bute's offers to himself, writing to Fox that " he desires to occupy an independent position, as trustee between King and people."

It is easy to imagine that the practical Fox's reply, written from Kingsgate on the twenty-third, was to the effect : " Get your harness on immediately. It is the placeman, and not the indifferent Lord, that can do his country good."

It is essential to bear this incident in mind because George III, nettled by the independence and free line of thought of Shelburne, was wont to describe him as " the Jesuit of Berkeley Square." This idea gained currency from the superficial manner acquired by Shelburne from his early experiences abroad. Habitually polite to the point of a deferential manner, Continental rather than English, he was exposed to misunderstandings, a consequence, moreover, to which his advanced ideas materially contributed. Shelburne loved knowledge in all its forms, artistic and scientific : he was a Free Trader, and deeply opposed to the taxation of America and the other reactionary ideals of George III and of his party, " the King's Friends."

The conclusion of the Peace of 1763, negotiated by Bute in 1762, which Fox undertook in October of the latter year to carry through the House of Commons, brought on an acute crisis. Fox gave up the lucrative Paymastership with the greatest reluctance in 1765. He had contrived to hold on to it in spite of his having been raised to the peerage.³ Even Rigby, the man he loved most, was against him in this matter, and a feeling of great bitterness was created among the former allies. Calcraft also sided with Shelburne. Gray's bitter lines on " Kingsgate " owe their origin to this episode.

Shelburne, who had become President of the Board of Trade in April, 1763, resigned in September. He had opposed the illegal general warrant against Wilkes, and the King sought to punish him by dismissal from the Royal service as aide-de-camp. Shelburne retired to Bowood, and, no doubt, it will be about this epoch that his interest was engaged in the Adam alteration of the house.⁴ He is described as passing his time in buying MSS., entertaining friends, and making a lake.

" Capability " Brown and Mr. Hamilton of Pain's Hill are mentioned as advising him in the laying out of his grounds. General Robert Clerk also had a hand in the proceedings.

Occasionally Lord Shelburne visited London where he made the acquaintance of Samuel Johnson, David Hume and Franklin, and was painted by Reynolds. To Johnson he made the characteristic remark that " a man of rank, who looks into his own affairs, may have all that he ought to have, all that can be of any use, or appear to any advantage, for £5,000 a year."

His personal reflections, drawn up for the use of his successors, indicate a distrust of expert assistance and advisers, which is not altogether without its bearing, perhaps, on the comparative failure of his building projects.

On January 13, 1765, Walpole writes to Mann : " There is an approaching marriage notified, between Lord Shelburne and Lady Sophia Carteret, the only child of our old friend, Lady Sophia Fermor, by Lord Granville. Her face has the beauty of neither, and is like her half-sisters (the Countess of Cowper and the Marchioness of Tweeddale); but her air and person would strike you from the strong resemblance to her mother. She has above thirty thousand pounds,

and he two and twenty thousand a year. Their children will have the seeds in them of some extraordinary qualities, look whither you will."

Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 1724, created Lord Granville 1744, was expelled from the Ministry of, and became the chief opponent to, Sir Robert Walpole. He is described as of a "fine person, commanding beauty, the best Greek scholar of his age. Witty and careless of money." Another of his daughters, Georgiana, married Mr. Spenser. Granville approved of Bute's peace in 1763, which he declared to be "Glorious and most honourable."

The marriage was a very successful one, and Lady Shelburne was able to enter into her husband's pursuits. In dealing with Lansdowne House we shall see traces of this. A son and heir was born on December 6, 1765.

At the end of 1765, Lord Shelburne returned to public life, and the famous antithesis "measures not men," represented his attitude at this time. In 1766, Shelburne, Camden,



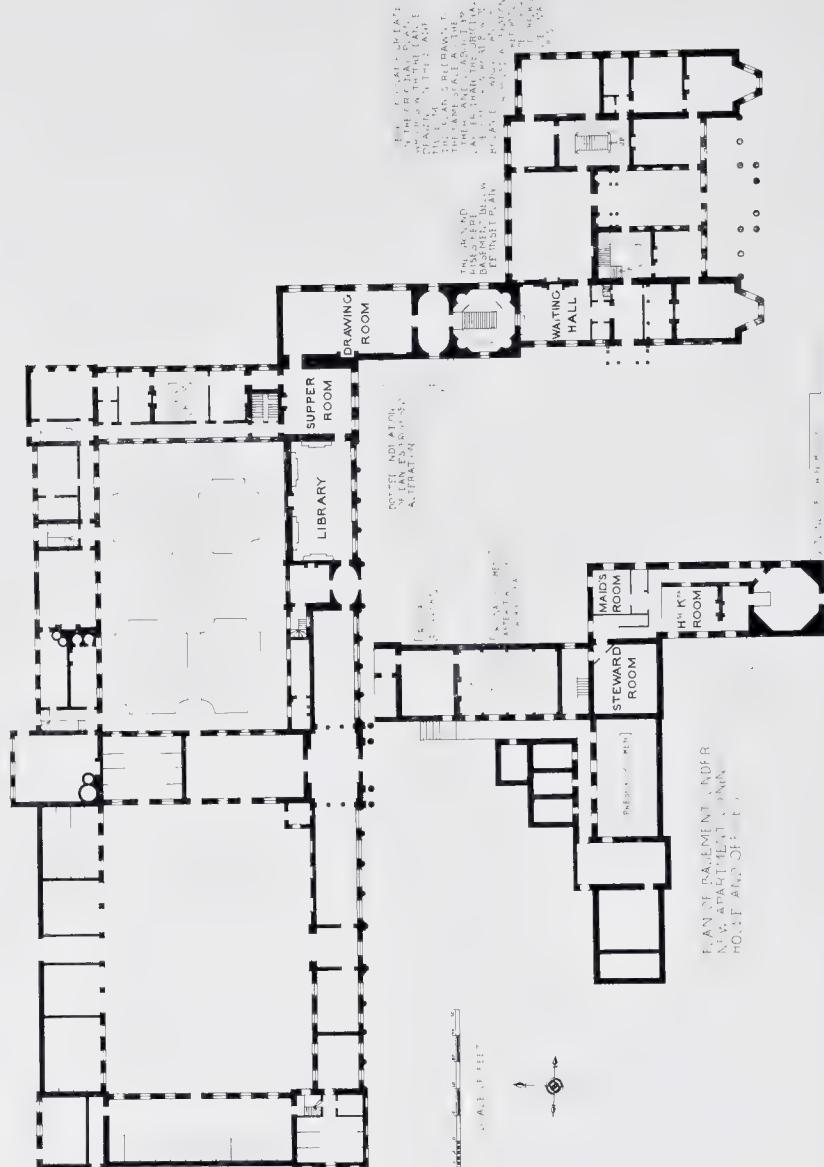
PORICO FAÇADE OF BOWOOD.

Cornwallis, Paulet and Torrington, five against one hundred and twenty-five, protested against the fatal project of the taxation of America.

In July of that year Pitt took the heedless step of becoming Earl Chatham, not realising the strange loss of popularity that ensued. He gave Shelburne the appointment of Secretary of State for the Southern Department, which then comprised Home and Irish affairs, those of the Western States of Europe, India and the Colonies. A group surprising enough to us in view of our present ideas of Government.

Unfortunately, in February, 1767, Pitt's strange illness began, and in March Shelburne ceased to attend the Cabinets. He seems to have thought that by attention to his own department he would be able to effect his ideals irrespective of the others, with a result that he lost touch, and in October he also gave in his resignation. Pitt had resigned a week earlier with a curious privacy of action, which concealed from Lord Shelburne the step he was taking. In forming an estimate of Shelburne's public life it must be remembered that both Walpole and Burke were prejudiced

BOWWOOD WILTS THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE
SURVEY PLAN BY C.DANCE JUNIOR AFTER THE DEATH OF ROBERT ADAM (1792)



against him, and that there was an undoubted jealousy of his youth and early rise among the older statesmen of his time.

Bentham, who saw a great deal of him after 1781, has a mosaic of interesting notes. "The master of the house," he says, "to judge from everything I have seen yet, is one of the pleasantest men to live with, that ever God put breath into; his whole study seems to be to make everybody about him happy—servants not excepted: and in their countenances one may read the effects of his endeavours." He notes, however, that "he had a wildness about him, and conceived groundless suspicions about nothing at all, . . . and had a way of talking in fits and starts. His mind seemed always in a state of agitation, with the passion of ambition and the desire for splendour. . . . His head was not clear. He felt the want of clearness. . . . He had had a most wretched education, and a foolish father and mother, of whose management of him he always talked with horror. When I once spoke to him of the family mausoleum, he refused to show it to me: for he said it was associated with such disgraceful recollections."⁵

"There is a prodigious deal of ambiguity in the general tenor of his language on party subjects: whether genuine, or affected, I cannot be certain. I rather believe it genuine, because I find it the same on subjects in which party has nothing to do. . . ."

"He was really radically disposed. . . . He had quarrelled with the whig aristocracy, who did not do him justice: so he had a horror of the clan, and looked towards them with great bitterness of feeling. That bitterness did not break out in words, though of him *they* spoke most bitterly. . . ."

With this may

be compared Disraeli's comment that "Lord Shelburne never spoke out, a great fault in a public man in England." The whole character of the man is important as it throws much light on the question of his relations with Robert Adam, and the cause of the comparative failure of both Bowood and Lansdowne House to reach the level of unique masterpieces.

In March, 1768, the lawn in front of Bowood was being levelled and the water admitted to the new lake. "The number of workpeople employed makes Bowood have no appearance of scarcity, so alarmingly conspicuous in most parts of the country, and so severely felt by the poor." (Lady Shelburne's MS. Diary.)

On August 25, Lady Shelburne notes in London that "After dinner my Lord, Mr. Townsend, and Mr. Adam set out for Bowood, where he is also to give Lord Shelburne some plans for buildings, and for joining the house and offices by an additional apartment." This is an important entry as we shall see later on.

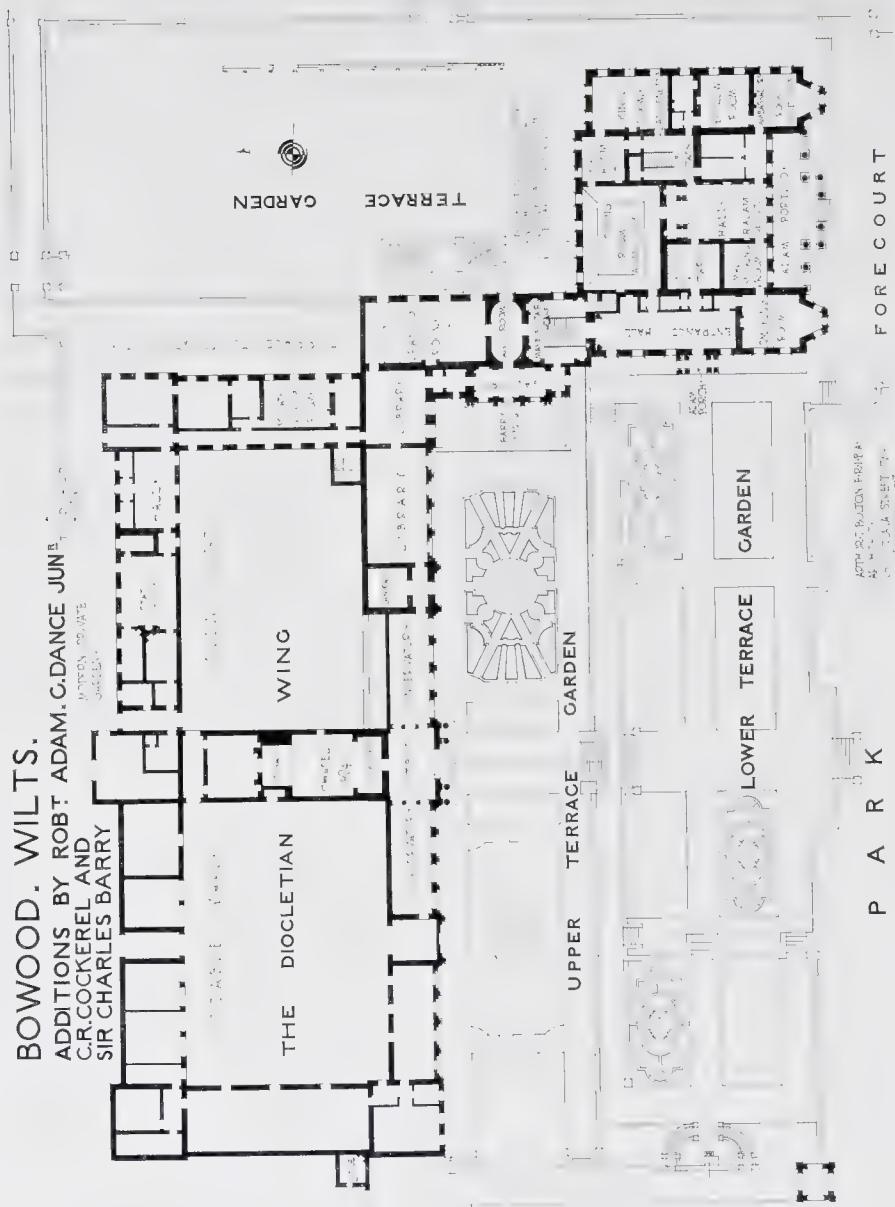
In 1770 came the accession to power of Lord North, who was to embody for twelve years George III's ideas, with the most disastrous results for England. Shelburne was whole-heartedly in opposition, but was unable to make his views effective. He had deferred too much to Pitt to be an inheritor of the popularity that Chatham had lost.

In his honest preference for measures rather than men, Shelburne was now opposing his architects, the Adams, over the Adelphi Embankment Act, a step which cannot have been, one



ENTRANCE FRONT.

BOWOOD. WILTS.
ADDITIONS BY ROBT ADAM, C.DANCE JUN^E
C.R. COCKEREL AND
SIR CHARLES BARRY



Architectural Drawing
No. 214 Street 7
21st July 1835

1. FORE COURT

would think, very advantageous to harmonious progress with his own works in hand. In 1771 a heavy blow fell on him through the death of Lady Shelburne, and on May 11, accompanied by his friend Colonel Barré, he started on a journey to France and Italy. He had written, on April 25, a final letter to Chatham. "I am heartily sorry for the result of the several communications your Lordship has made for your wishes, and of those of the friends of the public. . . . In this situation I have given the necessary orders for my journey, and hope to be gone in the course of next week, persuaded your Lordship can have no further commands for your humble servant."

This unfortunate breach ratified the position of Lord North and was a symptom of the disorganised state to which the Opposition had now been reduced.

When we remember that the rise of the commercial and middle classes was then in full bud, we are bound to regret that a statesman so well qualified, as Lord Shelburne undoubtedly was, to understand the ideas, aspirations and needs of men like Mathew Boulton, Watt, Arkwright, Brindley, Priestley, Wedgwood and other leaders of industry and science should have been so strangely shelved in this unfortunate way.

Lord Shelburne made many friends abroad, and his visit to Italy had important effects on the completion of Lansdowne House, as we shall see later on. He returned in January, 1772. The famous chemist, Priestley (1733-1804), was invited to be librarian at Bowood in this year, and resided close at hand in Calne.

Lord Shelburne appears to have promoted the opposition of Alderman James Townsend in the City against the notorious John Wilkes, who he felt had brought discredit on the Liberal cause.

In 1776 came the Declaration of Independence of the United States and the second illness of Chatham. A notice of Lord Shelburne tells us "that his speeches were not animated and entertaining, but embittered the contest, and enlivened the whole debate.



PORCH ON THE WEST SIDE ENCLOSING EARLIER DOORWAY.

Sarcasm and invective certainly seem to have been his forte; diffuseness and repetition his weakness."

Lost and obscur'd in Bowood's humble bow'r,
No party tool—no candidate for pow'r
I come, my lords, an hermit from my cell,
A few blunt truths in my plain style to tell.
THE ROLLIAD.

His favourite antagonist was always Lord Mansfield, "the dark designing lawyer," "the director of the fatal and over ruling influence."

It is quite possible that Shelburne, from old relations with Bute, knew more than most about the relative influences of the so-called favourite and the lord of Kenwood over the Royal mind and conscience.

The death of Lord Chatham, which followed, naturally confirmed Lord North in power.

In June, 1779, Lord Shelburne became engaged to Lady Louisa Fitzpatrick, sister-in-law to Lady Ossory (Walpole's correspondent), and thus was established a connection with C. J. Fox, whose brother Stephen, Lord Holland, had married a sister, Lady Mary Fitzpatrick. Though the Opposition was once more united by the end of that year, Shelburne seldom appeared in Parliament between 1780 and 1782, but continued to reside at Bowood.

On March 20, 1782, North was at last allowed by the King to resign, and a new system was admitted by all to be inevitable. Unfortunately, on the death in July of the new Prime Minister, Lord Rockingham, C. J. Fox took a foolish offence at the King's invitation being addressed to Shelburne to be the new chief of the Government, and thereupon took the fatal step of resigning. At the end of the session Lord Shelburne hired Thrale's house at Streatham so as to be at hand for the negotiations with America.

Benjamin Vaughan and Oswald played honourable parts in assisting Lord Shelburne in this success. The siege of Gibraltar was raised and the spirit of the people was aroused to an enthusiasm of which Reynold's masterpiece, the portrait of Lord Heath, the gallant Elliot, remains as a permanent record.

On January 20, 1783, peace was signed with France and Spain, and Lord Shelburne nobly defended his work in a pronouncement which, in breadth of ideas, was quite half a century in advance of his own time. "Situated as we are between the old world and the new, and between Southern and Northern Europe, all we ought to covet upon earth is free trade and fair equality."

Shelburne was successful in the House of Lords, but in the Commons the unnatural coalition of Fox and North gained a costly victory. "The peace for the moment was not popular: a scapegoat was desired and Shelburne was the victim. It had been easy to denounce the peace, and the passions of the hour had been worked with the utmost skill by the whig pamphleteers, for whom no misrepresentation was too gross, no slander too base, so long as it served the object of blackening the character of their former ally in opposition."

Shelburne felt that George III had let him down through the agency of the "King's Friends." He resigned on February 24, 1783, and again sought recreation abroad, at Paris and Spa, the latter being still a favourite resort. Lady Holland, sister to Lady Shelburne, and Lady Ossory, his sister-in-law, accompanied him.

In December the new ministry in its turn was defeated over Fox's India Bill, and the youthful Pitt became Lord of the Ascendant. In October, 1784, Pitt proposed that Shelburne should be created Marquess of Lansdowne, and this recognition of his great services was accepted.

There is no doubt that Pitt carried out ideas originated by Shelburne in matters of trade, Ireland, India, and the reform of the public offices.

Shelburne's position ahead of his own age may be judged by a great speech on the Commercial Treaty with France in 1787. He maintained, as we do to-day, that France was no natural enemy, as the policies of Elizabeth, Cromwell and Sir Robert Walpole had all shown. He condemned the partition of Poland and declared that we had no enemies except the Powers who kept 300,000 men under arms. If we multiply the numbers, what prescience of recent conditions!

The new Marquess wanted to educate the poor, and early saw the necessity of the income tax.

In 1789 Lady Lansdowne died. Bowood had become a centre for distinguished and enlightened men.⁶ Mirabeau and Romilly were visitors. John Britton, F.S.A. (1771-1857), found



DETAIL OF THE PORTICO FACADE.

there support for the publication of his "Beauties of Wiltshire" (3 vols. 8vo, 1801). Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), the leader of the coming Utilitarianism, became an habitué. To Warren Hastings Lansdowne had set up a bust, "considering that he was the person least to blame for whatever was questionable in recent transactions in that country, regarding him as the victim of the political exigencies of one party and the cowardice of the other."

Lansdowne was opposed to Pitt's anti-French policy, declaring in 1793 that it was "a metaphysical war declared against France on account of her internal circumstances : for the particular complaints made against the French Government might have been settled by negotiations, and did not in any case afford a ground for hostilities." This also has a modern parallel.

It is worth noticing that at the end of the American war the national debt was 268 millions, that the Bank suspended payment in 1797, and in 1798 the debt was 462 millions, a rise which then was extraordinary for a period of twenty-five years (1783-98).

The Marquess of Lansdowne died in May, 1805, and the story of Bowood entered upon an entirely fresh stage.

Much that has been written on the subject of Bowood and Robert Adam is beside the mark, because the writers have failed to realise that his was, except for the mausoleum, entirely a work of alteration and not, as they imagined, a new design. Britton, in his otherwise excellent account, had evidently a very confused idea of the matter, and too much importance has been attached to his remarks by others who have followed him. Writing in 1814, he says, "the house, like the whole of these artists' work [*i.e.*, Robert and James Adam], has more of the prettiness of a modern Italian villa than the simply dignified forms and features of a Palladian palace. The Dining Room and Salon were spacious and rather noble apartments, but the remainder with the Entrance Hall comparatively small, and finished with a profusion of little ornaments." He then continues with a very puzzling passage. "With more correct taste the first Marquess extended the building by adding a wing, three hundred feet in extent. The elevation in imitation of a wing of Diocletian's Palace"; and concludes by saying, "Many of the apartments are now fitting up."

Britton's account is not only prejudiced by a pedantic view of Adam's work, originated by the same tendencies that inspired Gwilt in his "Encyclopedia" of 1842, but is also clearly at fault in many important respects. Few, we imagine, will agree with the critic in his depreciation of the Adam work in favour of the subsequent additions of 1814, and of those that followed up to the appearance of Barry on the scene in 1834. With this great architect a real effort was made to bring together the extensive buildings as a complete whole, and, in spite of the great difficulties of such a task, a remarkable degree of success has been attained. Whether or not any part of the earlier house of Orlando Bridgeman survived as a core, it must now be recognised that Henry Keene (died 1776) acted as architect for Lord Shelburne (died 1761) for a period 1755-60, according to his own bill of charges lately discovered by the Earl of Kerry among the family papers at Bowood. From this important document it appears that £18,500 was spent, and it is now possible to assign to Keene the authorship of certain older plans and an elevation similarly discovered.

The first Earl Shelburne who had a seat at Wycombe Abbey, Bucks, had given a Town Hall, or Market Hall, to High Wycombe, which was finished in 1757, a date recorded on the building. He had also put new parapets to the church tower, and both of these works are covered by Keene's bill of charges. Keene was evidently a follower of James Gibbs (1682-1754), and there is some evidence that the great portico of the south front of Bowood may have been first of all put in hand as of the Corinthian order, and of the full height of the house. Britton is further mistaken as to the Diocletian wing; this was an ∞ shaped block of offices⁷ built by Keene, but subsequently faced with ashlar by Adam, who added the colonnades which close the two open courts towards the south and form a continuous façade.

The building operations at Bowood, which never entirely came to an end, may be taken to cover the years between 1755⁸ and 1785, but there is a good reason to think that Robert Adam was only concerned with the period from 1761-71. It is uncertain whether Keene had failed to give satisfaction, or whether the work had simply stopped before it was completed. The first architect's bill recites designs for work not carried out and unfinished, and probably Adam's earliest work was connected with the internal completion of some of the rooms and the staircase, the formation of the new entrance hall, and a revised scheme for the great portico façade on the south.



THE GREAT DRAWING-ROOM, BY ROBERT ADAM (NOW THE DINING-ROOM).

The Petty Fitzmaurices had bought Bowood in 1754.⁹ This John, the first Earl of Shelburne, succeeded to the Petty estates in April, 1751, when he assumed the name and arms of Petty. He was created Viscount Fitzmaurice in the Peerage of Ireland and Earl Shelburne 1753, and a peer of Great Britain May, 1760, as Baron Wycombe. As his death took place May 10, 1761, he can hardly have done very much at Bowood, under Adam's guidance, at any rate, because Robert's return from Italy dates, at the earliest, from the end of January, 1758. For the widowed Countess Adam designed the simple but impressive mausoleum in the park at Bowood in the year 1761. Several alternate designs for this structure exist in the Soane Collection, as well as the drawings which were executed. This was the first Adam work at Bowood, unless he had already begun to alter the hall and complete the drawing-room.

William, second Earl of Shelburne and first Marquess of Lansdowne, took over Bowood from the widow and continued the employment of Robert Adam, but the history of both Bowood and Shelburne Houses rather suggests the vacillating procedure of a client who seeks advice from too many quarters to secure in the end the essential unity of a great artistic achievement.



CEILING, BY ROBERT ADAM.

The next important stage of the history of Bowood is due to Henry Petty Fitzmaurice, the third Marquess of Lansdowne, and the fourth Earl of Kerry, who was half-brother to John, being a son of the second marriage which took place in 1779 with Lady Louisa Fitzpatrick, daughter of John, Earl of Upper Ossory. The third Marquess was born in 1780, and married in 1808 Lady Louisa Emma Fox Strangways, fifth daughter of the second Earl of Ilchester. The Marchioness died in 1857, and the Marquess in 1863.

This third Marquess made the Grand Tour with Monsieur Dumont, friend of Mirabeau, and had met Barry, afterwards Sir Charles, at Rome, where he showed much kindness to the young artist. He was Chancellor of the Exchequer at the age of forty-five, in the Ministry of "All the talents," three times Lord President of the Council, and a cabinet minister without office 1855-58. A great lover of Bowood, he extended the grounds from 70 to 1,000 acres. He held the property from 1809-63, and the work of improvement went on in stages, which can be more or less defined. First of all came the work referred to by Britton in his account of 1814.¹⁰ This was

followed by the building of the chapel, opened in 1824, and designed by Professor C. R. Cockerell, R.A. (1788-1863), in the Greek style. Sir Charles Barry's work extended over the years 1834-57, and to him is due the final shaping of Bowood as we see it to-day.

The third Marquess was wont to describe how he succeeded to Bowood as an empty shell, to which he had added during his long occupation its present treasures.

If this main framework is kept in mind, it will be comparatively easy to place the leading features of the house in their appropriate setting. Naturally the main interest centres upon the work of Robert Adam (1728-92) and on that of Sir Charles Barry, R.A. (1795-1860).

The first feature of the exterior design of Bowood to attract attention is the great portico, a fine thing in itself, but ill grouped with the three-storey bay windows that flank it. These may well have been there before and be the work of Henry Keene. It is very unlikely that Adam¹¹ put them there by choice, in fact they appear to have been the obstacle that wrecked his original sketch for the great portico façade.

In the entablature of the great portico as existing are the same centaurs that appear in the Adam plates in the "Works," 1765-68, of Lansdowne House, in this case they are alternated with ram's heads. While we may feel fairly certain that this entablature is Adam's work,¹² it is a curious and certain fact that in 1768 the columns of the portico were reduced in diameter, and the capitals altered. The mason's account is loosely expressed,¹³ but it seems most probable that Keene had designed and had delivered on the ground the masonry of a great Corinthian order as tall as the house, and that this material, if not in part or wholly erected, had to be utilised. The Doric capitals may be accounted for, perhaps, in this way. The planning of the portico is unusual, but not ineffective. It is the end masses that have given rise to such unfavourable criticism, as that of Britton, quoted above, together with a certain excess of openings, arising from the three storeys of the older house and the numerous windows that it contained.

It may be taken as certain that the great cornice of the house and its balustrade, and in particular the heavy pediment supported on bulging consoles on the west front, are not Adam work. A great deal must depend upon the interpretation of the slight original sketch by Adam (No. 79 in Vol. iv), which I have identified as the first idea for the main façade of Bowood. The early design for Goodwood, also in a Doric style, may be referred to as additional evidence of the real design of Bowood as intended by Robert Adam. From this it will be clear that the end masses required to balance the open centre of the façade were never completed. In Adam's sketch these end masses are flanked by Doric pilasters, enclosing a single large Venetian window under an arch. The entablature is continuous and binds the whole design together. The attic storey is plain and finished with a console cornice and balustrade, which we may well believe was that of the existing house before Adam came on the scene. The execution of this design was incompatible with the bay windows, and involved some sacrifice in the fenestration of the existing façade, which very probably the client declined to make.



IN THE INDIAN ROOM.

As reconstructed within the house built by H. Keene for the first Earl of Shelburne.

The Doric porch on the west side of the house, however, may be Adam in design, as it encases a doorway of a totally different character, which may be safely attributed to Keene from its similarity to the work of Gibbs' school. It may be remarked that the east and west façades are of lime stucco with only plinth and window dressings in stone. The north front is the same except for the centre portion which is faced with stone. It might be assumed that the older work is in a local and the latter in a Bath stone, but Barry used Painswick, Box and blue stone and probably Calne and estate material as well.

There is an old oil painting of the previous house which has been presumed to be that built, or, at any rate, altered, by Sir Orlando Bridgeman,¹⁴ who purchased a ninety-nine years' lease of the property after the Restoration of Charles II. He presided as judge over the trial of the Regicides. The illustration is from a photograph kindly lent by the Earl of Kerry.

During the Commonwealth the property had been disparked and the deer driven off. A fee simple was obtained by Sir Orlando's son in 1726, and on his death it was sold to John, Earl of Shelburne.

Of two valuable estate maps reproduced here, one is inscribed, "Survey by John Powell, topographer, 1763," and here the house, coloured in red, appears as a square mass with the two bays, but no portico (as far as can be seen). A separate **m** shaped block is shown on the site of the Diocletian wing, without any connecting link, however, to the main house. In the second map of 1778 the portico appears to be shown between the bays, while the connecting link, or present drawing-room, is also clearly indicated. The **m** shaped block is also shown, linked up by a continuous façade on the south as it is at present.

As we can be certain that Adam had not begun the Diocletian wing by 1763, the **m** shaped block can only have been an office and stable block belonging to the existing house, apparently on a large scale, and almost certainly the work of Henry Keene. There is an unfinished Adam



THE ENTRANCE HALL, BY ROBERT ADAM.



DETAIL OF THE GREAT DRAWING-ROOM, BY ROBERT ADAM.
Furniture and Picture of a later period

plan showing that in his first idea the two inner courts of the Diocletian wing were to remain visible by the central archways being left open. The green court in particular was to have been colonnaded on three sides.¹⁵ There is some valuable evidence as to the progress of this clever Adam design of the screen colonnade which forms the south façade of the Diocletian wing, for Lady Shelburne notes in her MS. Diary (Vol. II, page 329), June 1, 1769: "The offices are now shutting up with a screen of buildings Mr. Adam designed for that purpose and is further advanced than we expected." It would appear that the contract for this work was only arranged with the local or estate (?) mason at the end of October, 1768.

"Copy of John Button's Estimate. Bowood Park 1768 October 25. To setting all the free-stone in the intended alterations a [as?] plaistor [pilasters?] colloms and cornishes and plain ashlar and (backing?) of the same and cleaning in a workmanlike manner $\frac{1}{2}$ per foot superfishall Measure on the front face deducting 6 inches out of the thickness of ye wall for that full (?) workmanship per John Button." This loose arrangement seems to have ended in a mass of confused extra and day accounts practically impossible to follow now.

The private wing in this first Adam scheme provided three state rooms, the centre being apparently the dining-room, because the kitchens are shown beyond the present estate office. A long "L" planned corridor, enlarged at the centre to a Rotunda of 24 ft. diameter, led up from the main house. Adam, however, abandoned this scheme and commenced to build the present drawing-room, an oval ante-room, and an octagonal staircase hall in its place, leaving the Diocletian wing free for a suite of rooms.

As relations between Robert Adam and Lord Shelburne appear to have been strained, if not broken off, in 1771, owing possibly to the Adelphi affair, it seems practically certain that all the work after that date at Bowood is merely imitative work in the Adam style. The finish of the drawing-room, apart altogether from the later segmental ceiling, shows in its detail this characteristic. There is a mass of accounts relating to payments for this later work. They are those of local merchants and estate workmen, which are now extremely difficult to identify, particularly in view of the many subsequent alterations. The building work so carried on appears, from Barry's later experiences in reconstructing the staircase approach, to have been very badly done. He had to take down nearly the whole of the end wall of the drawing-room and incur considerable extras in order to make all secure with the Roman cement of the period.

The earlier work, 1760-66, had been contracted for by Henry Holland senior, the well known builder, and was properly measured and valued, but his connection with Bowood seems to have ended at about that date. The character of the Adam bill of charges (see Appendix C), with its very unusual charge for separate detail drawings suggests that all the later work was done by the estate as described above.

The final shaping of the house at the close of this period is established by a survey plan in the Dance set of drawings, 1794, and by that architect's studies for its alteration, which were not carried out.

It might be thought a singular fact that the history of so important a building scheme as Bowood should be so complex and obscure, if the history of house architecture was not full of similar instances, which are a warning against hasty theories of the origin and development of the great houses of the past.

It is a picturesque idea that links the Diocletian wing with the Imperial Palace at Spalatro, but, in view of this sketch of the development of the plan, the association seems rather forced. Robert Adam has nowhere given us his own account, but we know from his writings that he was greatly interested in the villas of the ancients. The general scheme of the Bowood additions is due to his study of the subject generally, and not exclusively to that of the work of Diocletian on the eastern shore of the Adriatic.

The levels round the house have been judiciously lowered and the way in which the terrace gardens and the front forecourt have been planned has also helped in giving elevation to the house. This is all, of course, comparatively modern and represents the unique skill with which Sir Charles Barry could handle a house of this type.

His connection with Bowood began in 1834,¹⁶ and the golden gateway, with its lodge and flanking walls at the entrance to the park, are of that date. The analogy of his villa for Lord Tankerville at Walton-on-Thames (1837) dates the campanile in particular, the later

work being the stronger design. In the "Builder" of October 6th, 1849, a drawing was published of the Adam entrance hall with its quadrant balconies, as slightly altered by Barry, and it is there stated that the terrace gardens had been lately laid out. In 1848, Barry had designed the famous Italian gardens of Shrublands, and the work at Bowood presents some elements in common, such as the use of features of Elizabethan origin.

The garden design is extraordinarily cleverly adapted in scale to the relatively low height of Adam's extensive façade. To obtain his effect Barry has daringly reduced the scale of his features, so that his balustrades are only two-thirds of the normal height. The whole lay out is carried through in a masterly fashion, and there can be few better pieces of architectural gardening than the Bowood terraces.

Entering the house by the great portico we come at once to the fine entrance hall. The end elevation, with its columns and connecting arch, buttressed by the picturesque quadrant balconies, produces a striking effect.¹⁷ A drawing by Adam in the Soane Collection shows that two columns have since been removed from the central opening and that a sculpture group, a female reclining figure with two cupids, should occupy the open spandrel of the arch. It is shown resting on a plinth above the entablature of the columns. The quadrant balconies were absolutely necessary

as a link between the staircases on either side of this hall, after Adam had cut out a floor in order to get the desired height. The hall ceiling has a sunk circle like an extremely shallow dome, in this it resembles the saloon at Shardeloes, except that at the latter this feature is octagonal. There is a good entablature of the Adam type carried round the walls.

From this hall we enter the splendid "Adam Dining Room." It is most probable that this was intended to be the drawing-room. The coved ceiling is treated throughout with octagons and circles, the central flat having fifteen circular panels. The plaster detail is of the highest degree of merit.

The paintings, framed on the walls in a truly architectural manner, were later on painted specially for the rooms by Stansfield, with the exception of two by Sir Charles Eastlake, P.R.A.¹⁸ They are Italian land and sea-scapes, more lively than those at Compton Verney, which are originals of the Adam period and painted in accordance with the old classic convention.

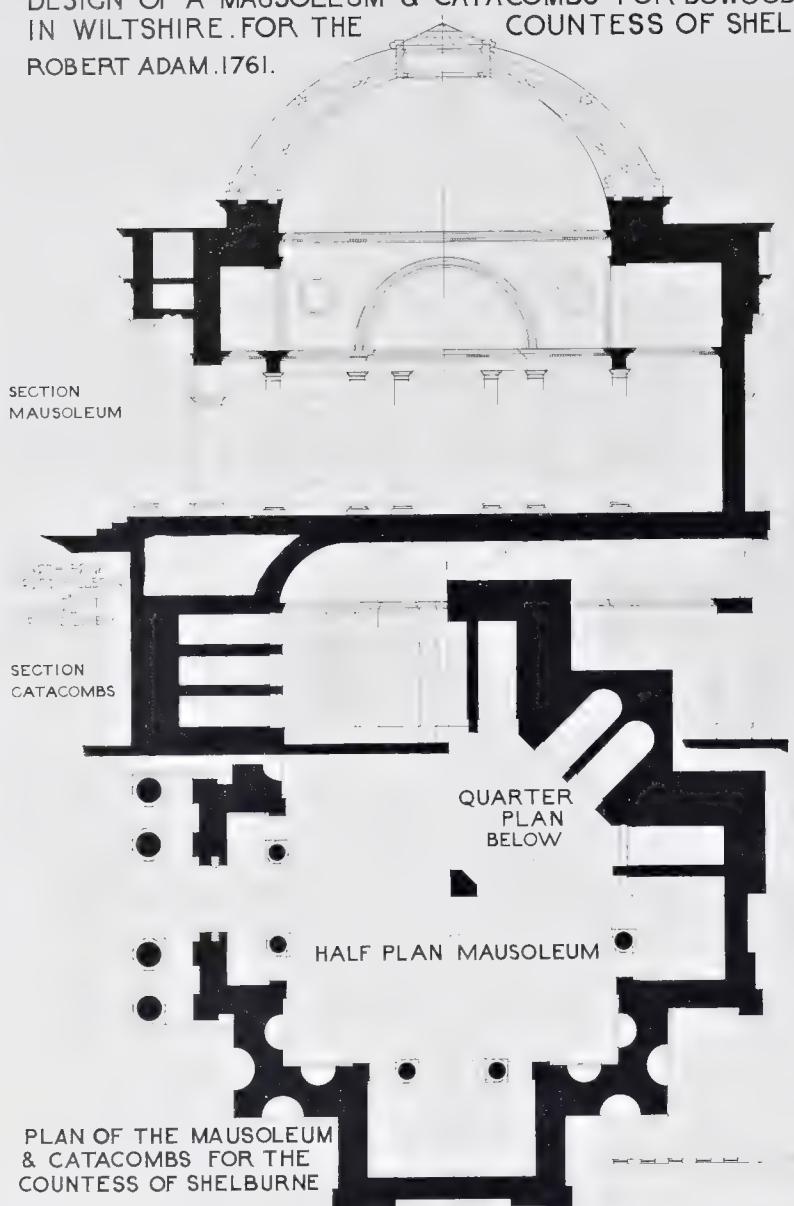
The lower entrance hall leads by the marble staircase hall through an ante-room with apsidal ends into the drawing-room, forming a fine suite with a prolonged vista rising to the upper level. The drawing-room has a segmental coffered vault of the type to be seen in the great gallery of Lansdowne House. The marble staircase is a reconstruction and belongs to Barry's earlier work.

The original Adam staircase at this point comprised a flight of steps enclosed in an octagonal hall. This was proposed to be altered by George Dance, 1794, with the object of obtaining better access to the Diocletian wing. It now disappeared in Barry's reconstruction.¹⁹ The external Doric order in particular has the latter's personal note, which is rather lacking in the staircase hall itself.



THE MAUSOLEUM.

DESIGN OF A MAUSOLEUM & CATACOMBS FOR BOWOOD PARK
IN WILTSHIRE FOR THE COUNTESS OF SHELBOURNE.
ROBERT ADAM.1761.



The libraries, established in the southern portion of the Diocletian wing, the private suite, and the estate office form the other two sides of the green court. These are Adam's in plan, but have all been altered in their decoration, and this internal work is probably not by Sir Charles Barry.

The orangery, which fills in the centre of the south façade, has a segmental vault interrupted by a flat ceiled vestibule at the entrance to the chapel which occupies the centre block between the stable and the green courts. These courtyards are interesting examples of plain masonry work.

Dance designed a bell turret, probably to be in wood. Some older turret was superseded by Barry's miniature Campanile. Adam at one time seems to have contemplated a lead dome over



INTERIOR OF MAUSOLEUM.

the central feature of the south façade of the Diocletian wing. It is quite impossible here to dwell on the rich collection of pictorial masterpieces and the interesting sculpture at Bowood.

The Early Chinese wall papers in the Indian suite of rooms on the first floor are also of decorative interest. They have a framework bordering of bamboo, pictorially rendered, somewhat as a trellis. That some of the ceilings in the older ground floor rooms are James Adam's work is shown by the drawings in the Soane Collection. Apparently, he went there soon after his return from Italy in 1763-64. The ceilings have the early character of the work at Shardeloes.

From Thos. Carter's Account, May 27, 1763. Portland stone chimneypiece for the hall. "4 Trusses richly carved with Foliage & raffled Flowers to sides, mouldings, enriched and the freeze with 4 Oxes skulls etc. the rest fluted, mouldings in mantel & Jambs enriched £30 10s. od."

In June a mason is engaged "on the plinth of the two large columns in the hall," and was apparently putting up the chimneypieces, and it is important to note that this account

provides "a Statuary & Brochettella chimneypiece Bow Room," and another to a room "next joining Bow Room." So that there were bays at this date already existing on the great portico façade.

Benjamin Carter gives an estimate, April 6th, 1764, for four statuary marble chimneypieces for Bowood, from Mr. Adam's design. Two are three-quarter column, and two with trusses, one for the "N.E. Corner Room," and the other for the "Square Room," and the price is £750 fixed complete. Thos. Carter signs a final receipt in December, 1768, for the balance. There had been an earlier estimate, November 18, 1763, amounting to £791 12s. od., where it reads "according to the design of Robert Adam Esq.;" this had "veneered grounds of Brochetella marble to Columns & freize." A tablet with five festoons and a head in a patera, two trophies with urns and shields, six flowers with foliage in frieze, two urns on the breaks. "Two Corinthian Capitals to each fully enriched & two Flaroons (?) upon the architrave." £550 was the first price for a pair of these chimneypieces. The account of the famous Cheere is worth giving for its interesting particulars of the garden statuary in lead.

Jno. Cheere Statuary £83 2s. 6d. for statues to Bowood. To April 12, 1769.
The Rt. Hon'ble Earl of Shelburne. D^r to Jno. Cheere.

	£ S. D.
1762. To four Statues of Apollo, Venus, with yd Drapery, Mercury & Venus de Medecis at £8 8 0 each	33 12 0
To two Drapery Statues of Livia Augusta & Flora £10 10 0 each	21 0 0
To two Busts of Faustina & Antinous	4 4 0
To 473 feet of casing for ye Statues & Busts at 3d per foot	5 18 0
To 48 Iron cramp nails at ye corners of ye cases to prevent damage	10 0
To Hay & tow to pack them	14 0
To eight days a man going to unpack ye statues oilie them & fix them in their place at 4 6 p day Pd for ye man going part of ye way in a carriage	1 16 0
Paid for his coming home ye outside of ye Coach	5 0
Lodging three nights on ye road going & coming back	12 0
1763. To a drapery Statue of Ceres	1 6 0
To 74 Fooths in a case for ye d ^r at 3d p foot	10 10 0
Hay & tow to pack it	18 0
To a man 7 days to unpack ye Statues & oilie & mend ye fingers of ye Vanus & mend two statues in lead of Venus & Mercury at 4/6 per day	2 6
For going & coming outside passenger 8 nights lodging in ye Road & at Caln	1 11 6
	4 0
	83 2 6

April ye 12th, 1769 (?) Received of ye hands of Mr. Wall ye full of this bill & all demands per me Jno Cheere.

No one can leave Bowood without a final tribute to its beautiful setting, the deep ravines that vary the lie of the country, the great trees and the wide expanses of the park, recalling the forest in which James I loved to follow the chase. Robert Adam was not ill inspired when he spread out his great villa-like addition to Bowood in a way that approaches the scale of one of those great pleasure houses which the Romans knew so well how to place in the most favoured spots throughout the provinces of their world-wide empire.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XI.

¹ "Life of William, Earl of Shelburne," by Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, 1875. Three volumes. Macmillan

² This is the very site in Berkeley Square that Bute bought for his intended town house, which Adam duly began; but on Bute's retiring from office unexpectedly in 1763 the unfinished work was sold by him to Lord Shelburne in October, 1763. See account of Lansdowne House, chapter

³ H. W. Letters, Vol. v, page 313. April 30, 1763. "Baron Holland of Foxley. He expected to be made an earl and to keep the paymastership, but was forced to put up with a barony."

⁴ Henry II, 1st d^r senior the builder, acted as paymaster, December, 1761, to July 1st, 1766, for an account amounting to £6,600, and S. n. 1761-62 was paid to Lancelet Brown, the gardener, in the same time. Richd Wall accounts for the years 1760-76 for an amount of £1,000. From Mr. Keene's account of the expenses of building, furniture and other improvements at Bowood Park. This amount, £17,250 about, shows that the earlier sums expended by Keene before 1761 for Lord Shelburne would have effected a great deal. See later.

⁵ H. W. Letters, Vol. vi, page 169

⁶ In Bowood Park. "The works of J. Bentham," by J. Bowring, 11 vols. 8vo, Edinburgh, 1843. Vol. x, page 186, and above p. 122 Aug. 1784.

⁶ In 1794 George Dance, R.A., visiting at Bowood (?) in connection with some proposed alterations, meets Lord Macartney and some of his mission just returned from the well known Embassy to China. MS. Letter, G. D. to J. Soane. Earlier in 1772 Abbé Morillet meets, on his visit, Col. Barré, Col. Clerk, Dr. Priestley and the Rev. Townsend. "Mémoires" Appendix II. "Life of Shelburne."

⁷ This block was connected to the main block by an underground tunnel, which, though altered, still exists.

⁸ November 2nd, 1756. Capability Brown was at Bowood to advise Lord Shelburne at a fee of 30 guineas. Lord S. complains of his reticence. (MS., Earl of Kerry.)

⁹ September 27th, 1753. John Wesley, in Wiltshire, visits Lady Fitzmaurice's daughter, who was ill of consumption. Curnock's note says, Lady F. M. of Gallane married her first cousin, John, Earl of Shelburne. She led her husband to leave Ireland and buy the Bowood property. Her son, born 1737, first Marquess of L. and P.M., 1782.

¹⁰ G. Dance, R.A., was at Bowood in 1794, and made a survey and a set of plans for the alteration of the approach to the Diocletian wing, but nothing important was done and his plans were returned to him in 1804, and they are now in the Soane Collection. Dance died in 1825, but had retired some years before.

¹¹ As against assertions to this effect of a late date can now be opposed the new fact of Henry Keene's earlier connection with the house and the large expenditure by him of £18,500 which may have been exclusive of material on the estate. His own charges for Bowood amount to £1,186, (including other works at Wycombe and London, £1,521), showing the considerable nature of the operations.

¹² October 8th, 1763. "The Portico is almost finished and the plasterers are upon the north-east corner state room, until the carpenters are ready for them in the Great Room." (MS., Earl of Kerry)

¹³ (No date). "To altering Ten Colloms and now Bases at South Portico as agreed with Mr. Adams at 3 pounds 10 shillings each .. 35 0 0
To 67 days for a man altering the Cappoldos at 2 shillings p day .. 6 15 0 "

J. Button account—a long sheet with no dates to items.

Total, £789 17s. 5d., May, 1769-77. "An Account for Brick & Stone work done at Bow wood for the Right Honorable the Earl of Shelburne by John Button." It seems to be mostly concerned with the alteration of the office and stable block and the new Adam screen front. A great deal of paving is included.

¹⁴ Orlando Bridgeman of Ridley, county Chester, created Baronet by Charles II in 1673, married daughter of Sir Thos. Cave of Stamford, Northampton. Orlando, his son, succeeded; he was M.P. for Caine and Governor of Barbados. He married Susannah, daughter of Sir Thomas Dashwood, Bt., of West Wycombe, Bucks. His son Francis was born 1713. Sir Orlando was found drowned in the Thames, 1738. Francis went to the West Indies with Sir Charles Ogle, and died on board, November, 1740. He was unmarried and the baronetcy became extinct. Burke, "Extinct Peerage."

¹⁵ Certain wall pilasters, or responds, in these stone faced courts indicate that in Keene's earlier design there were to be covered passages, as often seen in Early Georgian examples. Keene's bill of charges has an item, "Designing and making drawings for several matters not yet executed, viz., Garden, Principal Lodge, Gateway, etc., for east wall of Garden. Finishing for Hall, etc. Do. for arcades, front piers and finishing Stable and Kitchen Courts, with the drawings and directions for the workmen for the same £30 os. od."

¹⁶ "We understand that Mr. Barry is executing some considerable works at Bowood." Arnold's "Magazine of the Fine Arts," March, 1834.

¹⁷ Height for this hall was obtained by cutting out a room overhead. It is not perfectly certain that the entrance in Keene's scheme was at this point. There is also some doubt as to original disposition of the staircase.

¹⁸ He was in Barry's company at Rome about 1818.

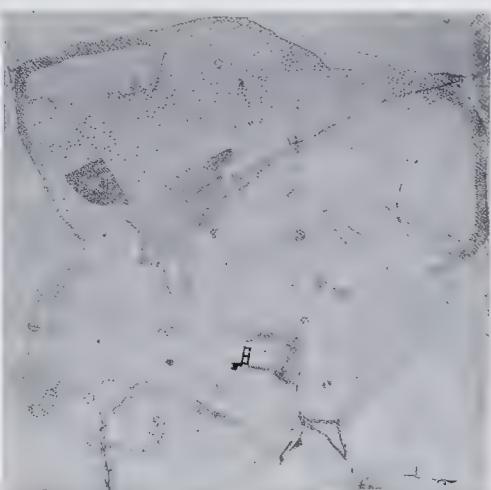
¹⁹ Barry's statement of account, May 24th, 1836, for works in the new staircase, gallery, loggias, corridors and other alterations made in the year 1835 amounts to, say, £4,000. (Mason and bricklayer, say, eleven hundred; marble work, four hundred; joiners, seven hundred, etc.)



OLD PICTURE OF THE EARLIER HOUSE AT BOWOOD.



MAP OR PLAN OF BOWOOD.



PLAN OF BOWOOD, 1775.

PART II. CHAPTER XII.

COMPTON VERNEY, WARWICKSHIRE.

THE SEAT OF LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE.

FEW artists, at first sight, would seem to be more opposed in sentiments, ideals and methods than Vanbrugh and Adam. It is hard to think of any superficial resemblance closer than the common fate of having been misunderstood by the professional and artistic criticism of their own times. Adam's Preface to his "Works" has an illuminating passage : "We cannot, however, allow ourselves to close this note (*on movement*) without doing justice to the memory of a great man, whose reputation as an architect, has been long carried down the stream by a torrent of undistinguishing prejudice and abuse. Sir John Vanbrugh's genius was of the first class ; and, in point of movement, novelty and ingenuity, his works have not been exceeded by anything in modern times. We should certainly have quoted Blenheim and Castle Howard as great examples of these perfections, in preference to any work of our own, or of any other modern¹ architect ; but unluckily for the reputation of this excellent artist, his taste kept no pace with his genius, and his works are so crowded with barbarisms and absurdities, and so borne down by their own preposterous weight, that none but the discerning can separate their merits from their defects. In the hands of the ingenious artist, who knows how to polish and refine and bring them into use, we have always regarded his productions as rough jewels of inestimable value."

The "perfections" here mentioned means that idea of movement to which Adam attached so much importance. Sir Joshua Reynolds, therefore, in the often quoted passage from the thirteenth

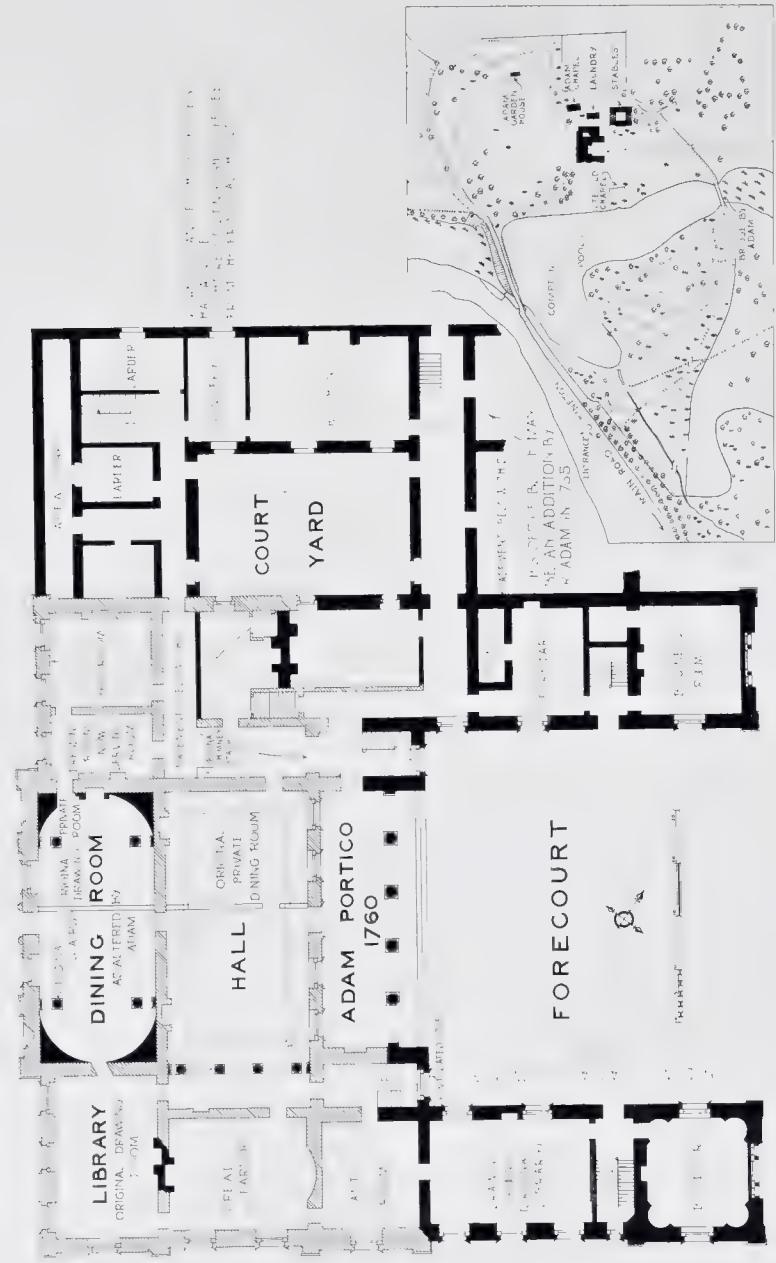


VIEW FROM THE EAST, SHOWING THE ADAM EXTENSIONS.



COMPTON VERNEY FROM THE BRIDGE.

COMPTON VERNEY WARWICKSHIRE
LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE
ROBERT ADAM ADDITIONS
1760 - 65



discourse, December 11th, 1786 : "To speak then of Vanburgh in the language of a painter, he had originality of invention—he understood light and shadow, and had great skill in composition. To support his principal object, he produced his second and third groups or masses"—was merely expanding to a larger audience a tribute to Vanburgh, in which he had been anticipated for several years by Robert Adam. It is of the greatest interest to find, therefore, that this Adam tribute was not merely based on an ordinary acquaintance with Vanburgh's works, but that the writer had actually been employed in adding to one of the earlier master's works. It is a more significant contact than that established at Kimbolton, where Adam built a screen block as an entrance to the Castle, probably in the year 1766.

We may well doubt if any evidence short of the production of the drawing, most fortunately preserved at Compton Verney, headed "Design for an addition to the South front corresponding to the old part of the house as much as possible," and signed "Robert Adam, 1760," would be accepted as adequate proof of the actual facts.² The style of the façade as a whole is quite unlike Adam's work, while on the contrary, it has features common to Vanburgh. For example, the large round arch windows on two floors, the impost treatment and the bold scale of the design. The west or garden front, with a Doric order on a large scale, is even more clearly in his manner.

We have some valuable evidence as to the date of the house because George Vertue, in notes of a tour made in October, 1737, describes his visit in company with the Earl of Oxford. He mentions Compton Verney as "a well built house of 1714," and then proceeds to note the pictures, the stained glass windows lying in the hall and the tombs in the old chapel, of which he gives a plan with many details of their arrangement and inscriptions.

Sir Robert Willoughby de Broke, first Lord Willoughby de Broke, sided with Henry Earl of Richmond and took part in the victory of Bosworth, and was advanced by the new King, Henry VII, to the peerage in the seventh year of his reign, 1491. He took part in the campaign in France, being Marshal of the English army. Dying in 1502, he was succeeded by his only son Robert, second baron, who died in 1522, when the barony fell into abeyance, until it was claimed in 1694 and allowed to Sir Richard Verney, Knight, of Belton, Rutland, who was born in 1621. He represented the county of Warwick in Parliament before and after the Revolution. He was knighted in 1685. Dugdale mentions him as a person "happily qualified with a most ingenious inclination, from whom he had received much assistance for rectifying the map of the hundred of Kineton, as also in the delineation of divers monuments for adorning this work."

He lived to the age of ninety, dying in 1711, and was succeeded by his youngest and only surviving son George, twelfth baron, Canon of Windsor, Dean in 1713, and Registrar of the most noble Order of the Garter. To him, therefore, must be due the main building of Compton Verney.

Lord Willoughby de Broke states that there is an old tradition that Vanburgh (1672-1726) was the architect of Compton Verney, and the appearance of the house lends weight and sanction to the idea. Vanburgh started his architectural career with the building of Castle Howard in 1701, and in the summer of 1705 the foundation stone of Blenheim was laid, his work continuing there for the next ten years. In 1707-8 he was at work at Kimbolton Castle, using a simple Doric



ORIGINAL ADAM DRAWING PRESERVED AT COMPTON VERNEY.
Design for addition proposed to the south front, corresponding to the old part of the house
as much as possible.

sign of in addition, according to his death report, according to the "Signs of Death" or medical evidence.

Alvin Johnson. Sketch 1760

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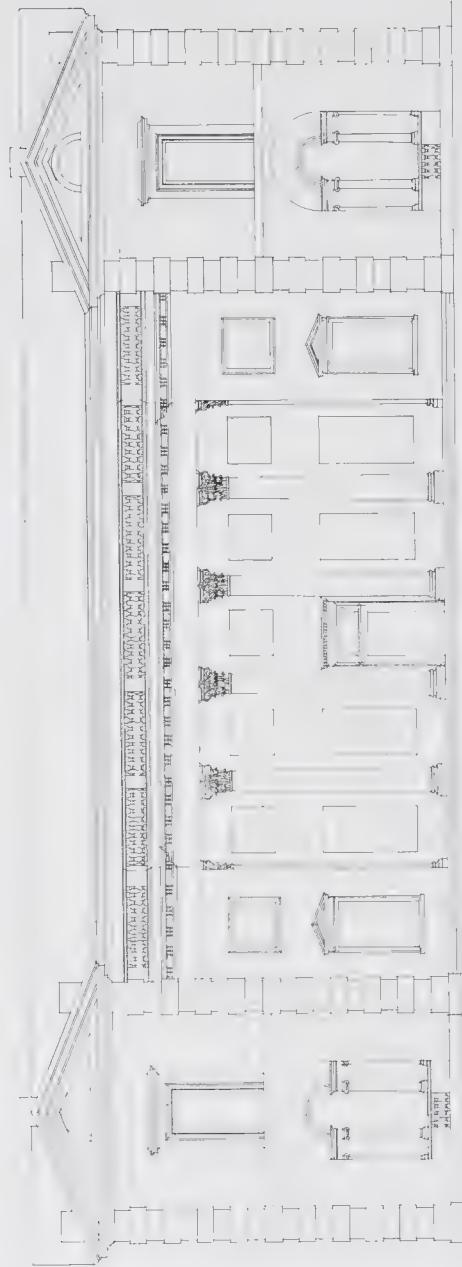
order for his centre feature. In 1711 he was building the Clarendon Press with its great Doric portico at Oxford. This latter building has particular features in common with Compton Verney; for instance, the curious semicircular openings in the spandrels of the pediments. Vanbrugh's death took place in 1726 at his house in Whitehall. This famous erection, ridiculed by Swift, had been built amid the ruins of Whitehall Palace, burnt in 1697, and it survived, but not unaltered, down to our times. It is worthy of remark that it also had round arched windows on both floors. George, the twelfth baron, who had employed Vanbrugh at Compton Verney, lived to



VANBRUGH'S WORK ON THE SOUTH-WEST FRONT.

Possibly the doorway has been added.

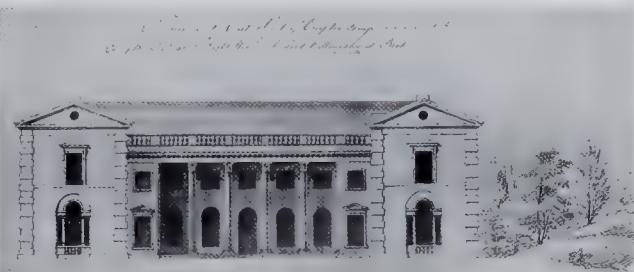
size of the temple front and the entry seen round by the temple at great cost.
The size of the temple front and the entry seen round by the temple at great cost.



December, 1728, two years longer than his architect. He was succeeded by his elder surviving son Richard, thirteenth baron, who died in 1752 without issue, and the barony then reverted to his nephew John Peyton, fourteenth baron, born in 1738. He married in 1761 Lady Louisa North, sister of the celebrated Prime Minister, Lord North. The Robert Adam alterations of 1760 at Compton

Verney may, therefore, very well have been connected with this event. The new ceiling designs are dated 1763. There is a sketch among the Adam drawings in the Soane Collection for a monument, with a pencil note assigning it to Lord Willoughby de Broke. It shows the arms and motto of the family, "Virtus Vaunceth," but there is no date or signature. It seems as if it may have been an idea for a monument contemplated, but not carried out, to Richard, as John Peyton lived until 1816.

Robert Adam's additions at Compton Verney may be defined as the prolongation of the north and south wings, the addition of the great portico or colonnaded loggia of the east front, the



"ELEVATION OF THE EAST FRONT OF COMPTON HOUSE IN WARWICKSHIRE, ONE OF THE SEATS OF THE RIGHT HONBLE. THE LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE."

Drawn freely in ink over pencil and shaded. The height of office wing on right indicated in pencil.



THE PORTICO, BY ROBERT ADAM, 1760.
The back wall has been altered by J. Gibson, 1855.

formation of the great hall, with a new internal treatment of the ceiling and of the walls with their characteristic pictures and framework, the building of the orangery, the bridge and possibly the private chapel. The cove of the hall ceiling has been redecorated by Gibson, but the central flat, with its octagonal coffering, is original.

Whatever other internal work Adam may have contributed cannot now be determined because, in 1855, the state rooms were redecorated in a modern semi-Italian style, the architect being John Gibson (Royal Gold Medallist, 1890), first pupil of Sir Charles Barry, R.A. (1795-1860). On the evidence of the plan in "Vitruvius Britannicus," Vol. v, 1771, the dining-room had two apsidal ends, with screens of columns, Adam's favourite treatment, and it was entered originally from the hall, which had two fireplaces instead of only one in the centre as at present. This alone will explain the set-out of the picture framings on the walls of the hall, which at present is anomalous.

The plan I give has been corrected back to the original. Adam formed the present great hall by the removal of a cross wall, absorbing the private dining-room of the older house. The original staircase was similarly thrown into the dining-room. The date of the ceiling drawing for the hall is 1763. The exterior is said not to have altered, but it is certain that the great swag frieze under

the portico, and the very large entrance doorway to the hall have been inserted by Gibson. They are much heavier in scale and treatment than Adam's own work. Moreover, in the elevation published in 1771 an upper range of square windows, which may have been blanks, is shown above the existing windows below. The central entrance door also appears arched for a fanlight. The lower windows had been originally arched until Adam altered them to flat lintels. The order of the portico is not unlike that of the Pantheon, but the capitals are of the later Roman type.

The two quadrant-shaped lead rain-water pipes in the corner angles of this façade have ornamented astragals and bands,



UNDER THE PORTICO.

and their cistern heads bear the date 1765, five years later, it will be noticed, than the date of the Adam drawing of the south front.

When the fifth volume of "Vitruvius Britannicus" appeared in 1771 it contained a plan of the house and an elevation of the east front showing the portico. The plan gives no indication how much of the house was old, or in what the Adam alterations consisted. The very brief letterpress merely says: "The principal front which has lately been repaired by his Lordship at great expense. Here is a loggia of beautiful composite columns, which from its situation has a pleasing effect. The second plate is a plan of the ground floor and offices which are concealed by a plantation."

A curious point is that the capitals of the columns are not composite and that the plan in the book does not coincide with the work as it was actually built. The south wing, as built, is wider in



THE HALL FORMED AND DECORATED BY ROBERT ADAM.
Fireplace removed. Cove of ceiling altered in 1855.

a way, which tends to confirm the supposition made above as to the extent of the addition made by Adam and its relation to the older existing work by Vanbrugh. In the plates of "Vitruvius Britannicus" the Vanbrugh architecture is toned down in some of its details; for instance, the pediments are shown with more customary circular windows in place of the Vanbrugh-like lunettes which actually exist and resemble those in the end elevations of the Clarendon Press at Oxford.

Of very much greater interest than the dry plates of "Vitruvius Britannicus" is a sketch elevation, which appears to have been made by Robert Adam on the spot, for this east front, showing the proposed portico and the end pavilions. The right hand of the sketch is filled in with trees very freely sketched in, hiding the office block. This sketch, which is in the Soane Collection, is signed "Robert Adam, Compton, 2nd Sept. 1760."

It is to be feared that this is by no means the only instance of Adam endeavouring to conceal the inevitable offices. The same attempt was made at Dr. Turton's House at Brasted in Kent (Vol. II, chapter xxvii). The offices at Compton Verney have evidently grown by various additions, and the adjacent stable block, good in itself, has nothing particularly Adam-like about it, and is probably of an earlier date. It is not unlike the work of Leoni.

Compton Verney owes much to its glorious setting. Approaching from Kineton, a long stretch of grass-bordered road, lined with tall trees, conveys the idea of a grand avenue of approach. On the right hand a great sheet of water is seen through the fringe of foliage until, at the point at which the main road crosses the bridge, a wide clearing affords a noble view of the great stone mansion. The trees in the grounds are quite exceptional and give an impression of immense antiquity. Giant cedars of Lebanon and huge elms exclude the idea of mushroom plantations.

"Capability" Brown was employed to re-fashion the grounds, and has succeeded beyond his wont on lines analogous to St. James's Park at its best. His scheme provides, of course, no setting to the house, which just finds itself in its lawns as best it can. The winding sheet of water, the natural elevations of the site and the beautiful trees, however, are elements which would command success in any event.

The actual approach to the house passes over a stone bridge of three segment arches of an Adam type. The balustrade, worked to a graceful curve, terminates with four sphinxes, extremely well rendered in lead. The wing walls of the bridge are swept into the steep banks with unusual skill.

Beyond the bridge by the side of the lake is the site of the original chapel, which was removed in 1772, its place being marked by an engraved stone slab of that time. This seems to date the



THE EARLY GEORGIAN STABLES.



IN THE CHAPEL.

new chapel as probably ready for use in that year and there is some reason to suppose that it might have been Adam work.³ The plan is similar to that registered at Worcester, though not carried out, for Croome Church in 1759, only at Compton Verney the portico of the earlier design has been omitted. The west front is a successful piece of unadorned architecture, a simple arcaded and rusticated base, agreeing with the height of the internal western gallery, and a plain steep pedimented upper storey in ashlar work, constitute the entire façade. Three quietly treated blank windows, or recesses, are the

leading features of the principal stage. Internally, the flat panelled ceiling rests on a simple cove, intersected in relation to the round arched side windows and to the larger Venetian of the eastern end.

In the side windows the deep splayed jambs are panelled in square coffers with rosette centres forming a very effective piece of plasterwork. The western gallery rests on coupled columns of a simple Doric type, carrying a plain frieze architrave which is adorned with graceful swags. The western wall is panelled at the back and there are two quadrant fans to the angles of the centre panel, and an unmistakable Adam mantelpiece for the comfort of the gallery occupants. There is nothing to show what the reredos was like, but the plain deal and oak grained pews and pulpit are all probably original.



THE ORANGERY AND SPHINXES FROM GATE PIERS (?).

There are two tombs of exceptional interest: the altar tomb by Nicholas Stone senior: "In 1630 I made a tomb for Sir Richard Verney and his Lady set up at Compton Verney for the which I had paid me £90"; and the black and white marble wall tomb of Sir Greville Verney, Kt., 1668, with a bust portrait.

The interesting Munich glass in the chapel was obtained abroad somewhere about 1660, and fitted to the windows of the old chapel, and then re-adapted to those of the new. On a book in one of the pieces is the date 1603.

It only remains to refer to the orangery, which, though small in scale, bears full evidence of Adam's refined design. It has five arches and four Doric columns, with a finely wrought entablature and a pediment over. Along the base line are placed four stone sphinxes of an interesting type. Their appearance suggests that they have been the terminals of some gate piers, or other feature, of which all remembrance has been lost.

The story of Compton Verney is long and intricate, the two centuries of the house we see to-day have been a text in themselves, but there was the older house with which Dugdale deals, standing on the margin of the existing waters, or "pool." Long before that we may imagine human occupation back to the days of the great Roman road which brought law and order into the heart of Britain. Compton Verney could never have been a trackless retreat like its neighbour Compton Wynyates, and each in the contrast of their architecture seems true to its locale.



THE BRIDGE.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XII.

¹ As used by Robert Adam, "modern" means of a period subsequent to the Revival of Learning, i.e., not Ancient Greek or Roman.

² It seems to belong to the set in the Soane Collection, where this particular elevation is wanting. The work as built agrees pretty closely with the dimensions on the drawing.

³ This chapel is often attributed to Lancelot Brown, the landscape gardener (1715-83), and it might be an early work of Henry Holland Junior (1746?-1806), at a date of 1771-72.

PART II. CHAPTER XIII.

KEDLESTON, DERBYSHIRE.

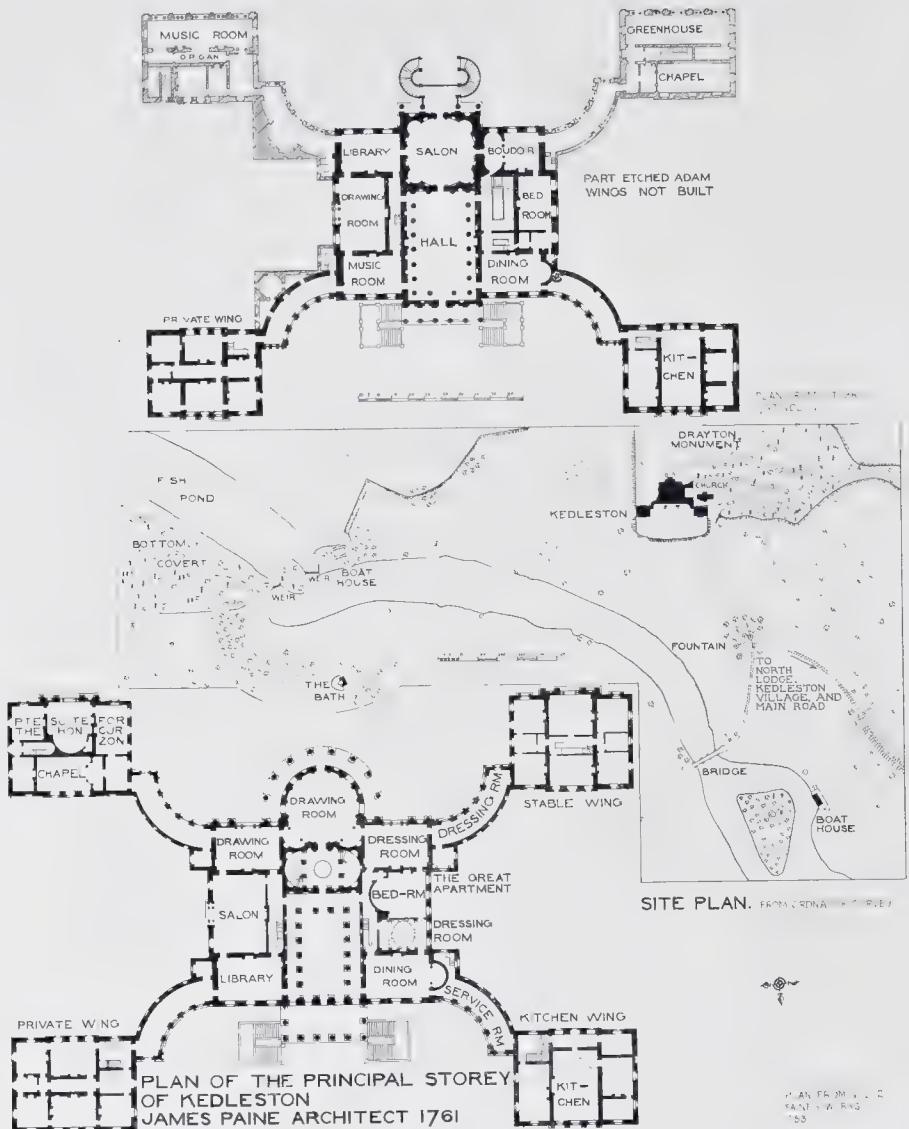
REBUILT FOR SIR NATHANIEL CURZON, BT., AFTERWARDS LORD SCARSDALE;
NOW THE SEAT OF THE MARQUESS CURZON.

A RED brick, quadrangular, Queen Anne building of three storeys previously stood upon the site of Kedleston. The entrance was under an advanced balustraded portico, standing on a basement of three arches. Of this former house an oil painting and a plan are still existing. For the grounds of this house James Gibbs designed a pair of garden pavilions, which he illustrates in his book. Of the yet older building which preceded it all that is now known is that it was a house with stained glass windows and armorial decoration. In



THE CENTRAL FEATURE OF THE INTENDED SOUTH FRONT.
Designed and in part built by Robert Adam.

NEW PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL FLOOR OF KEDLESTON FOR SIR
NATHANIEL CURSON AFTERWARDS LORD SCARSDALE
ROBERT ADAM



the survey made in 1667 the doorway is described as being, at that date, not less than three hundred years old.

Sir John Curzon, in 1641, was made a baronet by Charles I; Sir Nathaniel Curzon, Bt., in 1761, was created Baron Scarsdale by George III. He had already assimilated much of the spirit of the age, and had developed an interest in classical literature and art. Like others of his generation, he made the Grand Tour, acquiring abroad a fine collection of pictures. On his return to England he seems to have determined to build a new home, which should rival Holkham and Houghton in the grandeur of its scheme.

William Bray, F.S.A., in his "Tour into Derbyshire, etc."¹ (1777 and 1783), writing of Kedleston, says: "This house has been built by the present Lord (created Lord Scarsdale in 1761) partly on the spot where the old house stood, but the ground has been so much altered, that there is no resemblance of what it was. In the front stood a village with a small inn for the accommodation



THE GREAT NORTH PORTICO.

of those who came to drink of a medicinal well, which has the virtues of the Harrowgate water (this is the strongest sulphur water in Derbyshire at the spring head, but will not bear carriage); a rivulet turned a water mill, and the high road went by the gate. The village is removed (not destroyed, as is too often done), the road is thrown to a considerable distance, out of sight of the house, the scanty stream is encreased into a large piece of water, and the ground disposed in the finest order. The entrance from the turnpike road is through a grove of noble and venerable oaks (something hurt by a few small circular clumps of firs planted amongst them), after which, crossing a fine lawn, and passing the water by an elegant stone bridge, of three arches, a gentle ascent leads to the house."

James Paine tells us that in 1761 he prepared the designs for Kedleston which appear in his book. This vigorous, but rather heavy-handed, architect enjoyed a great repute and an enormous practice in the north of England. His scheme was to build Kedleston as a centre with four detached wings connected by quadrant corridor colonnades. The plan was never completed and only two wings with their connections exist.

Paine's own account is that he accepted the previous design of Brettingham for the "four pavilions or wings," but himself planned "the central block and connecting corridors."



THE NORTH FRONT : PAINE AND BRETTINGHAM'S DESIGN, REVISED BY ADAM.



THE SOUTH FRONT : ADAM'S COMPLETE DESIGN.

(From "*Vitruvius Britannicus*.")

This bears out a memorandum by the first Lord Scarsdale recording that he built the house between the years 1758 and 1768, and makes it probable that Brettingham was the first architect.

Adam's earliest drawings relate to carpets and ceiling designs, and in the first instance it would appear most probable that he was to complete the interior, as at Harewood, where he was working in conjunction with Carr of York.¹ The most marked feature of Paine's central block was to be a great columned hall and a circular salon, between which he proposed to place the main staircase of the house. Subsequently, however, according to his own statement, finding himself too busy in other parts of England to devote to the proposed building the close attention which so great a work required, he requested to be allowed to resign the task, "whereupon it was entrusted to those able and ingenious artists Messrs. Robert and James Adam."²

From this account we may assume that Lord Scarsdale had lost faith in the scheme propounded by Paine, and that Robert Adam was called in to complete, and particularly to decorate, the structure.

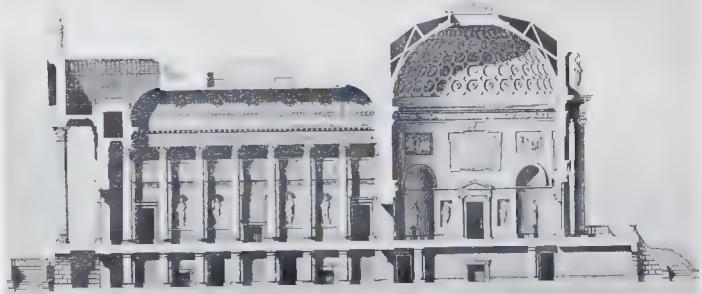
It should be borne in mind that, accepting James Paine's own statement that he was engaged at the age of nineteen on the vast scheme of Nostell for Sir Rowland Winn, Bt., he would now be thirty-six years of age, with seventeen years of extensive architectural practice to his credit.



THE NORTH FRONT.



ENGLISH ALABASTER. COLUMNS IN THE GREAT HALL.

SECTION THROUGH HALL AND SALOON.
(From "Vitruvius Britannicus.")



THE GREAT HALL.

Robert Adam, on the other hand, for all his prestige as a traveller and explorer of antiquity, was in the position of a beginner in actual architectural practice, and, whatever building experience he may have had in connection with his father's work in Scotland, he would not, so far, have had much time to accustom himself to current building traditions and methods of the South. The position,



CAST IRON WORK.

therefore, at the start may very well have resembled that which we have already discussed at length, in relation to John Carr, in the chapter on Harewood. As it is notorious that Paine had on hand other most important work, and as it is also evident that he remained on good terms with the Adams, it seems best to take his own view of the matter, with a possible question as to the exactness to a year of his date of 1761. Walpole notes, October 24th, 1761,³ "Worksop is burnt down, . . . it has not been finished a month. . . . I



THE HALL FIREPLACE.



CANDELABRA TABLETS IN ROTUNDA.

have some comfort that I had seen it, and except the bare chambers, in which the Queen of Scots was lodged, nothing remained of ancient time." This must have been an important event for Paine, and that year may well have been a crisis in the affairs of his office.

It is evident from the appearance of the work that the elegant centre of the south front of Kedleston is entirely due to Robert Adam. The stone casing of this façade is continued on the returns in a lime stucco, with stone architraves to the windows. The wings are similarly treated, and the somewhat heavy character of the design and detail of these parts seems most likely due, if



THE ROTUNDA.

not to Paine himself, at least to the necessary completion of the pre-existing scheme. A glance at Vol. IV of "Vitruvius Britannicus," in which the Adam plan and elevation of Kedleston were published under Adam's name, shows that the present centre of the south front is part only of a fine and characteristic composition, and that Adam had no intention of repeating the existing northern wings and quadrant colonnades by Brettingham and Paine except in general outline. Had this intention been carried out the south front of Kedleston would have been complete in itself and have hidden the work of the two former architects on this side of the house.⁴

The larger original Adam drawings in the Soane Collection show that the north façade has merely been revised by him, the circular medallions under the portico, for instance, being added. Except, in fact, for a few minor details, this north front agrees with Paine's elevation.

The interior of Kedleston is obviously entirely Adam work, and it is of remarkable interest because it is a development of Shaddeles and also closely related to the great interiors of Syon, which were in progress at the time.

At Kedleston, as in Adam's earlier work, there is a larger use of genuine materials than was usual later on. Much which was afterwards only rendered in cement and stuccoes is here in solid stone, alabaster, carved wood, cast and wrought metal.

The great portico, with its grandly planned stairway, is notable for the size and solidity of its masonry.

This portico leads direct into the great hall in fine weather, at other times the lower basement hall is a more desirable entrance. It is amusing to note the nonchalance with which the



IN THE DINING-ROOM.

account in "Vitruvius Britannicus" says, "The principal entrance is by means of a flight of steps, which forms an ascent to the Portico." At Nostell, also planned by Paine, a similar lower hall is used in mitigation of the penalties of the great external ascent. The great hall rather staggers the imagination with its twenty fluted columns, 2ft. 6ins. in diameter and, say, 25ft. high, of alabaster dug from a neighbouring quarry. The centre of the great hall stands free of furniture, exhibiting a stone floor with marble inlays. Twelve seats in the form of sarcophagi are disposed against the walls. The fireplace has an oval grate-basket supported by winged rams bearing urns upon their heads. Upon the wall above, forming the overmantel, four figures, remarkable for their grace, support a painted medallion, with decorative surroundings in plasterwork.

A letter signed C. Scarsdale, given in Craddock's "Memoirs," dated May 15, but probably of the year 1772 or 1773, says, "Our hall, as far as done, looks very well."⁵ Curwen,⁶ who

saw the hall in May, 1777, notices "the panels of doors of Salon, bright airy paper mache manufacture, the designs are from Greek and Roman Mythology." Bray, in his "Tour," of the same date, tells us that Clay of Birmingham supplied these panels, and notes that the paintings are well executed and highly varnished — meaning that they were enamelled or lacquered.

The salon which "Vitruvius"



Robert Adam, Architect, 1760

DRAWING-ROOM FIREPLACE.



DRAWING-ROOM.



VENETIAN WINDOW IN DRAWING-ROOM.

Britannicus" tells us "is a singular contrivance," is remarkable for its successful proportion. It is far more correct in scale and better and quieter in design than the very ambitious oval salon at Stowe, designed by Signor Borra for Earl Temple. It is 42ft. in diameter and 55ft. high, with four alcoves in extension of its plan, each 11ft. in diameter and 22ft. high. The usual size for Adam rotundas seems to have been 30ft. The coffered dome is very pleasant in scale and treatment, and there is great charm in the lighting effect. In the account in Warner's "Tour,"⁶⁴ the Scagliola pillars are said to be by Bartoli. The four scenes of ruins over the doors are by Hamilton, and the four chiaroscuros over the alcoves by Rebecca. The latter is the artist who was employed by Wyatt at Heaton Hall. The decorative tablet candelabra on the walls are notable pieces of stucco work in the Italian manner. The minute amorini are polished to a marble surface and set off by a dull red

painted background and gilded framings. The striking cast metal altars crowned by vases standing in the alcoves were connected with the hot air scheme of heating employed by the Adams for these rotundas.

Of the thought and labour that Robert Adam gave to Kedleston there is ample evidence in the drawings preserved in the Soane Collection. Every detail was brought into the scheme—furniture, grates, fire-irons and fenders, all testify to the thoroughness and comprehensive character of his work as an architect. From the numerous alternative designs it is evident that there was a good deal of uncertainty with regard to the completion of the house, particularly on the south side.

The great hall and circular salon lead on the right into the dining-room, where Adam's attention to detail is conspicuous in the treatment of the alcove which is flanked by two doorways of exquisite finish. It would appear that this recess was designed specially to exhibit the silver to the best advantage. The three small marble topped tables, in white and gold, with fluted legs, are curved on plan following the line of the alcove. Between them are two rectangular pedestals, in front of which again are lower stands of cylindrical form. On the tall pedestals are metal urns with gilt brass ornaments. On the sideboard is placed a tripod incense burner or candle-stand, for which two drawings exist in the Soane Collection. In front of the sideboard stands a monumental wine cooler, cut out of a solid block of Sicilian jasper, said to have been designed by Stuart. A metal plate warmer, shaped like a classical vase is typical of Adam's work. The almost identical design is preserved in the Soane Collection.

The ceiling of the dining-room⁷ is planned to receive Zuccarelli and Zucchi landscapes, and set in as panels on the walls are other paintings by Claude Lorraine, Snyders, Romanelli, as well as by the two first named artists.

To the left of the hall and salon is the music-room, which contains an interesting mahogany organ case, richly gilt, but simple in design. Adam's original design for this was far more elaborate.



FROM BOUDOIR TO ANTE-CHAMBER.

The white marble chimneypiece is inlaid with blue-john. The great drawing-room, which was originally hung in blue damask, has a coved and richly decorated ceiling. It follows closely a design dated 1760, "Ceiling of the Drawing Room, Kedleston." The freedom of the decoration is reminiscent of the earlier Adam work as at Hatchlands. The mantelpiece with a pair of tall figures follows the ideal set at that house, at Croome, and later on at Harewood. The Venetian window, the columns and pediment of which, like the door-cases, are of Derbyshire alabaster, is remarkable for its scale and the planning by which an effect of great depth and richness is obtained (compare the altered windows of the gallery at Harewood).

The furniture in this room is of interest. Alongside of beautiful tables and mirrors essentially typical of Robert Adam's style are four massive sofas with elaborately carved and solidly gilded merfolk mingled with dolphins and palm leaves, quite Venetian in taste, which contrast curiously with the lighter and more delicate devices for which he was famous.

We are reminded of Adam's comment, when publishing the plate in the "Works," of the Empress Catherine's piano : "this design was much altered by the person who executed it."



IN THE LIBRARY.

The drawing for the sofa (Soane Collection) signed "R. Adam architect 1762," shows how the architectural limits he observed have been overpassed. Mrs. Montagu had a similar sofa, according to the note on the drawing,⁸ but with a different colouring in the upholstery, one design being red and the other green. Mrs. Montagu's sofa, however, must have been more accurately executed in a style severely classic, so as to accord with the beautiful mantel-

piece, which Adam also designed in 1766 for her house in Hill Street.

In the library, unlike the other apartments on this floor, the Doric pillars and entablature of the doors are of wood, and they are somewhat heavy in scale and treatment.

The tall bookcases of Adam design have, unfortunately, lost their characteristic doors and, perhaps, their pediments. The ceiling is decorated in tints of blue, pink and mauve. The chimneypiece agrees with Adam's drawing.

The most remarkable picture of the many old masters on the walls is a Rembrandt, which hangs over the fireplace and depicts Daniel interpreting the dream of Nebuchadnezzar. This picture greatly impressed Boswell when he visited Kedleston in company with Doctor Johnson in 1777.

The state boudoir and its ante-room are separated by a screen of columns and pilasters grouped in relation to a segmental archway in Late Roman style. In these rooms a lighter scheme of decoration and furnishing has been carried out: there is less of the Early Georgian influence which Adam had set out to reform. The east and west quadrant galleries, which connect the main block of the house with the wings, have floors of polished oak boards ingeniously curved to

follow the quadrant walls. The planning of these corridors, which are laid out to end with a window, follows the earlier type of Stoke Park (1630, attributed to Inigo Jones) and not the common Georgian plan of a direct junction of such passages to their wings. The superiority in internal effect is very marked, and this feature, occurring as it does at Kedleston, would appear to be due either to Brettingham or to Adam, in view of the fact that Thorndon Hall, built by Paine in 1763, does not follow this method. It is a reversion to the true practice of Palladio, as shown by his plan for the villa at Miega.

As we have seen, Robert Adam was not responsible for the general scheme of Kedleston, which he only modified so far as circumstances allowed. The alteration was not so radical as at Nostell, another great house by Paine, where similar radiating wings were to be entirely suppressed. So far as the outside of Kedleston was concerned, Adam evidently intended to make the most of this Palladian disposition of outlying pavilions on the south, or garden, front as redesigned by himself; but his intention that the principle of "Movement," as expounded in his "Prefaces," should be fully illustrated in the complete design of the south front of Kedleston was never realised, only the centre block having been built.⁹

In the church which adjoins the house is the monument erected to the memory of the Sir Nathaniel Curzon who died in 1759. For this monument Robert Adam prepared



FIREPLACE WITH WEDGWOOD PLAQUE.



DESIGN OF A GREAT ROMAN RUIN TO BE ERECTED AT KEDLESTON, PROBABLY IN CONNECTION
WITH THE BRIDGE.

"R. Adam, 1761." Original Water Colour, C. J. Richard Collection. V.A.M.



THE FISHING HOUSE, KEDLESTON.

The great bridge for which there is a large water-colour drawing (by Robert Adam, dated 1761), with picturesque surroundings well put in, has been mentioned before. In the same style is a beautiful coloured elevation, a design of a great Roman ruin to be erected at Kedleston, possibly in connection with the bridge. The central feature is a brick hemi-cycle, of the Minerva + Medica type, with two side wings. A pencil note says: "Une côté de Temple Ruiné fréquenté par un hermit," and "Temple ruiné et restoré avec des fragments antiques."



ROOM IN FISHING HOUSE.

several drawings, which are now in the Soane Collection. The essential idea of all of them is a group of figures set against a pyramidal background.

In the park are chalybeate springs, originally known as the Kedleston Baths, over which a small bath house, classic in style, was erected. The water is sulphurous and akin to that of Harrogate. The springs were formerly much in repute and it was a custom with people to carry these waters to Derby, where they were sold at a penny per quart. Kedleston at that time was also a favourite expedition for holiday makers, and a local advertisement of the year 1776 runs thus: "Kedleston Fly. Twice a week during the summer season. Will set out on Monday next, the 20th instant, for John Campion's, the Bell Inn, in Sadler Gate, Derby; each person to pay one Shilling and Sixpence. A good Ordinary is provided each day at Kedleston Inn. If desired the coach may be had from nine in the morning till two in the afternoon."

Johnson's famous visit was made in a post-chaise, a method of travelling which he greatly enjoyed (see Chapter v).

63A, Chapter ii.).

NOTES ON CHAPTER XIII.

¹ "Sketch of a Tour into Derbyshire," etc. Wm. Bray, F.S.A., 1st Ed., Nov., 1777, 2nd Ed., Feb., 1783. In Pinkerton's "Voyages," 1808 (Vol. II, page 372), which purports to reprint Bray's "Tour," the words "It was built from the designs of Mr. Robert Adam," have been cut out.

^{1A} If it be true that Paine was at Alnwick, where Adam carried out extensive work at a very early date after his return from Italy, in January, 1758, the two architects must have already co-operated. On the back of (229), Vol. IX, "Sketches for Sir N. Curzon's Mn." (created Baron Scarsdale, April 9, 1761), is part of a letter. "Mus(t?) beg the favour of you to bring . . . of a caryatrick chimney piece which . . . me with you to-morrow. I am, sir, yr humble servant, Nathl' Curzon. /day."

² J. P.'s book, published in two volumes, 1767 and 1783. Kedleston is in the second and later volume. This first volume, page 28 has: "The Town House of the Hon. Thos. Fitzmaurice in Pall Mall. The architectural ornaments were adapted by the author . . . and were executed by Messrs. Adams, and serves to evince that their stucco will stand the weather, there not appearing the least decay in any part thereof."

³ H. W. Letters, Vol. V, page 136.

⁴ The letterpress of "Vitruvius Britannicus" says, "His Lordship has not yet finished the wings and corridors to the South Front, but, as this is his intention, we have his leave to insert them."

⁵ Craddock Memoirs, Vol. IV, page 127, 1828. The hall ceiling was, no doubt, modified in execution as it does not agree at all with No. 45 in Vol. XI, dated 1761, or with a design in Vol. XL. Very likely it was arranged by Adam on the spot, and it seems to follow the drawing, plate 48, of Richardson's "Book of Ceilings" (1776), where it is called the coved ceiling of the Grecian Hall, and the text says that the trophies were executed by Rose. Richardson, who dedicates his book (preface, March, 1774) to Lord Scarsdale, bestows on him a florid compliment: "Since your critical judgement in architecture while Kedleston remains as a monument of true taste and magnificence," etc. It is quite possible that Richardson was Adam's representative on the spot. He was with the Adams eighteen years.

⁶ Sam Curwen's Journal and Letters, page 138, 1864 edition. His visit was in May, 1777.

^{6A} Rev. R. Warner "Tour through Northern Counties," 2 vols., 8vo, London, 1802, page 122. Pictures chiefly described.

⁷ No. 53, Vol. XI, dated 1761. In the drawing it is shown as gilded, and the mantelpiece is dated 1760.

⁸ "Design of a sofa for Lord Scarsdale and also executed for Mrs. Montagu in Hill Street." In Adam's design the mouldings and ornaments are recognisable in character and free from the wild Venetian taste of the executed work.

⁹ As witness to the progress at the house by 1766, we have the following from "The English Connoisseur," 2 vols., 12mo, London 1766 (Soane). "Lord Scarsdale is building a most magnificent palace by Kedleston, near Derby. The Architect is Mr. Adam's, the well known Editor of the 'Ruins of Diocletian's Palace.' Everything is fitting up in the most sumptuous manner, and finishing in the highest taste. Of the pictures which are already placed, take the following very imperfect Catalogue, till a better can be obtained. Dining Room (6 entries). The Saloon terminates in a great dome at top, finished like the Pantheon (19 entries)." Evidently, therefore, these were the two rooms first finished.



THE BRIDGE.

PART II. CHAPTER XIV.

SYON HOUSE, MIDDLESEX.

A SEAT OF THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

PROBABLY few of the many who have glanced at the plain square mass of Syon House as seen from the river are aware of the glories of the famous suite of State rooms within, the master work of Robert Adam. The plan of Syon in the "Works" bears the date of 1761, which will be the time at which Adam's connection with the work began. His own statement, however, gives the year 1762 as that in which the duke resolved to fit up the apartments "entirely in the antique style." "The idea was to me, a favourite one, the subject great, the expense unlimited and the Duke himself a person of extensive knowledge and correct taste in architecture." Adam had just completed Shardeloes, where he was engaged at least as early as May, 1759, and resemblances can be traced between the details employed there and those used in the earlier rooms at Syon. The ceiling of the dining-room at Syon, for instance, is closely related to that of the library at Shardeloes.

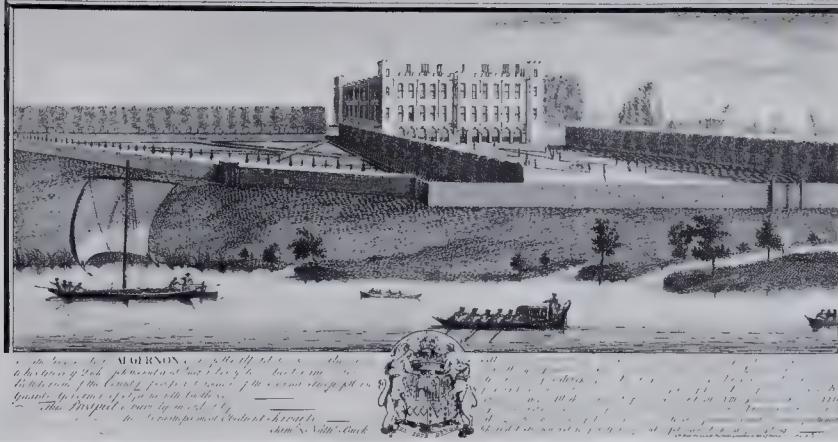
The work must have been in progress for many years, as one of the carpets is dated 1769, and the whole of the intended scheme was, even so, never realised, as will be seen by our plan, which shows Robert Adam's complete intention.

"For general rendezvous and for public entertainments with illuminations, dancing and music." Such is Adam's explanation of the most important feature of his plan, the central rotunda, which was never carried out. Had this feature been executed it would have put the



RIVER FRONT OF SYON HOUSE.

THE SOUTHWEST VIEW OF SION-ABRY, IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX.



SYON HOUSE IN 1737.

entire house plan into relation, and acted as a central salon for all the apartments, which, without such a focus, may seem somewhat disconnected.

Apparently, however, in 1768 this rotunda was temporarily erected for a special occasion, as Mrs. Delany¹ writes on October 14th : "The entertainment that beat all others was given by the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland at Sion. There was a temporary pantheon erected in the court round which the house is built, which was illuminated with 400 lamps in variety of pretty forms ; the King of Denmark's cypher on four parts of the building. Nothing could be more suited to a royal entertainment ; and though there were above 300 in one room not the least bustle. Twenty persons of the King of Denmark's own choosing, dined and supped at his table, and he expressed great pleasure and admiration at everything."²

Since Adam's day a great deal has been done in completing the private suites of rooms, and it would appear that the façades of the house and the interior elevations of the quadrangle have been cased in Bath stone. The rain-water pipe heads bearing the date of 1825 suggest the period of this work, and Mr. Charles Fowler, best remembered as the architect of the Covent Garden and Hungerford Markets, was at this time building the great conservatories in the grounds.

The story of Syon goes back to the reign of Henry VI, when the monks of the monastery of the Brigittines, founded by Henry V, asked leave, in 1415, to move to the new buildings at Syon.

Shakespeare, in Henry V's prayer before the battle of Agincourt, alludes to this establishment and its twin at Sheen :

And I have built
Two chantries where the sad and solemn priests,
Sing still for Richard's soul.

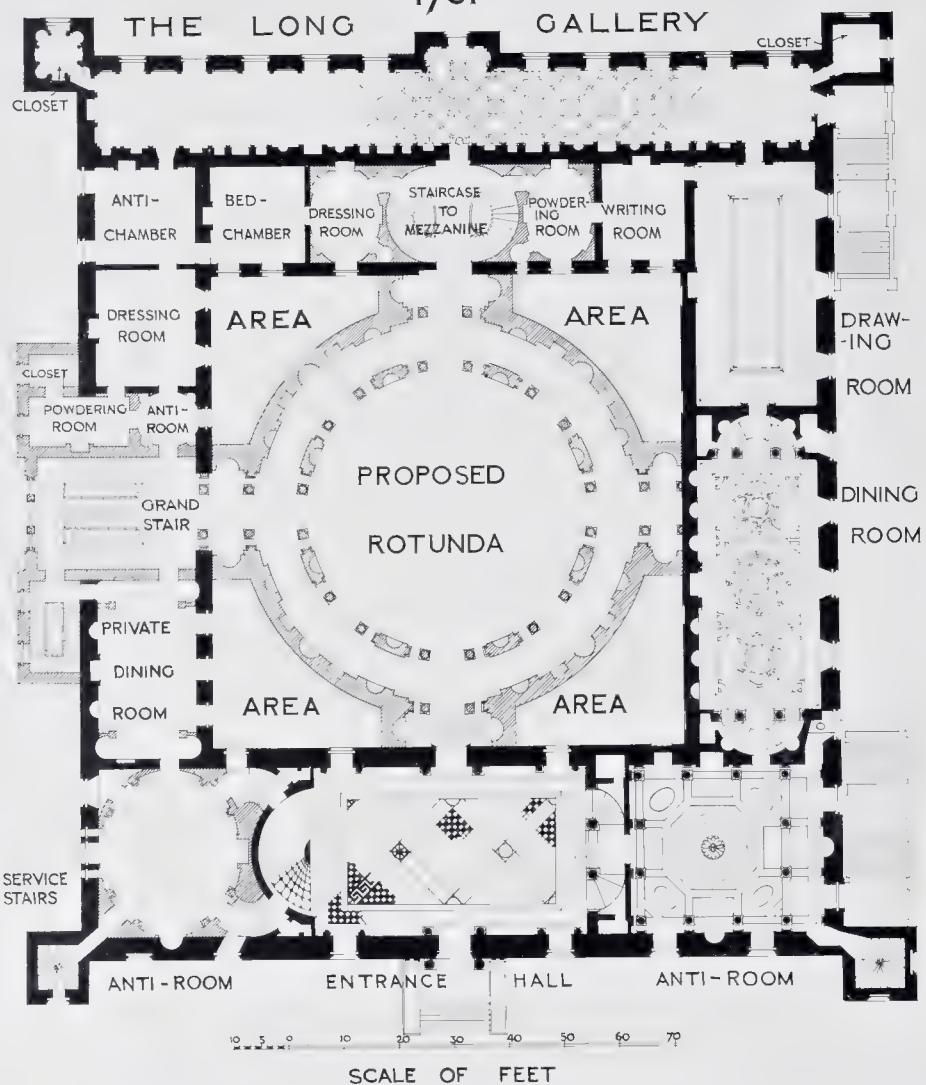
Some quadrangular structure, unfinished in 1442, and still building in 1468, on the lines probably of an Oxford College, formed the new retreat. The actual move appears to have taken place in November, 1431. There were sixty nuns, including the abbess, thirteen priests, four deacons, and eight lay brethren who followed St. Augustine's rule. The total number, given as eighty-five (?), is said to stand for the thirteen apostles and the seventy brethren.

There were two courts separate for monks and nuns. The dedication was to the Saviour, the Virgin Mary and St. Bridget. In 1492 the revenues exceeded £1,600. The dissolution came in 1534, and Catherine Howard was a three months' resident as a prisoner from November 14th, 1541, till her execution in the next year.

SION HOUSE, MIDDLESEX.

ROBERT ADAM. ARCHT

1761



In the first year of Edward VI Syon was given to the Duke of Somerset, who being, however, executed in 1552, only held the property for six years. Alterations were made, but, probably, the present house is on the same lines as the monastery. In the reign of Queen Mary mention is made of the pulling down of two sides of the house, which may refer to some unfinished part erected by Somerset.

In 1553, Syon was granted to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who was Earl of Warwick, but had been given the dukedom on the attainder of Sir Thomas Percy. He was father-in-law of Lady Jane Grey, and it was at Syon that she gave her fatal consent to the forced acceptance of the Crown.

Four years later Queen Mary endeavoured to restore the nunnery, which was again dissolved by Queen Elizabeth, who held Syon for herself. In 1604 James I granted the property to



THE GREAT HALL, LOOKING TOWARDS THE APSE.

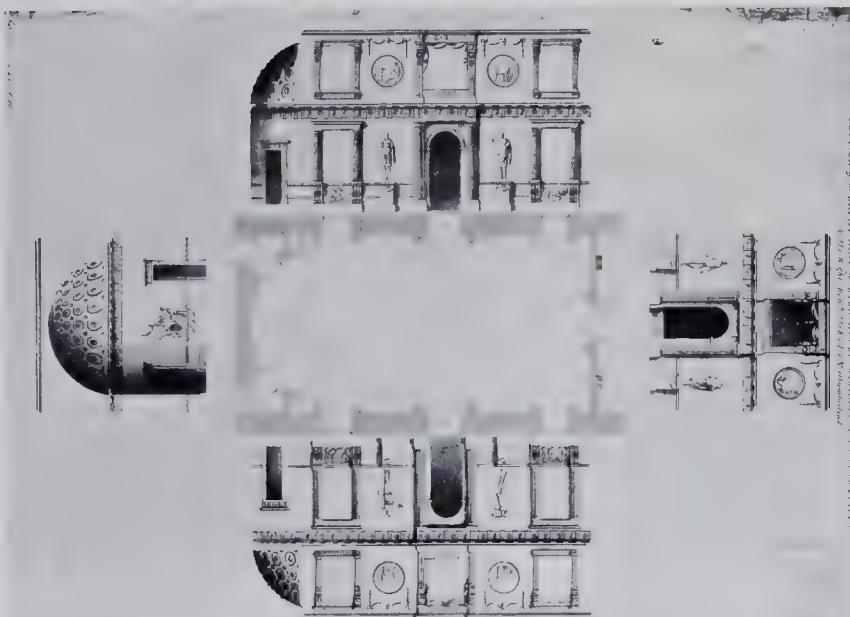
Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland. Imprisoned for fifteen years over the Gunpowder Plot and fined thirty thousand pounds, he offered Syon to the Crown for that amount; but it was refused, and ultimately he paid eleven thousand pounds and kept it. From the earl's letter to King James in 1613 it appears that he had laid out £9,000 on the house and gardens, finishing them according to the Protector's plans. For his son Algernon, the tenth earl, who succeeded in 1632, Inigo Jones was ordered to do repairs, a point to which we shall refer later. This earl



THE GREAT HALL WITH ASCENT TO ANTE-ROOM.

was guardian to Charles I's children from August, 1646, when the Duke of York was fourteen, Princess Elizabeth twelve, and the Duke of Gloucester seven years old, and it was at Syon that many of their later meetings took place.

John Evelyn's diary records under date July 7th, 1665: "To London and so to Syon where his Majesty sat at council during the contagion (the great plague). When business was over



ORIGINAL ADAM DRAWING FOR THE GREAT HALL AT SYON. VARIED IN EXECUTION.

I viewed that seat belonging to the Earl of Northumberland, built out of an old nunnery of stone, and fair enough but more celebrated for its garden than it deserves, yet there is excellent wall fruits and a pretty fountain, nothing else extraordinary."

In 1682 the whole of the Percy property devolved upon Lady Elizabeth Percy, who, after being twice widowed, was married in 1682 to Charles Seymour, sixth Duke of Somerset (1662-1748), before she was sixteen. The property thus returned by a strange coincidence to the Somerset family, to whom it had been granted by Edward VI. The future Queen Anne lived at Syon during her quarrel with her sister Queen Mary. After two generations the property passed again from the Seymours, as the granddaughter of Lady Elizabeth Percy, another heiress, married Sir Hugh Smithson,³ afterwards created first Duke of Northumberland. He belonged to an old north of England family, with connections to the Percys. Robert Adam was employed by him to transform the interiors, to build the entrance gateway and to design the intended bridge at



DOORWAY TO COURTYARD.



DETAIL OF ANGLE OF ENTRANCE HALL: SHOWING ASCENT TO ANTE-ROOM AND THE MANAGEMENT OF THE DORIC ORDER.

Syon, in addition to the works at Alnwick and Northumberland House in the Strand, which no longer exist.

Dutens,⁴ who was secretary to Lord Bute's brother and had been in the Embassies of Turin and Venice, went with the Duke of Northumberland to Ireland, and the account which he gives is that "The Duke of Northumberland had been one of the handsomest men in the kingdom; he possessed great talents, a mind highly cultivated, and more knowledge than is generally found among the nobility. Born of genteel, though not illustrious parents, he had been raised by his marriage with the heiress of the name and wealth of the house of Percy; and he shewed that he was worthy of them. By the wisdom of his economy he improved the immense estates of that family; and so increased its revenue, that this now amounted to more than £50,000 a year. He restored the ancient splendour of the Percies by his



END OF HALL NEXT THE ANTE-ROOM.

taste and magnificence. Alnwick Castle, formerly the residence of the Earls of Northumberland, had entirely fallen to decay; he completely rebuilt it; and out of complaisance to the Duchess, his lady, ornamented it in the Gothic style, which he did not himself like: but he did it with so much taste, that he made it one of the most superb buildings of that kind in Europe. He embellished Sion House, a country seat not far from London; and exhausted the resources of art, at an immense expence, to embellish those two houses with masterpieces of taste, and render them worthy of their possessors."

Before Adam's return from Italy in January, 1758, we find Horace Walpole^{4A} recording on May 5th, 1757, "Lord Northumberland's Great Gallery (Strand) is finished and opened; it is a sumptuous chamber but might have been in a better taste."

Still earlier, October, 1752, he writes, "They are building at Northumberland House, at Sion, at Stansted, at Alnwick, and Warkworth Castles! they live by the etiquette of the old peerage, have Swiss porters, the Countess has her pipers—in short, they will very soon have no estate."

As showing the continued existence of the convent building, it is stated on the authority of Aungier's "History of Isleworth and Syon" that two very rich and elaborate old doorways of the fifteenth century remain perfect, covered with plaster, and built up in the wall of the present hall. Adam himself defines the position



STATUE OF APOLLO IN THE HALL.
On pedestal by Robert Adam, the stucco work
by Joseph Rose.



A VIEW IN THE ANTE-ROOM, LOOKING TOWARDS THE HALL.
Showing the polished scagliola floor.

at Syon as follows: "Some inequality in the levels on the old floors, and some want of additional heights to the enlarged apartments, were the chief difficulties with which I had to struggle." The use of the old convent walls might very well have given the shape of the plan in the first instance.

The internal quadrangle is about 80ft. square, and from it the house has a half basement appearance, the descent from the hall being by eleven steps. The principal floor is six steps above the hall, and on the east front the gallery floor is high enough to allow for a cloister underneath in the form of a range of bold semicircular arches, about 10ft. high, on massive square panelled piers. It is definitely known that Inigo Jones was ordered to do repairs at Syon House, and the tradition that associates him with the design of this cloister seems well founded. As the eastern block is two rooms in depth, he may have constructed the outer half consisting of cloisters, the long gallery over, with perhaps a storey above it, and the two end towers; but, except for the arcade



ANTE-ROOM FROM TERRACE ENTRANCE.

Decorations in white, gold, blue and green.



THE ADVANCED COLUMNS WHICH DEFINE THE SQUARE PLANNING OF THE ANTE-ROOM.

under the gallery, it has all been altered since. Adam probably converted all the windows to sashes in connection with his work.⁵ They would have had originally wood or stone mullions and transoms of the usual early seventeenth century type. The cloister arcade and its piers are now painted. The original mediæval masonry at Syon was in Caen stone; this may have been used for the dressings only, and the rest may have been rubble, unless we are to assume that it was all ashlar work. The early nineteenth century Bath stone facings are now of a pleasant yellowish brown.

The great lion in lead on the east front is, of course, the famous animal from the top of Northumberland House at Charing Cross. The roofs are flat, with a good parapet of a simple character. Syon House has a much wider spacing of its windows on the western side, and the large scale of the building gives it a character which



DETAIL OF FIREPLACE WALL OF THE ANTE-ROOM.

rather disappears in any illustration. From the great avenue, with the two interesting gate-houses⁶ as a foreground, the house presents an imposing appearance. The existing carriage porch is of the Windsor Castle type and must be included in the work of the re-casing of about the year 1825, because there was an Adam portico entrance greatly admired for its elegance.⁷ I do not, however, know of any remaining drawing or illustration of this feature.

Entering at once into the great hall, the full grandeur of Adam's conception is realised. This interior, in a creamy white with a black and white marble floor, realises the classic ideal of pure form and restrained ornament. Late in the afternoon the western sunlight strikes down from the upper tier of windows, producing a wonderful effect of light and shade. The size, 66ft. by 31ft. by 34ft. high, is about that of the great room at Wilton, 60ft. by 30ft. by 30ft. high, but



MANTELPIECE IN THE ANTE-ROOM.

no greater contrast than that of these two interiors can well be imagined, and we realise at once how much has happened in the intervening century since the death of Inigo Jones.

The problem of the dimensions is solved by Adam on entirely different lines to those followed by the earlier master. Robert Adam reduces his length by a great apse at one end and a square recess at the other, the latter having a screen of columns. The connecting side walls have each five windows and a door. Such are the simple elements out of which this fine interior has been evolved. The highly original ceiling with its great crossed beams doubtless arose from Adam's wish to reduce the excessive height of the bare structure, and the idea is worked out with great skill. A broad band of ornament frames the central oblong and ties the whole design together. The disposition of the floor repeats the scheme of the ceiling.

The modern idea of a strongly coloured background to sculpture was not practised by Adam, and the general effect of this hall, whether from the sculptor's or the architect's point of view, could hardly be improved upon. It is doubtful if Adam ever used the Doric order, which always he preferred for halls, with a better effect than he has done in this instance. The detail



THE DINING-ROOM.

The ceiling design refers back to that of the library at Shardeloes.

is managed with great skill, particularly in the square recess, where the projections are reduced at the back of the entablature carried across upon the two columns. All the soffits are carefully worked out. The columns are of wood, fluted in the Greek way, and painted white.

The steps, which were necessary to reach the principal floor level at both ends of the hall, are so cleverly worked in that they seem an additional charm, rather than a difficulty overcome. In Adam's own words, "The inequality of the levels has been managed in such a manner as to increase the scenery and add to the movement, so that an apparent defect has been converted into a real beauty." Adam tells us that the stucco work was



CEILING OF ONE OF THE HALF DOMES IN THE DINING-ROOM.



DINING-ROOM FROM THE ANTE-ROOM.
The dark background to the niches is later.

done by Mr. Rose, and it is a very remarkable achievement. If not quite so fine as the Italian of the very best age, it is very good, bold, and perfectly adapted to the scale of the interior design.

The pedestals for the statues are particularly successful instances, and a close comparison of the plates in Adam's book with the work itself shows here and elsewhere, in spite of a very close correspondence, that various refinements and slight improvements, such as would arise in the development of the work, have been adopted.

Architect and stuccoist must have been in very close touch. The five large medallions on the walls are painted in chiaroscuro. In coffering the apse dome an extra range of octagons has been introduced, making five in height, but the feature is not over-detailed.

To step up from the hall into the ante-room is to find oneself in another world. It is Rome of the most lavish epoch of the Empire, when the world's wealth flowed as a great stream into the all-powerful metropolis. Colour reigns supreme with a predominance of solid gilding.

The keynote has been the immensely valuable ancient columns of verde antique, twelve in number, that were found in the bed of the Tiber. Such columns are unobtainable to-day.

To these antique shafts, Ionic capitals, solidly gilt, and bases decorated in white and gold have been added, as well as a new entablature with a honeysuckle frieze in gold on a blue ground, all designed by Adam. The employment of the blue in this room is very clever. It is clear and bright in tone and gives the right note in its restricted employment. The walls are pale green with dark mahogany and gold doors. A dark note is also obtained by the use of a deep green bronze in the bas relief over the fireplace and in the Hector statue in the niche opposite.



MIRRORS ON WALL PIERS BETWEEN THE WINDOWS OF THE DINING-ROOM.



MANTLEPIECE IN THE DINING-ROOM.

The floor is a remarkable piece of scagliola, very highly polished and marvellously preserved. The pattern is related to the ceiling, as is usual in Adam work. The colours are yellow, bright and dark red, reaching to chocolate, and a peculiarly soft greenish grey relieved by some actual blue. The nature of the material suggests that this floor has faded and to an extent sufficient to harmonise the whole in a blended colour effect,

and that it has thus lost any original crudity that it might, perhaps, have had when new.

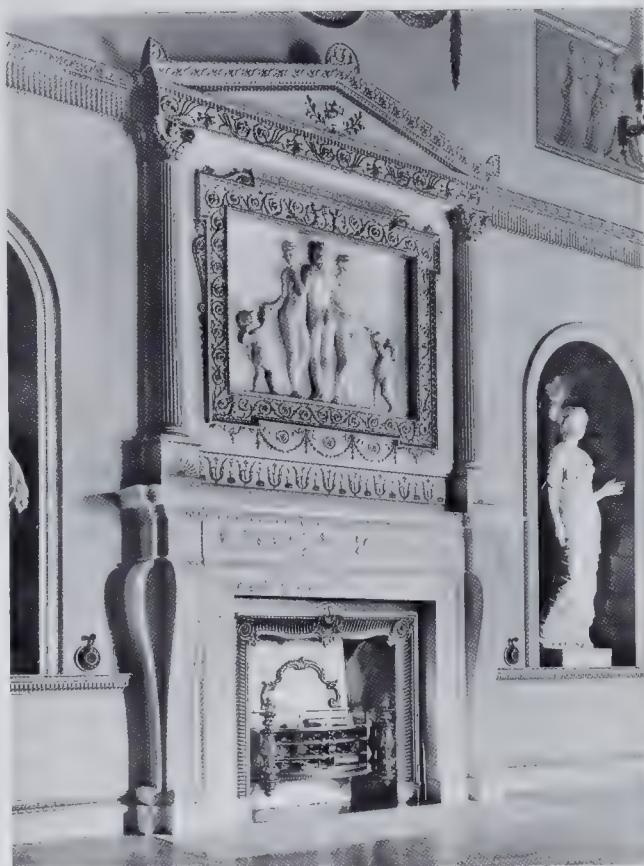
The furniture of this ante-room is an Empire suite in blue and gold from Northumberland House, believed to have come originally from the Tuilleries, as it was bought at the time of the Revolution.

The architectural interest of the room centres in the very clever arrangement of the twelve antique columns, as the room is not really square, being 36ft. 6ins. by 30ft., with a height of 21ft. The desired square set-out is obtained by bringing forward the columns on one side to stand clear of the wall and carrying the entablature straight across, the vertical line being maintained by the statues standing upright over the columns. The room is thus square in effect, with the minimum loss of floor space.

This ante-room was, of course, never a living room. It was a waiting room for servants out of livery, the hall being occupied by servants in livery in attendance, while a corresponding ante-room at the other end was to be provided for the attendance of tradespeople. Special access was provided in both of the end towers of the façade for the services of these ante-rooms.

Robert Adam took a great deal of interest in the detail of the arrangements of social life, and deals with the subject at some length in his book. He seems to have thought that French ways of living were more developed than our own, and very early in the day he praises the Continental flat system. Attention is called to the little use made of the dining-room abroad, except only for meals, and he advocates for England the interposition of a room between the English dining-room and the withdrawing-room, on the ground that the ladies should not be disturbed by the noise made by their lords and masters, which seems a sad reflection on the manners of the time. It recalls Hamlet's question, "Is it a custom?" and the reply, "One more honoured in the breach than in the observance," showing how, even after a century and a half, from James I to George III, the architect, like the dramatist, could still see some room for improvement.

The stately Mrs. Hannah Moore tells us how she had occasion to repress the volatile Boswell on his appearance in the drawing-room.



THE CHIMNEYPEICE IN THE DINING-ROOM.

Lord Lyttelton, when Hagley was being planned by Sanderson Miller, made a point of this intervening room on the very same grounds.

Entering the dining-room we leave colour behind us and return to an effect of a white, but in a warmer tone and freely relieved with gold. The frieze panels, as painted in chiaroscuro, probably by Cipriani, are somewhat feeble in decorative effect. The dark marbling of the niches behind the statues is not original. The ceiling resembles in its main features the library at Shardenloes, but the distribution is improved by a wide, flat band of ornament carried round, close to the cornice, as a frame to the ceiling design. The bands are also deeper and stronger, as, indeed, the greater height of this room required. The details, too, have a more refined appearance. This room would seem to be one of those first completed at Syon. Each end of the room has an apse, with a screen of columns across it, and the half domes are well ornamented, but without the extreme beauty of those at Kenwood. A flat band carried round the room, level with the top members of the cornice of the order, connects the end and side walls, a treatment much favoured by Adam. The size of the room is 66ft. by 21ft. 7ins., with a height of 21ft. 9ins. The shutters to the windows here and elsewhere are well panelled and enriched; the great depth of these casings, due to the thick walls, has given the opportunity for a vertical panel of ornament, independent of the actual shutter.

The doors, all in magnificent mahogany, are set out in six panels, with wide fluted bands between inner and outer mouldings. The ormolu mountings are fine specimens of Adam's treatment of such details.

There seems to be some want of relation between the marble mantelpiece and the overmantel, which is in plaster, framing a marble panel of three Graces. The whole composition is not so happy as usual.

On several occasions Adam seems to have been shackled by some antique that had to be accepted in his design.⁸ There are two good mirrors on the walls between the windows, with console tables below, one with a mosaic top from the baths of Titus, and the corresponding one with a slab of Italian marble. The wood framework below is carved and gilt. There are two console tables with yellow marble tops from Northumberland House, and a set of Hepplewhite chairs. Three of the statues in the niches are old copies of antiques ordered by Adam, whose letter on the subject has been preserved. In describing this room in his book, he says that dining-rooms "instead of being hung with damask, tapestry, etc., are always finished in stucco and adorned with statues and paintings, that they may not retain the smell of the victuals."

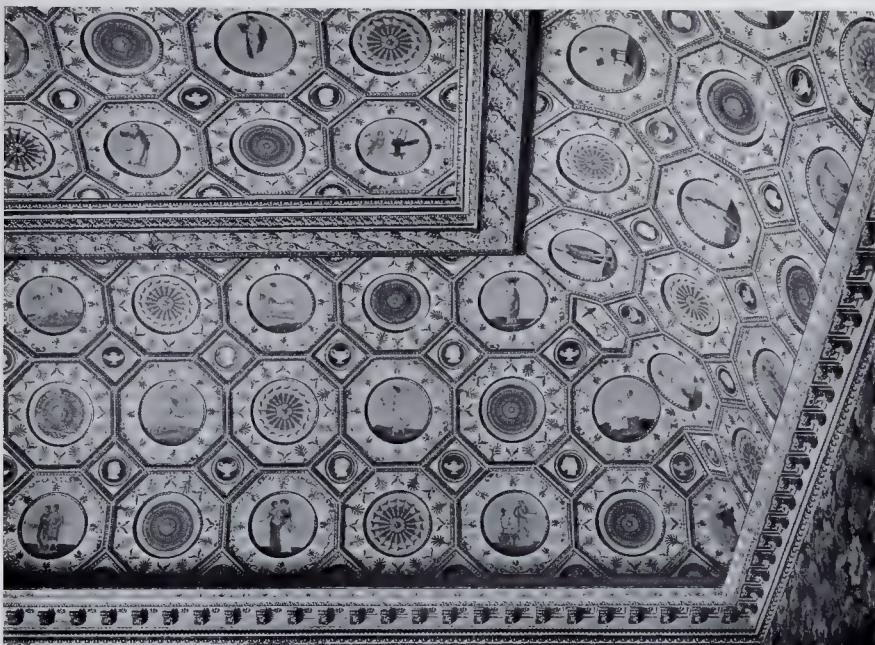
With the red drawing-room colour again resumes its sway. The walls are hung with Spitalfields silk, in which the pattern of flowers and ribbons in grey shimmers like silver on the plum red ground. It is said to have been the first damask made in England. The ceiling has a deep cove, which, together with the central flat, is all set out in octagons and diamonds rather small in scale. These have been painted with figures by Angelica Kaufmann, too small



WHITE MARBLE AND ORMOLU MANTELPIECE IN THE DRAWING-ROOM.



DRAWING-ROOM : THE CARPET.



DETAIL OF THE CEILING IN THE DRAWING-ROOM.



CURTAIN BOXES, MIRRORS, CONSOLE TABLES AND CARPET, BY ROBERT ADAM, IN THE DRAWING-ROOM.

for their position, and so emphasised by light blue grounds and little red crimson circles as to produce a spotty effect which is somewhat distracting. The Adam carpet is of restful and good design; the colours, pink and yellow with some blue, are now very harmonious. The date "1769, T. Moore," is woven in the border.

The two doorways are remarkable for the ivory grounds of the pilaster panels which are filled in with ormolu. The general design of these doors is almost that of the Early Italian Renaissance. Robert Adam, in Italy, must have observed such work with an interest and attention very unusual in his day. The white statuary marble mantel is a masterpiece of applied ormolu. The enrichments are chased and perforated frets, appliqués; even the flutes of the columns have tiny strings of beads attached to the fillets between the flutes. The rosettes, swags and even the dentils are all in the same metal. It is like an overdress of brass lace thrown upon the white marble form.

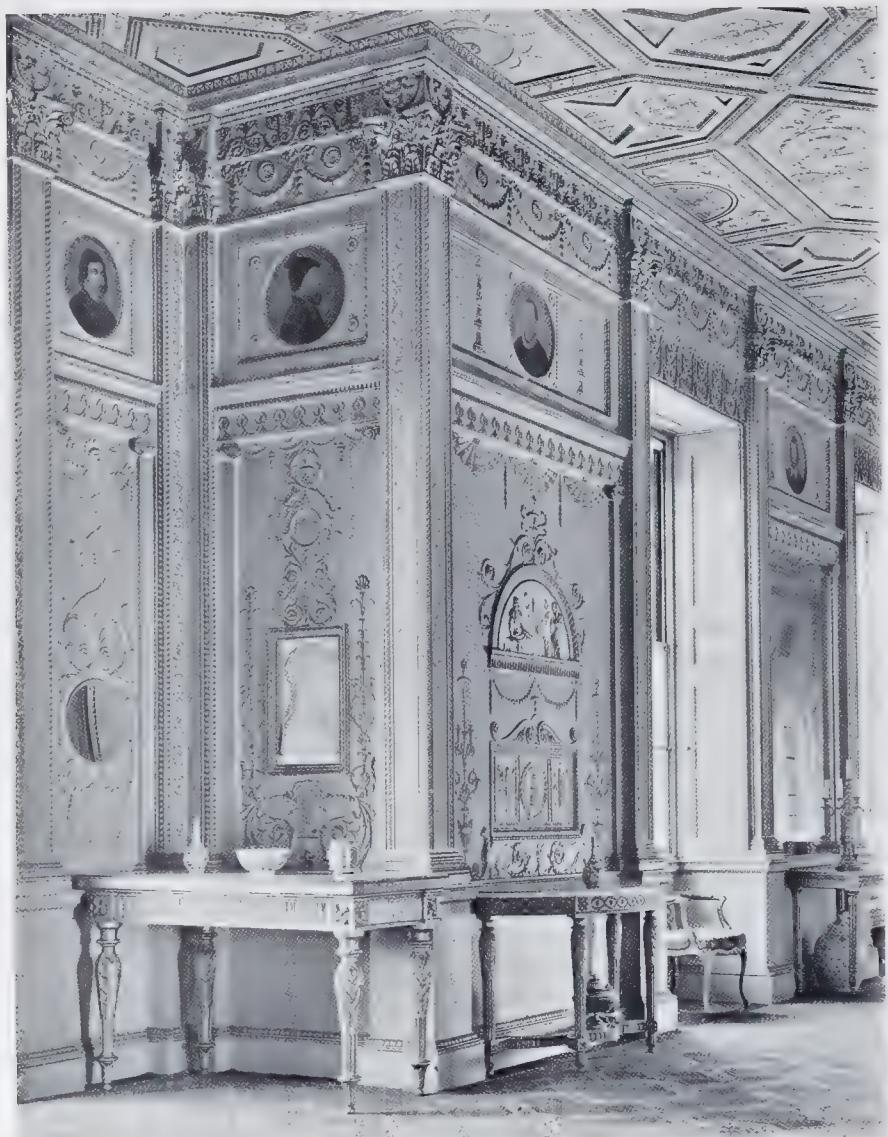
Between the windows are two good mirrors set over console tables of open framework, the legs finished with rams'



IVORY AND ORMOLU DOOR-CASE TO MAHOGANY
AND GILDED DOOR OF DRAWING-ROOM.



DETAIL OF ONE OF THE CONSOLE TABLES IN THE DRAWING-ROOM.



DETAIL OF CENTRAL RECESS ON WINDOW SIDE OF THE GALLERY.



THE GALLERY.

heads. Reversed fans, carved in wood and gilded, complete the design. The furniture is a Regency set, in crimson damask and gold, also from Northumberland House.

This drawing-room is Adam's ante-room to what he intended to be the real withdrawing or ladies' room, "The Gallery," which he planned out for their particular delight. "Finished

in a style to afford great variety and amusement," is his own expression.⁹ It certainly is a marvellous room because it is the Elizabethan-Jacobean gallery seen through a different medium.

It will not satisfy the antiquarian or classically minded critic, but it will be of absorbing interest to all who can appreciate the treatment of a very difficult problem and the workings of an original mind. The problem was the narrow width of 14ft., with a length of 136ft., and a height the same as the width. These are quite the old dimensions for galleries in England, and it was only the orthodox classic ideas of proportions that made them difficult to manage.

Robert Adam accordingly solved them on his own lines, not, perhaps, without some observation of and reflection on the many older galleries which he must have seen in various parts of England.

His solution is a closely



DETAIL OF END WALL OF THE GALLERY.

grouped unit of four pilasters, with wide intervals or bays, centred upon the three doors and the two fireplaces, so that in the perspective a sense of spacing and variety is obtained which mitigates the great extent of the length. The opposite wall, containing eleven windows, could not be made to agree with this set-out, so it has been boldly disregarded. The pilasters, however, are retained to frame up the windows and to maintain the balance of the two sides, while providing the vertical lines necessary to the perspective effect of the whole.

The lighting of the room being on one side only, with a consequent shadowing of the wall spaces between the windows, conceals the fact that the ceiling lines agree with the pilasters on one side only and not with those on the opposite wall.

The ceiling is daringly set out with circles repeated down the length of the room and held in an octagonal framework separated by squares. Unity is given by cross lines which lead the eye down the vista of the gallery, with a tendency to expand its apparent width. The wide compartments containing the doors and fireplaces do not appear unduly expanded, thanks to the minor features of niches and panels which are cleverly introduced. The main order of pilasters is supported by a secondary Ionic, between which the book shelves are fitted in. The bases of

the two Orders are well adjusted. The deep frieze formed above the architrave cornice of these minor pilasters is varied with landscape and portrait panels and by some circular recesses for busts and vases.

Particularly on the window side of the room there is a series of small relief panels in stucco duro polished like the marble for which they are often mistaken. Work of the same style was noticed in the rotunda at Kedleston, only at Syon the ground of the panel is not coloured.

Robert Adam's idea was to provide a series of points of interest and entertainment for the company of ladies who would use the gallery. The two end towers as well as the centre projection form conversational retreats, and the two "closets," as he calls them, are miniature boudoirs. One of them has a dome supported on small columns standing on circular pedestals, the shafts of these colonnettes being wreathed with arabesque stuccoes. When the door is shut the scheme is complete, with no apparent entrance. From the centre of the dome hangs a gold bird-cage designed in harmony with the scheme ; it is a realisation of one of those colour prints which sought to give an idealised setting to a phase of the social life of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Some of the ceiling paintings of the gallery are rather small and too pretty. The general effect of the faded pink and green of the wall decorations is very good : it must all have been immensely gay when new and fresh.

It is about this gallery that Horace Walpole writes to the Earl of Hertford on August 27th, 1764:¹⁰ "I have been this evening to Sion, which is becoming another Mount Palatine. Adam has displayed great taste, and the Earl matches it with magnificence. The gallery is converting into a museum in the style of a columbarium, according to an idea that I proposed to my Lord Northumberland."

Litera scripta manet, and, in *Punch*'s immortal phrase, Horace stands revealed as "one of those whom our artist has to put up with."

Everything must have been fairly complete when, in April, 1769, Dr. Alexander Carlyle, with his wife and John Home, the author of "Douglas," went to see Syon, "the inside of which had been most beautifully adorned by Robert Adam."

Of the furniture in this gallery, part belongs to the crimson damask set and part to a petit-point set of the time of Louis XV, the latter is in pale green, carved and gilt. The needlework coverings were worked in convents about the year 1810. Of Adam design there are two pairs



DETAIL OF ONE BAY OF SIDE WALL OF THE GALLERY.



DOORWAY TO DRAWING-ROOM FROM THE GALLERY.



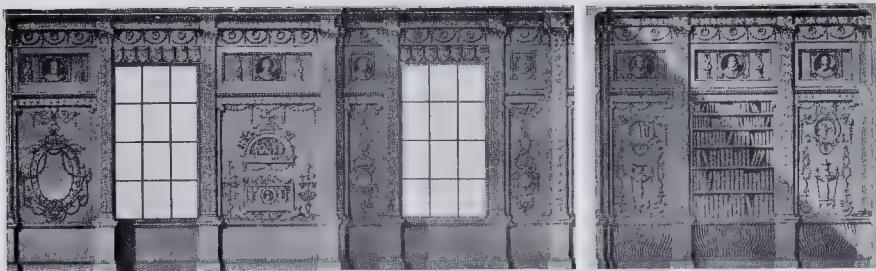
ONE OF THE CENTRE BAYS OF SIDE WALL OF THE GALLERY.

of beautiful tables of marquetry with carved and fluted legs and framework. One of them has a scroll pattern working from two centres, so as to fill in the oblong shape of the top; it is inlaid in yellow and green on brown. The other has an all-over pattern. They are English made. Two half circle console tables, carved and gilt with urns worked into the base and having the table tops of inlaid marble, are also of Adam design, as well as two long-shaped console tables whose tops are of mosaic.

It is impossible to take leave of the beautiful grounds surrounding the house without reference "to the disgraceful gateway of Syon," as Joseph Gwilt, F.S.A., was pleased to style it when writing an outline of "English Architecture" for his well known "Encyclopedia," published in 1842. It is a very pleasant screen, once known as "the lace-work gateway."

That is how it seems to have impressed the creator of Strawberry Hill,¹⁰⁴ who writes to his confidant, the Rev. W. Mason, July 29th, 1773, *à propos* of the appearance of one of the numbers of "The Works in Architecture": "In it is a magnificent gateway and screen for the Duke of Northumberland at Sion, which I see erecting every time I pass. It is all lace and embroidery, and as *croquant* as his frames for tables; consequently most improper to be exposed in the high road to Brentford. From Kent's mahogany we are dwindled to Adam's filigree. Grandeur and simplicity are not yet in fashion."

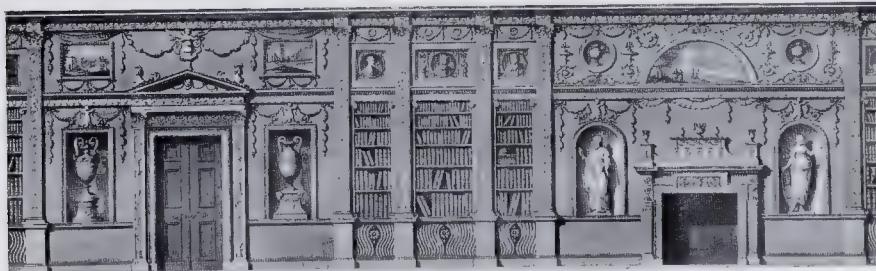
The Syon gateway no longer strikes us in that light, since we have ceased to fortify, in a Palladian fashion, the entrance to our parks with miniature replicas of the massive triumphal arches of the ancients. Adam himself tells us, "The collonade and iron rail underneath, not only give an air of magnificence to this building, but were also intended by His Grace to gratify the curiosity of the public, by giving to travellers an opportunity of viewing from the road, the park, lawn, bridge, river and the house itself at a little distance, closing the beautiful scene."



Window side wall.

Centre recess.

End wall of gallery



Wide bay with door.

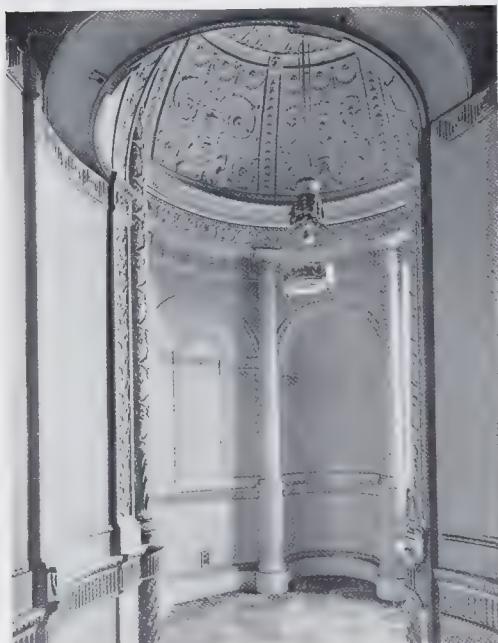
Repeating unit of pilaster.

Wide bay with fireplace.

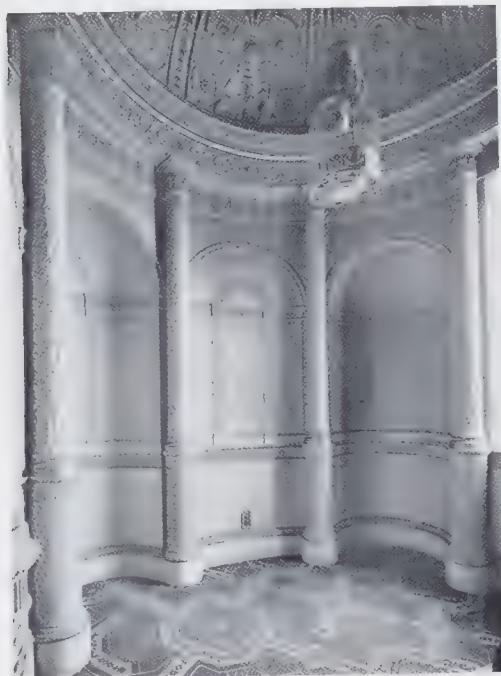
ELEVATION AND SECTION, AS GIVEN IN "THE WORKS OF ROBERT AND JAMES ADAM," OF THE GALLERY AT SYON.



DETAIL OF END WALL OF GALLERY.
(See elevation above.)



VIEW FROM THE GALLERY THROUGH DOORWAY
OF THE ROUND CLOSET OR BOUDOIR.



THE ROUND CLOSET OR BOUDOIR.

There is a straightforwardness in Adam's explanation of the design which is not devoid of "grandeur and simplicity."

The present day public, speeding by on electric trams to Hampton Court and beyond, will often see a line of tiny mites clinging to the "iron rail" and gratifying their curiosity and hunger for such rare delights and country scenes.

In the screen, as in some of Adam's other work, the analogy to the early Italian work is strongly felt. The pilaster panels might be of the cinquecento.¹¹ Adam tells us that he used lion's claws in the bases of the large pilasters in reference to the lion of the Percies.

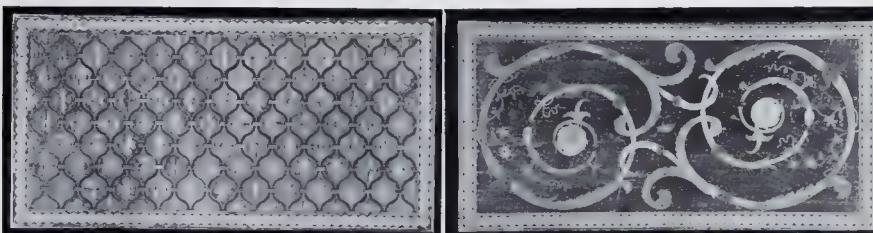


THE CORRESPONDING SQUARE
CLOSET.

One feature that vexed, no doubt, the pedantic soul of Joseph Gwilt was that the effect of triglyphs in the entablature has been produced by vertical flutings in the surface of the frieze without the customary projection. The whole question of the free adaptation of classical detail is raised by Robert Adam, who was really continuing the process of modification and development by which that which was once constructional becomes decorative, and passes into the language of architecture. This current use cannot be tied and settled as a sacred canon, as Johnson



TWO CARD TABLES IN THE GALLERY.



TOPS OF THE TWO CARD TABLES.



SOFAS OF LOUIS XVI TYPE IN THE LONG GALLERY.

CHAIR OF LOUIS XV TYPE
IN THE LONG GALLERY.



THE ENTRANCE GATEWAY AND SCREEN.
On the great high road to the West of England.



THE GATE-HOUSES IN FRONT OF SYON.

so wisely saw and openly proclaimed in the case of literature, in his famous introduction to the great Dictionary :

" Of the event of this work, for which, having laboured it with so much application, I cannot but have some degree of parental fondness, it is natural to form conjectures. Those who have been persuaded to think well of my design, require that it should fix our language, and put a stop to those alterations which time and chance have hitherto been suffered to make in it without opposition. With this consequence I will confess that I flattered myself for a while; but now begin to fear that I have indulged expectations which neither reason nor experience can justify.

" When we see men grow old and die at a certain time one after another, from century to century, we laugh at the elixir



THE ENTRANCE GATEWAY AND SCREEN IN PROFILE.



Robert Adam architect, 1769

ELEVATION OF THE GATEWAY TO SYON HOUSE AND PORTERS' LODGES.
Froning the Great West Road, eighth mile from London



THE BOAT-HOUSE.
Perhaps by James Wyatt.

that promises to prolong life to a thousand years, and with equal justice may the lexicographer be derided, who being able to produce no example of a nation that has preserved their words and phrases from mutation, shall imagine that his dictionary can embalm his language, and secure it from corruption and decay, that it is in his power to change sublunary nature, or clear the world at once from folly, vanity, and affectation.

"With this hope, however, academies have been instituted, to guard the avenues of their languages, to retain fugitives and repulse intruders; but their vigilance and activity have hitherto been vain; sounds are too volatile and subtle for legal restraints; to enchain syllables, and to lash the wind, are equally the undertakings of pride, unwilling to measure its desires by its strength."

Robert Adam at Syon showed himself to be a master of decoration and of internal architecture—a "Rex Romanus" who was, in the best sense, "super grammaticam."

NOTES TO CHAPTER XIV.

¹ Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delany. Edited, Lady Llanover, 8vo, London, 1862. Vol. IV, page 181. A footnote dated Sept. 12th, 1768, has another version. "The entertainment . . . was remarkably grand; an inexpressible variety of emblematical devices were illuminated with more than 1,500 lamps, and the temple erected in the inner court was ornamented with transparent paintings that had a very happy effect." See also page 188.

² Vol. vii, page 231. Walpole says, October 10th, 1768, that a new road, paddock and bridge were made "as other people make a dessert," for the reception of the King of Denmark.

³ Sir Hugh Smithson (1715-86), first Duke of Northumberland, of third creation. Married Elizabeth Seymour, heiress of the Percy property. She was daughter of Algernon Earl of Hertford, and seventh Duke of Somerset, who, on the death of his father in 1748, was created Baron Warkworth of Warkworth Castle in Northumberland, and Earl of Northumberland with special remainder in default to Sir Hugh Smithson (1766). Dodgson's "Environs," 1761, says Algernon soon after his accession gave Syon to his daughter and son-in-law,

as above, and that they altered the gardens and removed the old terrace, etc., and "also made many considerable alterations in the apartments of the East Front over the Long Gallery," and mentions that he is proposing to make others, which would be the work about to be begun by Robert Adam.

⁴ "Memoirs of a Traveller now in retirement," 12mo, 5 vols., 1806. Vol. III, page 97. Dutens was of French origin.

^{4A} H. W. Letters, Vol. IV, page 52, and Vol. III, page 128.

⁵ It is not unlikely that this change had already been made.

⁶ In the Victoria and Albert Museum is a large-scale elevation of the "Porter's Lodge," which seems to be evidence that these gate-houses are by Adam; there is no date on the drawing, but it is in the usual manner.

⁷ "Eccentricities of John Edwin," 1791, Vol. II, page 249.

⁸ At Luton for the Marquess Bute. In the garden seat for the Duke of Montagu at Richmond, etc.

⁹ June, 1773. Mrs. Boscawen writes to Mrs. Delany of a visit to Syon. "Exceedingly entertained with what I saw within doors." Mrs. Delany, Vol. IV.

¹⁰ H. W. Letters, Vol. VI, page 111.

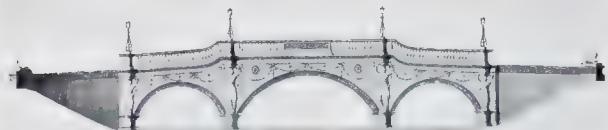
^{10A} H. W. Letters, Vol. VIII, page 313.

¹¹ Adam's date for the work is 1769. Coade's Catalogue, 1784, refers to the decay of the ornaments of this screen and lays stress on the fact that "Coade Stone" is "a burnt artificial stone." Probably, therefore, the Adam (Liardet) oil cement was originally used, and various parts have since been replaced in a pale biscuit-coloured terra-cotta.



Robert Adam, architect, 1768. E. Rooker, sculpt.

PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE BRIDGE AT SYON.



Robert Adam, architect, 1768.

T. Miller, sculpt.

Spans 23 ft. and 15 ft. 6 ins. Rise 10 ft. 3 ins. and 8 ft. 3 ins. Roadway 15 ft. 9 ins. + 2 ft. 6 in. footways.

GEOMETRICAL ELEVATION OF A BRIDGE PROPOSED TO BE BUILT OVER THE RIVER IN THE GARDEN AT SYON.

PART II. CHAPTER XV.

OSTERLEY PARK, MIDDLESEX.

FOR MR. ROBERT CHILD; NOW THE SEAT OF THE EARL OF JERSEY.

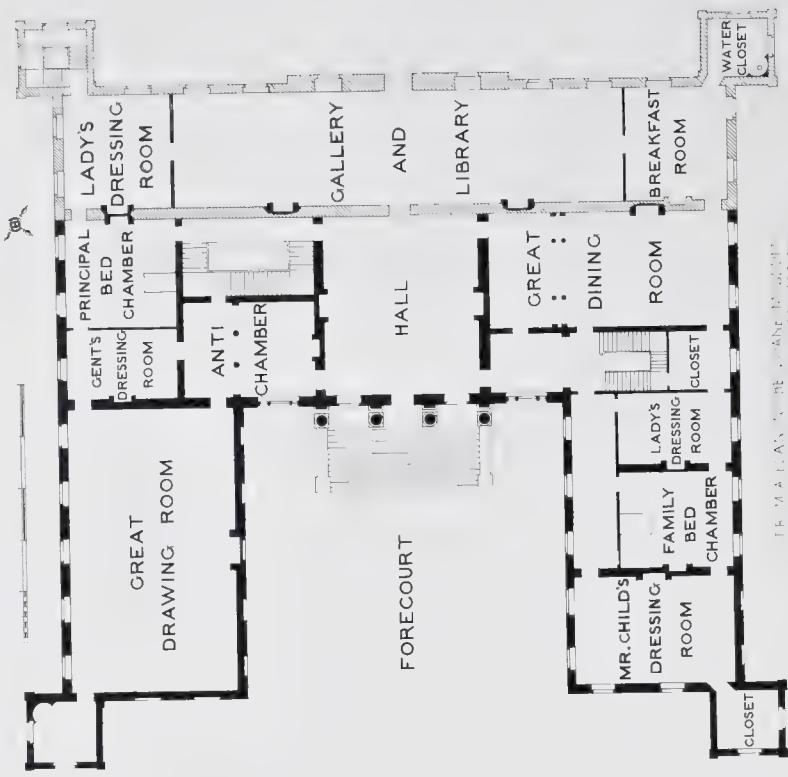
On Friday we went to see—oh, the palace of palaces!—and yet a palace *sans crown, sans coronet*, but such expense! such taste! such profusion! and yet half an acre produces all the rents that furnish such magnificence. It is a Jaghire got without a crime. In short, a shop¹ is the estate, and Osterley Park is the spot. The old house I have often seen, which was built by Sir Thomas Gresham²; but it is so improved and enriched, that all the Percies and Seymours of Sion must die of envy. There is a double portico that fills the space between the towers of the front, and is as noble as the Propyleum of Athens. There is a hall, library, breakfast room, eating room, all *chefs d'œuvre* of Adam, a gallery 130 feet long and a drawing room worthy of Eve before the Fall. Mrs. Child's³ dressing room is full of pictures, gold filigree, china, and japan. So is all the house; the chairs are taken from antique lyres, and make charming harmony; there are Salvators, Gaspar Poussins, and to a beautiful staircase, a ceiling by Rubens. Not to mention a kitchen-garden that costs £1,400 a year, a menagerie full of birds that come from a thousand islands, which Mr. Banks has not yet discovered: and then, in the drawing room I mentioned, there are doorcases, and a crimson and gold frieze, that I believe were borrowed from the Palace of the Sun; and then the Park—is the ugliest spot of ground in the universe—and so I returned comforted to Strawberry. You shall see these wonders the first time you come to Twickenham.

It would be difficult to improve upon this lively account of a visit to Osterley, addressed to the Countess of Upper Ossory by the great letter writer from Arlington Street, and dated



"THE PROPYLEUM OF OSTERLEY," BY ROBERT ADAM.
This portico approach to the inner courtyard leads to the doorway of the entrance hall.

PLAN OF THE PRINCIPAL STORY OF OSTERLEY HOUSE
IN MIDDLESEX ONE OF THE SEATS OF FRANCIS CHILD ESQ.
ROBERT ADAM ARCHITECT 1761



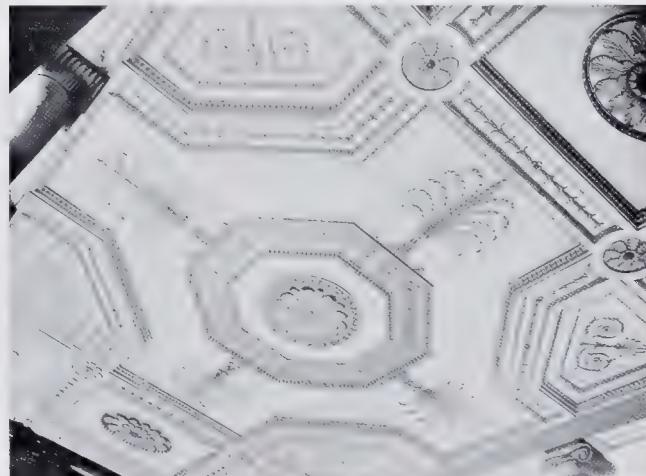
THE MASTERS OF THE HOUSE
ARE AS FOLLOWS
FRANCIS CHILD
FRANCIS CHILD
FRANCIS CHILD



VIEW FROM THE INNER COURTYARD LOOKING OUTWARDS THROUGH THE PORTICO.

June 21st, 1773, and we cannot be too grateful for a first-hand account of Robert Adam's achievement at the very moment when it was just fresh and still uncompleted.

The account needs corroboration and some adjustment, however, for Walpole was a very general critic and did not always fully understand what he set out to describe. No one would imagine, for instance, from this account that at the time of the critic's visit Adam's scheme had been in hand over ten years. The only remaining Adam plan is dated 1761. The work itself, moreover, to a more experienced eye would have revealed the fact; for, whereas some of the rooms have the character of the earlier parts of Syon, of Shardeloes and of Compton Verney, the later interiors belong in style to the next decade. Horace Walpole's first reference to his neighbours, the Childs, occurs on October 3rd, 1763,³⁴ when he writes to George Montagu: "I felt shocked, as you did, to think how



THE SOFFIT OF THE PORTICO.

suddenly the prospect of joy at Osterley was dashed after our seeing it. However, the young lover died handsomely. (Francis Child, Banker, M.P. for Bishop's Castle.) £50,000 will dry tears, that at most could be but two months old. His brother, I heard, has behaved still more handsomely, and confirmed the legacy, and added from himself the diamonds that had been prepared for her—here is a charming wife ready for anybody that likes a sentimental situation, a pretty woman and a large fortune."

Mrs. Toynbee's note tells us that the lady was the Hon.

Maria Constantia Hampden, the only daughter of the fourth Baron Trevor (afterwards Viscount Hampden). She married in 1764 Henry Howard, twelfth Earl of Suffolk, and died in 1767.

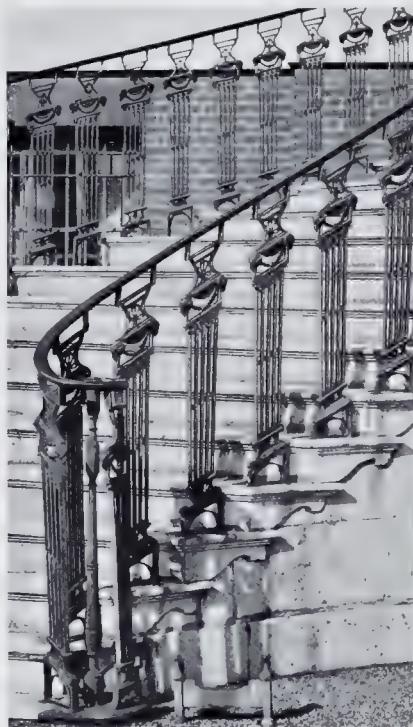
The work at Osterley must have been well in hand before this, but had evidently not come under Walpole's notice. In 1767 Adam was



OSTERLEY, AS SEEN FROM THE GARDEN, SOUTH FRONT.



DOORWAY TO ENTRANCE HALL, NORTH FRONT.



BALUSTRADE TO GARDEN STAIRCASE.



THE EATING-ROOM SIDEBOARD, 1767.



THE ENTRANCE HALL.



DETAIL OF ALCOVE IN ENTRANCE HALL.



THE GALLERY.

designing mirrors for the drawing-room, and a sideboard for the dining-room. In 1775 a period of great activity follows, when the State bedroom and the Etruscan room on the eastern side of the house were evidently taken in hand. A reference to the plan will show how Walpole's first visit stops short at the drawing-room, whereas, when writing on July 16th, 1778, to the Rev. W. Mason, he is describing on this second visit a new suite of rooms situated beyond the drawing-room.

The first account, however, enumerates "a Breakfast Room," and "Mrs. Child's Dressing Room," which can only be placed on the principal floor by assuming that the gallery was not at that time 130ft. long, but had beyond it a room at either end, as is, in fact, shown on Adam's first plan. The gallery itself would thus be 86ft. in length, but with centre doorways as shown, the full dimension from end to end might easily be mistaken by a visitor like Walpole for that of the gallery taken by itself. Walpole's second account, on July 16th, 1778, is as follows:³ⁿ

Mr. Nicholls and I, went last week to see the new apartment at Osterley Park. The first chamber, a Drawing Room, not a large one, is the most superb and beautiful that can be conceived, and hung with Gobelin tapestry, and enriched by Adam in his best taste, except that he has stuck diminutive heads in bronze, no bigger than a half crown, into the chimneypiece's hair. The next is a light plain green velvet Bedchamber. The bed is of green satin richly embroidered with colours, and with eight columns; too theatric, and too like a modern head-dress, for round the outside of the dome are festoons of artificial flowers. What would Vitruvius⁴ think of a dome decorated by a milliner? The last chamber after these two proud rooms, chills you; it is called the Etruscan, and is painted all over like Wedgwood's ware,⁵ with black and yellow small grotesques. Even the chairs are of painted wood. It would be a pretty waiting room in a garden. I never saw such a profound tumble in to the Bathos. It is going out of a palace into a potter's field. Tapestry, carpets, glass, velvet, satin, are all attributes of winter. There could be no excuse for such a cold termination, but its containing a cold bath next to the bedchamber: and it is called taste to join these incongruities! I hope I have put you in a passion.

This amusing account would be spoilt if taken too seriously. The novelty of the Etruscan room startles the critic into bathos himself. The room is really very attractive and the ceiling, in particular, is a delightful piece of work. The door panel decorations are apparently painted on paper, mounted on the wood. They are now very wisely protected by glass. Many of the ceiling paintings, by Angelica Kauffmann and others at this period, were painted on drawing paper and pasted in position. It was thus possible for the lady artist to paint her decorative works in her own studio. The fireplace opening was originally provided with a decorative chimney-board painted in the style of the room. A drawing by Adam for this movable panel is preserved in the

Soane Collection. The decorations of the Etruscan room are wonderfully preserved after nearly a century and a half of use, and are now, I believe, the only remaining example of the style.

Walpole in this second account does not refer again to the rooms which he saw on the previous occasion, and we may very well assume that the hall and other rooms had not been altered since he last saw them.

Every visitor will be struck at once with the general resemblance of Osterley to Syon, of which, indeed, it might be regarded, architecturally speaking, as a miniature, though the differences are very important. As the State rooms are of one storey, instead of two, the internal effect at Osterley is one of breadth rather than of height, the latter quality predominating at Syon.



THE STAIRCASE : ORIGINAL ADAM LAMPS.

Both houses have half basements, but the vital difference is that at Osterley, as Adam was forming the courtyard, he was enabled to raise its level to that of the main entrance, thus obtaining a grand approach through a great atrium of columns, reached by a massive flight of twenty steps.

It is the Shardeloes portico transformed into an integral portion of the house, or, if you will, the Compton Verney screen of columns, rendered three times as effective by being brought forward to the front face of the added wings of the forecourt. The ceiling of the great portico or loggia exhibits a fine treatment after the Shardeloes manner, based on a large octagon. This unique soffit is, of course, very well seen from the ground level at the foot of the great flight of steps.

The external casing of Osterley in red brick and the universal insertion of sash windows give to the whole the appearance of being all of one period, but the architect will hardly doubt that the southern block is the older structure recased as shown on Adam's first plan, even if the level of the principal rooms has been raised, as would appear to be the case from the ground to that of the original first floor.

It depends upon the interpretation to be placed upon a measured elevation of the old façade which has been preserved by chance with the other Adam drawings. From this it appears that

the Elizabethan front had already been semi-modernised. A cornice, noted as plain, had been put between the towers with a central pediment. The irregularity of the windows, moreover, as shown on this drawing, and a break in the floor levels reveal the traces of still earlier alterations. It should be noted that this earlier house was entered on the level on the south side, so that the main floor must have been lifted up since this survey drawing was made.

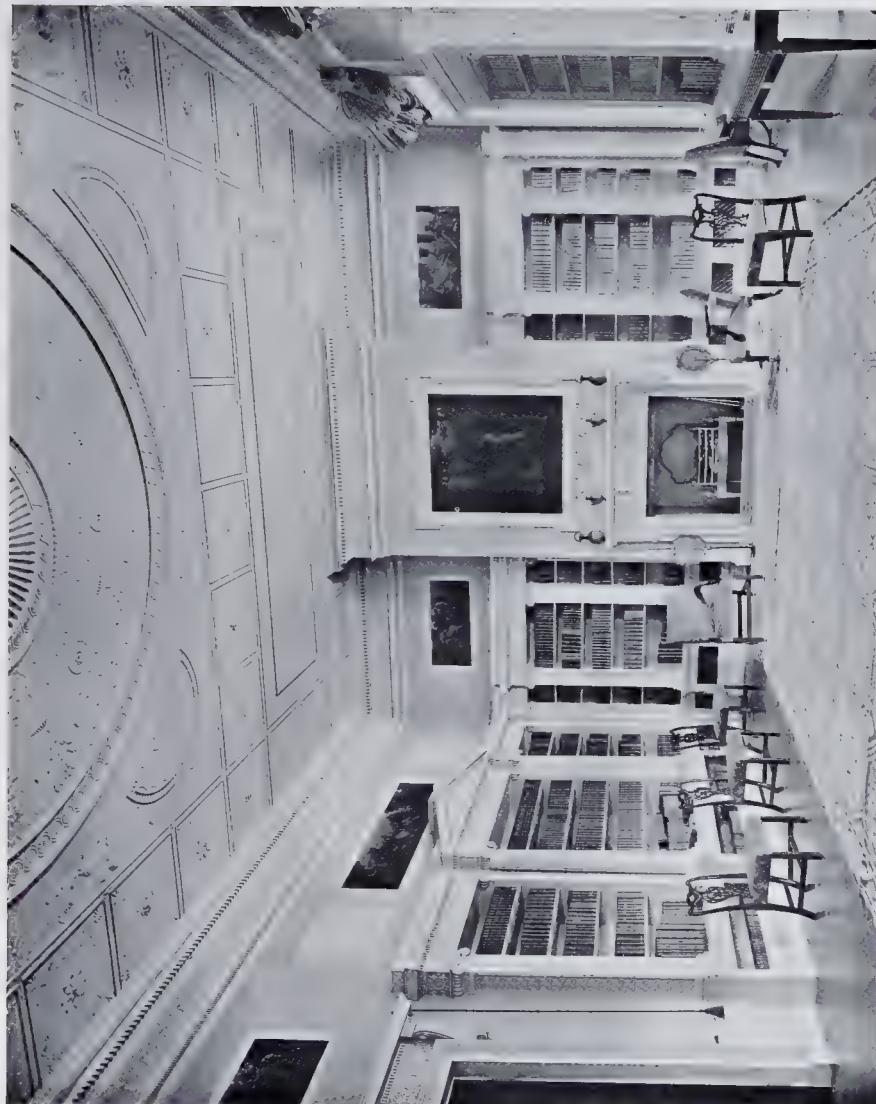
Norden, writing in 1596, notes, "Osterley,



CEILING OF THE EARLIER ADAM TYPE, 1767.



DRAWING-ROOM BY ROBERT ADAM, 1767.



THE LIBRARY.

the house nowe of the Lady Gresham, a faire and stately building of bricke erected by Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight, Citizen, and Marchant adventurer of London and finished about anno 1577. It standeth in a Park by him also impaled, well wooded and furnished with manie faire ponds. . . . In the same parke was a faire heronie, for the increase and preservation whereof sundry allurements were devised and set up, fallen all to ruine."

It appears that Gresham also established oil, corn and paper mills in the park.

Lady Mary Grey, sister of Lady Jane, was here as a State prisoner. She died in 1578. Sir William Waller was at Osterley in 1657, where he died in 1668.

Mr. Francis Child, who purchased the property in 1714, is described as rebuilding the house which, as we have just shown, was probably only in part the case. In more modern times there was a fire at Osterley (1872), after which it was restored.

Osterley Park, built in red brick, with Portland stone angle rustics, and corner towers crowned with the old type of ogee-shaped leaden roofs, retains a homely English character in spite of the great Palladian portico, with its lofty podium and impracticable ascent of steps. It is all very simple and distinguished in appearance. The present lead finials of the towers appear dull in outline, for the earlier tradition of these features had been entirely lost. The roofs and chimneys are hardly seen and do not count in the general effect of the whole.

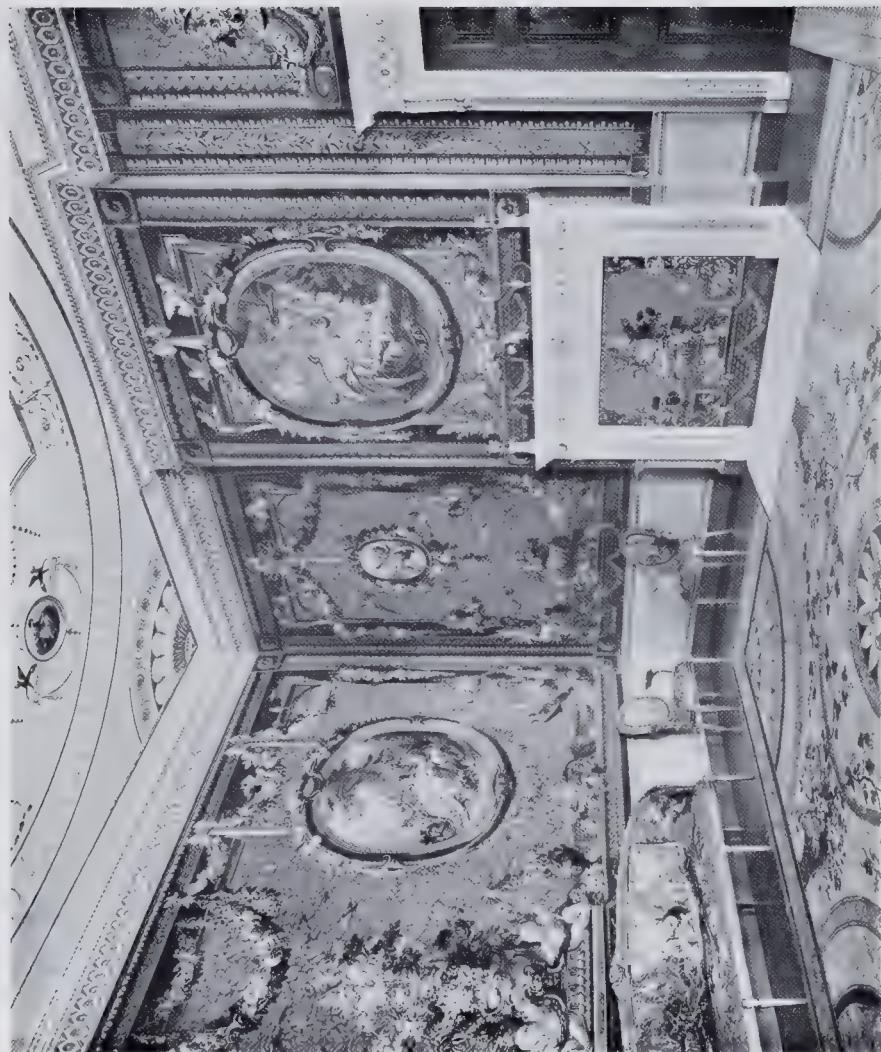
On the south side the centre doorway, which is more massive than is usual with Robert Adam, might, perhaps, be a survival. The great flight of steps on this side, with the metal balustrading, is, however, very characteristic. Adam intended to use similar ironwork on the exterior stairways at Nostell. The type proposed was also employed on the staircase at 20, St. James's Square. Under the landing of this stairway at Osterley is a charming little grotto with a segmental domed vault and niches.

GIRANDOLES IN THE GALLERY, 1770 DESIGN, ALTERNATED WITH UPRIGHT PIER GLASSES BETWEEN THE WINDOWS.

It has suffered from damp and there is no trace now of what is shown in the drawing made by Adam; his stucco ornament, however, is still there under the later whitewash.

Inside the quadrangle the stone doorway to the hall is quite in Adam's own style. Re-entering the house by the basement side door, which is the entrance in daily use, a small lower hall gives access to the foot of the principal staircase. This has a screen of two tiers of columns and pilasters of the type seen in the staircase of Lansdowne House. The balustrading is good Adam ironwork, quite simple in character. An octagonal ceiling painting fills up the entire soffit at the head of the staircase. It was brought from a former house that belonged to Mr. Child in





THE TAPESTRY ROOM, BOUCHER-NEILSON GOBELINS HANGINGS.

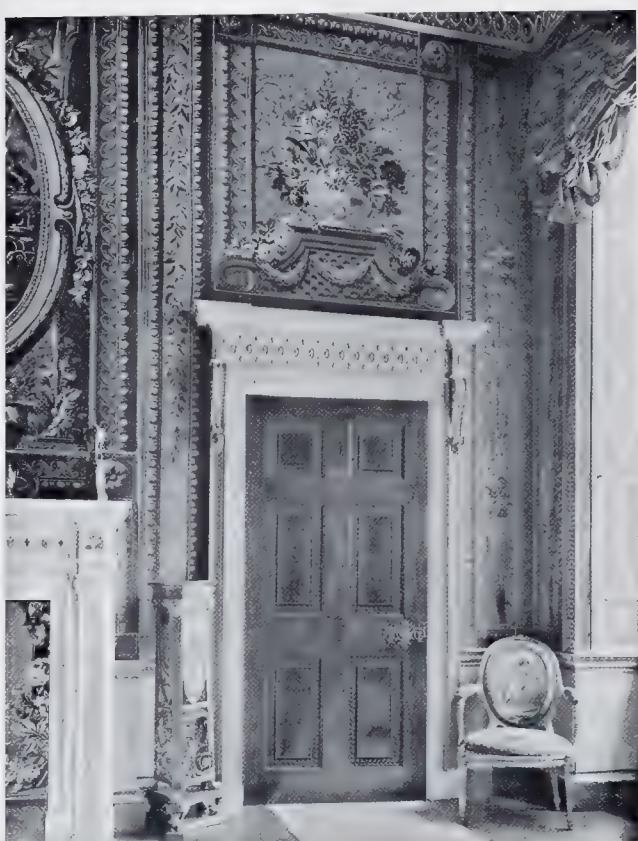
Leicester Square; it represents an apotheosis of William of Orange by Rubens. There are three hanging lamps of brass in the intercolumniations, which correspond with an Adam design.

The library, on the left, is a long room with four windows and two end fireplaces. It is in the early Adam manner with white painted Ionic pilastered bookcases, without doors, above

which are painted pictures in frames forming a frieze of panels. The ceiling, however, is in the lowest of Adam relief, all very flatly panelled, with a centre circle and four quadrant fans. The deep window recesses are shuttered and treated as at Syon, with a vertical band of ornamentation.

On the marble mantelpieces are original Wedgwood vases with subjects in colour on a black ground. The steel grates and fenders are Adam in design. There is an original spinet in mahogany, very attractive to the lover of old musical instruments. The design of the bookcases leads up to the fuller treatment of the Nostell library.

In the dining-room, on the right of the staircase, is a fireplace which has a bolder Doric columned mantelpiece of marble. The vases here again are all of black Wedgwood. The ceiling is of the ivy and thyrus design as used in the



TAPESTRY ROOM, DETAIL OF DOOR TO BEDROOM.

Adam tripod for lamp, November 13, 1776.

earlier "eating room" at Shardeloes, and the walls are panelled and arabesqued in stucco after the same style. The main panels are filled with two large Zucchi landscapes of ruins, better grouped and more effective than we have seen elsewhere. In one, the architectural scenario, after the old Roman manner, surrounds a circular pond, in which bathers are disporting themselves, and the scheme is well treated within the conventions of the old classical school of landscape. It is more than likely that many of these scenes are based on sketches by Robert Adam himself.

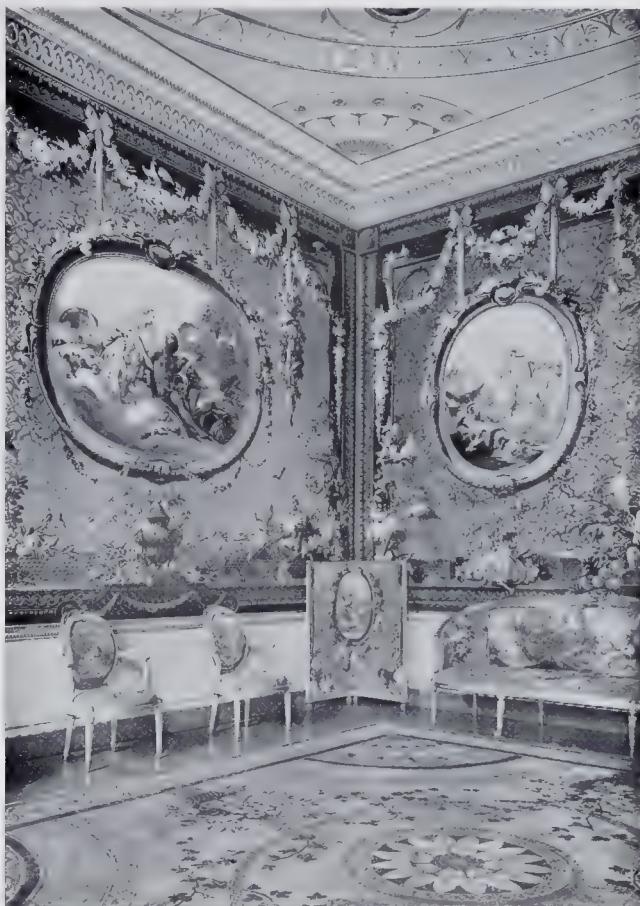
The two gold tables of Adam design, with mosaic slabs composed in minute cubes, are interesting. Over them are specimens of his oval girandoles, of which Osterley has preserved so many examples. The sideboard has a gilt framework, with polished mahogany top, while the pedestals and urns that flank it are in white and gold. The chairs have the lyre backs, noticed by Walpole, and they certainly deserved the special praise he gives them.

Through this dining-room is the chief vista in the house. There are two cross-vaulted lobbies to the hall, occupying the depth of the apses, which are well designed and decorated.

This hall is so spacious that it is rather low in height, and therefore would not allow of a full development in the treatment of the apses. Adam, therefore, has wisely refrained from his usual screen of columns. The apses have octagonal coffers in five tiers with a fan at the top. There are two chiaroscuro panels over the mantels, which latter are of stone, now painted white. The walls are divided into bays by pilasters, whose capitals display an Adam design of flutes and leaves. They are early examples of what he has done better elsewhere. The four main wall panels between these pilasters exhibit groups of arms and armour, but without the cupids that diversify the larger examples at Syon. The ceiling is plain, and treated with an oval centre and patera in a flat semi-Shardeloes style. For the earlier work at Osterley Adam does not seem to have had such good executants as at Syon, but in the later rooms the delicacy of execution, if anything, goes beyond all former examples. The fine mahogany doors here and elsewhere in the house are solidly framed and carved, in most cases with bands of fluting. The wood settle benches have ram's-head legs and are painted white. There are four marble vases, probably brought from Italy, on white painted pedestals. The floor is of stone in a pattern of white and purple.

It would be convenient to pass over Adam's share of the gallery. As we have already seen, it is not an easy problem. The probabilities are that he contented himself, as in so many cases, with the decoration and furniture, and that, if he altered and added to the interior, he followed what he found already existing. There must have been much early Georgian work in the house, because the steward's room in the present basement is completely panelled in the late Wren style.

The gallery ceiling is quite plain, the cornice of the room, a full entablature, is Early Georgian in type, as are also the architraves of the windows and the chair rail. The Trajan column leaf pattern, for instance, is largely used. The two chimneypieces look like designs by Sir William Chambers, executed by Wilton, the sculptor,⁶ who, we know, did, in fact, make a very bad design for a chimneypiece at Osterley, which Adam must have firmly declined. The Wilton drawing shows a sort of Hercules's skin treatment on the lines of those which surround



CORNER OF THE TAPESTRY ROOM.

Adam furniture, etc., 1775-76.

Wren's bull's-eye windows in the fountain quadrangle of Hampton Court. The door-cases of the gallery are designed to suit the general style of the room. The doors have raised bevel panels which are not characteristic, and the egg and tongue mouldings of the shutter panelling are quite unlike Robert Adam's own work. It is something more than a question of clumsy execution. The numerous gilt mirrors, however, are undoubtedly Adam work, as from 1767 onwards he made a number of designs for these wall decorations. Osterley contains, of course, much Adam furniture, many door fittings, grates and lamp standards.

Leaving this gallery with its compromises, we come to the drawing-room, and get back at once to an early Adam ceiling of between 1766 and 1773. This is based on a coffering of octagons in flat relief, set diagonally, two in width at the sides and three at the ends, the great middle panel being a large oval with long feathers radiating from a centre. It is quite in the early Shardeloes manner, particularly so by reason of the bulging oval pateræ, suggestive of anemones on the sea shore. The decoration is in pink, blue and gold, lavishly applied to the enrichments of the octagonal coffering.

The original carpet, in which, however, the blue is much faded, carries on the scheme. There are good doors and rich Adam shutters to the windows. The white marble mantel has short consoles and a centre tablet with a circle and two sphinxes.

The frieze in this room, which tells as a gilded lacework on a rich ground, is the one that caught the attention of Walpole. There is a fine portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, of the Mr. Child who built the house. He is represented as dressed in a red coat and carrying a gun. There is a smaller head of the same hanging next to, and balancing, a portrait of Mrs. Child.

Two full lengths by Romney in the gallery splendidly portray the fortunate lovers, Miss Child⁷ and the young Lord Westmor-

CEILING OF THE TAPESTRY ROOM, BY ROBERT ADAM, 1775-77.

land, with whom she eloped from the house in Berkeley Square. The story goes that the groom, sent on the best hunter in advance of the irate father in a post-chaise, overtook the fugitives near Baldock in Herts, on their way to Gretna Green. Miss Child had initiative and urged her lover to shoot, and the dead hunter is unkindly reported to have been a severer loss than the defaulting daughter. However, it turned out well in the end, and Walpole, writing with unusual gentleness on November 14th, 1793, to Miss Berry, shall finish the story : "So is a happy beauty at the top of her prosperity, Lady Westmoreland. The Doylies told me of her danger two days ago. I am sorry for her ; I knew her a little before she went to Ireland . . . and liked her good humour, as well as admired her great beauty ; but there is no moralising more on change of fortune after the enormous excess of it in the case of the Queen of France. Adieu!"

Mr. Child's death is also noted in a letter from Horace Walpole, dated August 4th, 1782. Robert Adam prepared four designs for his monument which, however, are not dated. The Child monument is in the adjacent church at Heston. Mrs. Child re-married, and our letter writer reports to Miss Berry on January 2nd, 1791,⁸ as follows : "It is declared that Mrs. Child is going to marry Lord Ducie ; and as they are both fifty, nobody can have any objection if they have not



themselves. She gives him £10,000 and they are to live on her £20,000 a year from the shop, and she reserves in her own power £70,000 that she has saved : my Lord laying up his estate for his two sons." (Hon. Thomas, and Hon. Augustus John Reynolds-Moreton. The former succeeded his father, and was created Earl of Ducie. Mrs. Toynebee's note.)

The whole property was vested in Lord Westmorland's eldest daughter who seems to have been six years old at the time (1793) when Walpole was writing his local news to Miss Berry.

The tapestry room is deserving of all the enthusiastic praise that Walpole bestows upon it. It has one of the four sets of the Boucher-Neilson Gobelin wall hangings that will be described later on in the account of Newby. The ripe plum colour of the ground of this set gives a singularly rich effect to the room.⁹ Robert Adam has contrived his setting of architectural detail and distributed the tones of his colour in the happiest way. The whole work is lace-like and delicate in the extreme, devised with a fine sense of what would accord with the woven wall hangings. The white marble mantel is inlaid in coloured cements which have faded somewhat as in other instances of similar work. The chimney-board is covered with a tapestry panel of a basket of flowers to match the wall hangings. The ceiling is a fine design, a circle with an inner octagon set in a scheme of four reversed curves, each of which contains a delicate medallion. The corners are filled in with fans, and there is a great play of invention in the whole design, which is further reflected in the carpet that still exists. The door-cases, which Horace Walpole singles out for mention, are in green, gold and pink. There are two fine tripod stands, and the furniture, of course, is all to match. The frieze designs are, as executed, rather small in scale.

The State bedroom, in common with the whole suite, is rather small in point of size, and the great bed is perhaps rather overpowering. It is a magnificent structure, with its domed interior, every part being worked out to Robert Adam's own designs. A special carpet was made, the drawing for which shows with precision the exact position of the bed columns. The counterpane is very elaborate. It is rather difficult to judge the



GLASS FRAME FOR THE BEDCHAMBER AT OSTERLEY, 1775

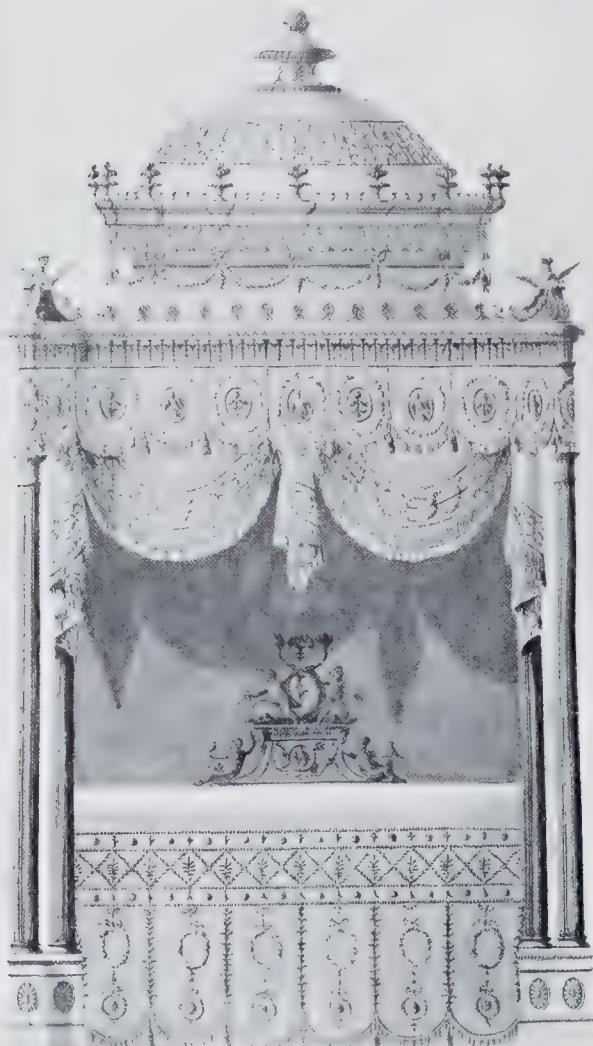
original effect of the colouring of this room. The green velvet walls no doubt gave a key to which everything was adjusted. Mrs. P. L. Powys, in her visit, notices "One room called the English Bedchamber, as all the furniture is English; a bed embroidered on apple green satin, a large pier glass, the first plate made in England, etc."

The Adam bedstead and bed cover designs are dated 1775-77. This must, in the case of the house, have marked the completion of the work, but we find drawings for conservatories dated as late as 1780. Robert Adam's connection with the family extended, therefore, over twenty years, and is one which reflects immense credit on architect and client alike.

The work-bag designed by Adam for Mrs. Child in 1776, and the fire screen between that date and 1779, seem to show in a peculiar way the happy relationship that must have existed throughout with the Child family.

The work at Osterley shows the same fidelity to Adam's designs that we have seen elsewhere. The friezes to the rooms, for instance, agree exactly with the designs entered in Vol. LIII, as belonging to the various rooms at Osterley.

In some of the earlier work here, particularly in the case of the furniture, the design is much better than the actual achievement. Robert Adam had considerable difficulty at times, in his early works, of getting the craftsmen to follow his ideas, and some of the figure work, in particular, suffers in consequence from indifferent executants. The Etruscan room¹⁰ contains some of the best work at Osterley. Adam in one of his "Prefaces," when explaining his ideas on the subject of Etruscan decoration, quotes Osterley as one of the instances where he had carried out such work. Inasmuch as the work in his Etruscan manner at Lord Derby's house in Grosvenor Square, which he particularly illustrates in the "Works," no longer exists, it is to Osterley that we must turn in order to appreciate



ORIGINAL ADAM DRAWING FOR THE BED, 1775-77 PERIOD.



THE BEDCHAMBER, WITH THE FAMOUS ADAM BED.

Adam chair in gold and green, April 24th, 1777.

his actual performance.¹⁰ Robert Adam's explanation of his Etruscan designs as used at Osterley and elsewhere is as follows (Part I, 1779, Vol. IIA, "The Works in Architecture of R. & J. Adam"):

From this number, (Derby House, Grosvenor Square) persons of taste will, no doubt, observe, that a mode of Decoration has been here attempted, which differs from any thing hitherto practised in Europe; for, although the style of the ornament, and the colouring of the Countess of Derby's dressing-room, are both evidently imitated from the vases and urns of the Etruscans, yet we have not been able to discover, either in our researches into antiquity, or in the works of modern artists, any idea of applying this taste to the decoration of apartments.

Besides our own inquiries into the architectonic antiquities and modern edifices of Italy, which we imagine were made at more expense, and with more assiduity and attention, than any that were ever attempted before, we have consulted Montfaucon, Count Caylus,¹¹ Count Passeri,¹² Father Gori, and the whole collection of antiquarians who have treated of those matters, without finding a single circumstance that hints at, or alludes to, any such style of decoration.

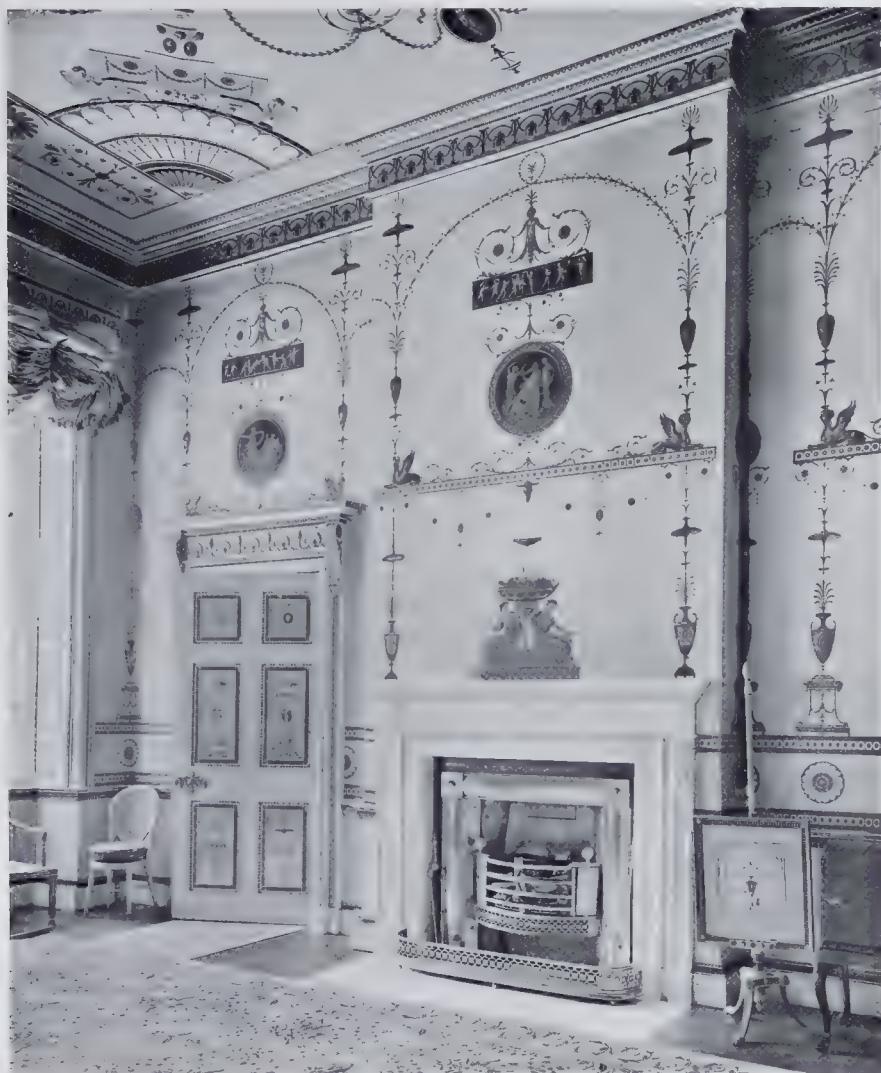
When we consider this fact with attention, we cannot help thinking it extremely singular. There is surely nothing better ascertained from historical authority, than that the Romans borrowed, not only many of their customs, their civil institutions, and religious ceremonies, but also their first knowledge of every art and science, from their ancient and ingenious neighbours, the Etruscans.



THE ETRUSCAN ROOM.
Adam chans, March 6th, 1776.

To enter into any discussion of this subject, would be foreign to our purpose, and would swell out our note beyond its proper bounds. Those, therefore, of our Readers, who are desirous of being more fully informed, must consult the learned works of the authors mentioned in our former note; as also those of Dempster, "de Etrur Regal;" Cluverius's "Ital. Antiq.," the Marquis Scipio Maffei, and Francesco Mariani, *passim*.¹³

Long before their acquaintance with the Greeks, the Romans had derived from Etruria such information as enabled them



DETAIL OF THE ETRUSCAN ROOM.

to make a very considerable progress in many branches of architecture . . . The Etruscans by their laws and constitution, gave all possible encouragement to the polite arts and to artists. . . .

They had an admirable quarry of marble near Luna (thought to be that of Carrara), and were famous, from the most remote antiquity, for their skill in architecture and masonry. . . . To them, and not to the Greeks, Tarquin applied for artists, when he determined to build a temple to Jupiter Tarpeius. . . . Atria, or courts, were first used by the Etruscans. . . . By them the Doric Epistylum was first invented, as we learn from Leo Bapt. Alberti. . . . The noblest amphitheatres in the world were those of the Etruscans. . . . And, lastly, to them the Romans were indebted for

that Order which still bears their name ; but which, in point of proportion, beauty, and elegance, is so far excelled by the Doric, which it most resembles, that we have refused it a place in our list of Orders.

This accounts for the great and masterly style in which they planned and constructed their public works from the most early period. The famous *Cloaca maxima*, or great common sewer, with its well constructed stone arches, of which surprising remains are to be seen at this day, was built for Tarquin I, the fifth King of Rome. The grandeur of this work was never so well understood, says the Marquis Maffei, as when it came to be repaired and cleansed, for which the Censors paid a thousand talents.

We learn too, from good authority, that the elegant manufacture of earthenware was early established among the Etruscans, particularly in the city of Arctium, now Arezzo.

That the Romans must have been well acquainted with this taste during the whole course of their greatness is almost certain, from the vast number of beautiful vases and urns which have been found in every part of Italy within these three centuries, and which now adorn both the public collections and the private cabinets of the curious all over Europe.

It is nevertheless remarkable, that neither in Adrian's villa, where so much attention was paid to elegance and variety, nor in the Cryptae of Rome, or of Baia, nor in any part of Herculaneum or Pompeia, has any fragment been yet produced of interior decoration, executed in the taste now before us.

While Robert Adam was perfectly right and before his age in appreciating the Etruscan background to Roman achievement, it is not necessary to take his documented disquisition on the Etruscans too seriously.

He had got hold of a new idea, the use of suggestions from Etruscan vases for internal decoration, but, like all inventive artists, he put his own interpretation upon it, and he took, moreover, what he felt to be the easiest way of reconciling his own age to a novelty.

Talk about the Etruscans was very useful, no doubt, with the hesitating patrons of antiquity, though it failed to conciliate Horace Walpole. It would have been better for that critic's reputation if he had seen Robert Adam's inventiveness in its true light. There was a scheme of colour as well as of design in Robert Adam's mind, which he was here putting to the proof. He had already been experimenting in yellows and chocolate browns, with lines of crimson red, as in the scagliola floor of the ante-room at Syon.

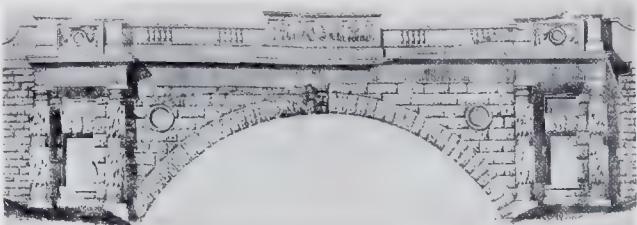
It is to be noted that, apart from this casual mention, the work at Osterley does not appear at all in the "Works." Moreover, the numerous drawings in the Soane Collection do not anything like cover the ground. All the main drawings of the house are wanting. (Refer to note at end.)

Of buildings outside the house and in the grounds at Osterley, there are the two conservatories of 1780, one a simple Doric orangery with wooden columns and large sash windows, and the other a very graceful structure, half circular in plan. This latter is a reduced version of the original design in the Soane Collection, which is still more elaborate. It is built up from the Venetian idea of large arched windows with narrow intervals. The arches with their intervals fill in



THE DISUSED BRIDGE.

the great sweep of the curve which finishes satisfactorily at either end with a solid mass. The scale is not large, under 9ft. to the top of the impost cornice of the arches. The chord is 35ft. across inside, and the radius is about 15ft.



ORIGINAL DRAWING OF BRIDGE BY ROBERT ADAM, FOUND AT OSTERLEY.



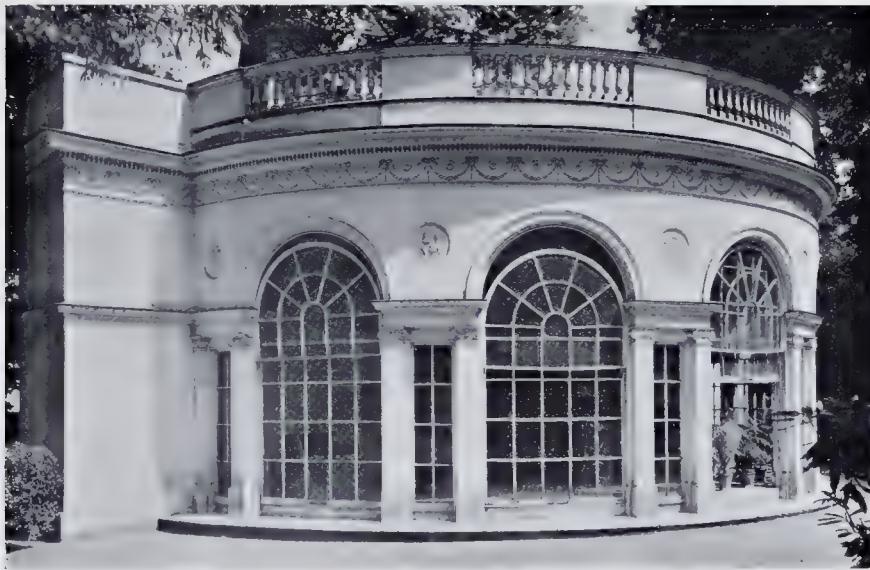
THE CONSERVATORY OR GARDEN ROOM.

The temple which almost faces this greenhouse belongs evidently to the earlier Georgian epoch.

The entrance lodges of 1777 have been transformed, the tea caddies being carried up and enlarged into a pair of cottages, with more regard to the comfort of the inmates than to the style of the original.

The bridge is a picturesque ruin and entirely disused, the road to it being all grassed over. It seems to have been undertaken to afford better outlet towards London for Mr. Child's use. There is no date to the original design, but it was, no doubt, a late work, and Mr. Child's death may have had something to do with its probable early disuse.

This brief account of the glories of Osterley Park will show that, as Walpole predicted, it rivals Syon in the list of Robert Adam's achievements.



THE CONSERVATORY.

Osterley, like Syon, is mainly a work of internal decoration and furniture, and its marvellous preservation through some five generations, in spite of all the moods of the moment, that seem so imperative as each new fashion arises in its destructive fury, is a fine testimony to the continuing tradition of family life in England.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XV.

¹ H. W. Letters, T. Ed., Vol. viii, page 291. Francis Child, son of Robert Child of Headington, Wilts, apprenticed 1656. Married Elizabeth only child of Wm. Wheeler. He inherited the banks of Wheeler and of Blanchard, widow Wheeler having married Blanchard. Sir Francis Child, Kt., was Lord Mayor, 1689-99. M.P. for the City in the first Parliament of Queen Anne, died 1713. Second Sir Francis Child died 1740. Francis Child killed himself 1763. Mr. Robert Child was last of the name and head of the Bank. On his death, 1782, Mrs. Sarah Child, the widow, with four partners, traded as Child and Company. See later as to Lord Jersey. (Price's Handbook London Bankers.)

² Estate granted by the Crown. Sir Thos Gresham began to build in 1570 and finished 1577. In 1578, Queen Elizabeth was received there. He died in 1579. The intricate nature of the roofs of the present house, a series of parallel ridges to very narrow spans, together with wide lead flats and gutters, also indicates the survival of parts of the earlier fabric. A fragment of a newspaper of 1767 was found (1921) in the roof over the staircase.

³ Sarah, daughter of Paul Jodrell, married (1) R. Child, (2) Francis Reynolds Moreton, third Baron Ducie. Died, 1793.

⁴ H. W. Letters, Vol. v, page 354

⁵ H. W. Letters, Vol. x page 182

⁶ Robert Adam's easy retort would have been that the semi-amateur representative of militant architecture was a very barren authority on the subject of the domestic interiors of the Greeks and Romans

⁷ H. W. is surely affecting a curious ignorance of Sir Wm. Hamilton's great work on Etruscan vases in thus dragging in Wedgwood.

⁸ Joseph Wilton, R.A., sculptor, born 1711, was son of a plasterwork modeller. To Paris 1744. Italy 1747. Won the Jubilee Medal given by the Pope, while studying in Rome. At Florence lived in Mann's house, working as a sculptor. Returned to London 1755 with Sir W. Chambers (who married his daughter), and Cipriani, a native of Florence. See Mann and Manners by Loran, Vol. i. Joseph Wilton retired 1774, died 1803, age 80.

⁹ Sarah, only child and heiress of Robert Child of Osterley, married, 1782, John Fane, tenth Earl of Westmorland, Lord Westmorland later on, was Viceroys of Ireland. Robert Child died July, 1782. All the money was left to the first daughter of the marriage, Lady Sophia Fane, who on May 23 married George Bussy Villiers, fourth Earl of Jersey (1735-1805). He succeeded his father in 1769.

¹⁰ H. W. Letters, Vol. xv, page 254

¹¹ Towneley Ed. Horace Walpole Letters, Vol. xiv, page 351, and Vol. xii, page 306

¹² "The Gobelins tapestry room is done in wreaths of flowers from nature, in the most elegant taste, and a number of curious birds, formerly in the Menagerie." (Aviary), May 22nd, 1788. Visit by Mrs. P. Lybbe Powys. See page 230, Diaries

¹³ Mrs. P. L. Powys in 1788. "the room called the Etruscan Room all the designs from Herculaneum executed by Berners." Diaries page 230

¹⁴ Adam mentions Derby House as the first, followed by others only named as Home House, Apsley House and Osterley. A later example was at Cumberland House, Pall Mall, and, apparently, there was one at Harwood

¹⁵ Anne Claude Philipe de Tubières (1692-1765). Comte de Caylus. Began life as a soldier and became a writer on Art; left the army to search for Troy. "Antiquaire acariâtre et brusque." In 1758, Horace Walpole was amusing himself with Bentley and Muntz at encaustic painting on the lines of Caylus's discovery of ancient methods. H. W. Letters, Vol. iv, page 185

¹⁶ Passerū Picturæ Etruscorum in Vasculis." Two volumes. Romæ, 1767-75. (Soane Library).

¹⁷ A reference to the contents of Adam's library will show that this is no vain parade of learning. See Paper read before the Bibliographical Society by the author, January 15th, 1917, and reprinted in an edition of 100 copies, 1919

NOTE.—There are about forty Adam drawings at Osterley, nearly all of the first period, and the fine later series of coloured drawings in the Soane Collection are missing at the house. The most important (not in the Soane Collection) are "Design for finishing the Great Hall, 1767" a plan with four elevations on one sheet, and similar ones for the gallery (?), library, and eating parlour. For the proposed bridge there are two designs, which are the finished drawings of which the Soane Collection has only the outlines, so also the coloured drawing of the drawing-room carpet as it exists, which is represented at the Soane Collection only by Robert Adam's original sketch. There is one incomplete plan at Osterley of 1761 showing some preliminary idea of alterations by adding bay windows. The detail drawing for the entrance door to Great Hall, a design for "Pedestal at foot of portico steps," with sphinxes, and a different design to those in the Soane Collection for the drawing room grate, are also all of interest. It is very evident that only a small portion of the great number of Adam drawings made for Osterley has survived, either in the Soane Collection, or at the house.

PART II. CHAPTER XVI.

KENWOOD, HAMPSTEAD, MIDDLESEX.

THE SEAT OF EARL MANSFIELD.

LIVING in an age of intellectual giants, it fell to William Murray to acquire, with universal consent, the title of "The Great Lord Mansfield." Many a visitor to the Statesmen's transept of the Abbey has gazed upon Flaxman's noble monument¹⁴ without perhaps being able to call to mind even an outline of the career of the Highland boy whose arrival in London took place in May, 1719. Then in his fourteenth year, he had journeyed up from Perth on the back of a "Galloway," which was thereupon sold to meet his expenses. The anti-Scottish

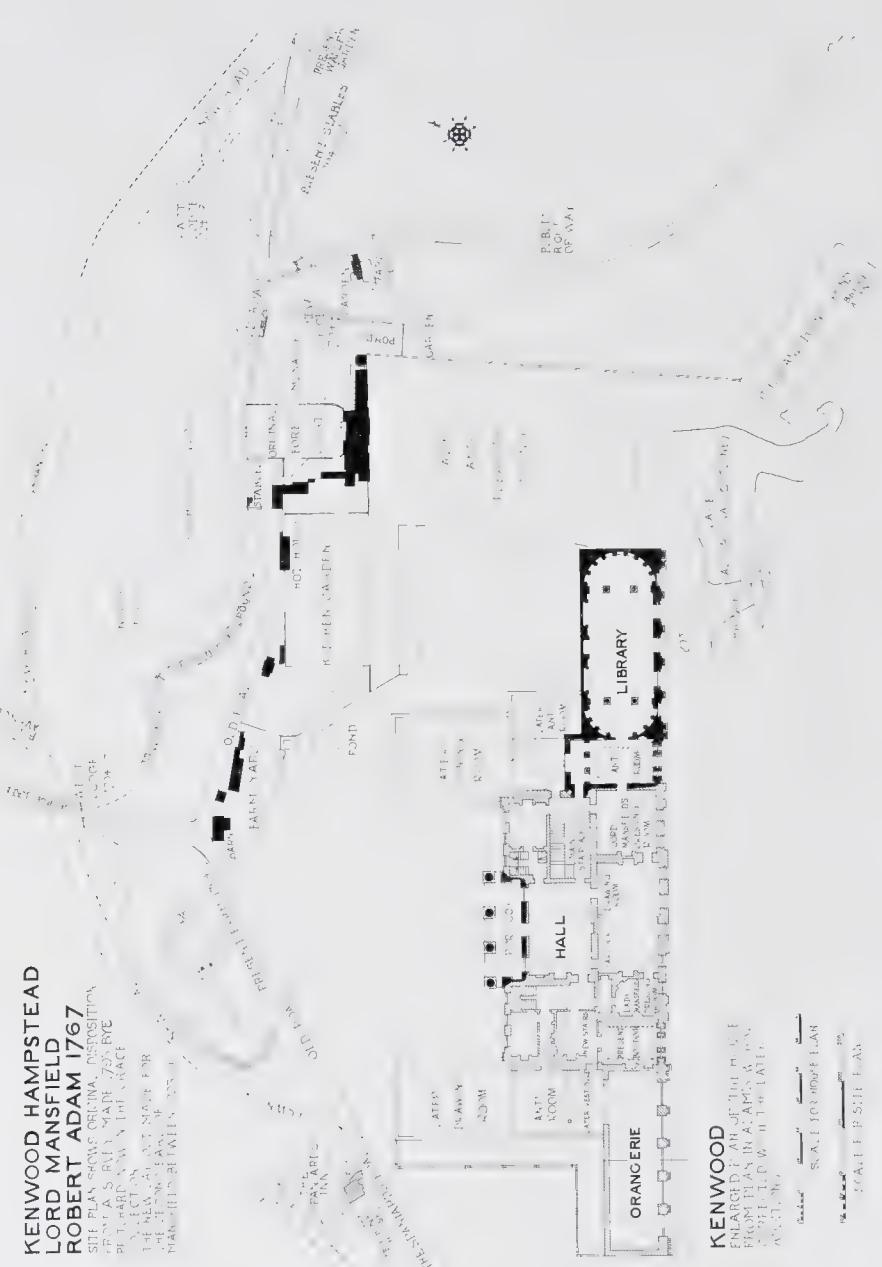


THE ENTRANCE PORTICO BY ROBERT ADAM.

KENWOOD HAMPSTEAD LORD MANSFIELD

ROBERT ADAM 1767

SIX PLANS SHOWING ORIGINAL DISPOSITION
OF THE HOUSE, WITH THE ADDITION
OF A GATE, AND THE REARRANGEMENT
OF THE HALL, AND STAIRS FOR
THE USE OF THE STAFF, AND
MANUFACTURED IN THE
MANUFACTORY.



KENWOOD
ENLARGED BY MR. JAMES WOOD
FROM THOMAS HAMILTON'S
DESIGN, IN 1767.
PLAN A.

PLAN B.
PLAN C.
PLAN D.
PLAN E.
PLAN F.

PLAN G.

Dr. Johnson was pleased to admit the merit of Lord Mansfield, but excused the exception on the ground that "Much may be made of a Scotchman, if he be *caught* young." The biographical myth that brought Murray to England at the age of three has been traced to his own early breadth of pronunciation, whereby in the official entry of his admission at Christchurch, Oxford, in 1723, Perth is made to figure as Bath.

Late in life Lord Mansfield declined to see anything wonderful in his career, ascribing his success to his birth and connections.¹ A younger son of Sir William Murray, the eighth Baron of Tullibardine, married Lady Janet Graham, daughter of the Earl of Montrose, and had several sons who, though highly connected, were very poorly provided for. David, the second son, became the founder of the Stormont branch of the family, and is thus the ancestor of the Earl of Mansfield.

Placed in the bodyguard of James VI of Scotland and James I of England, the attractive



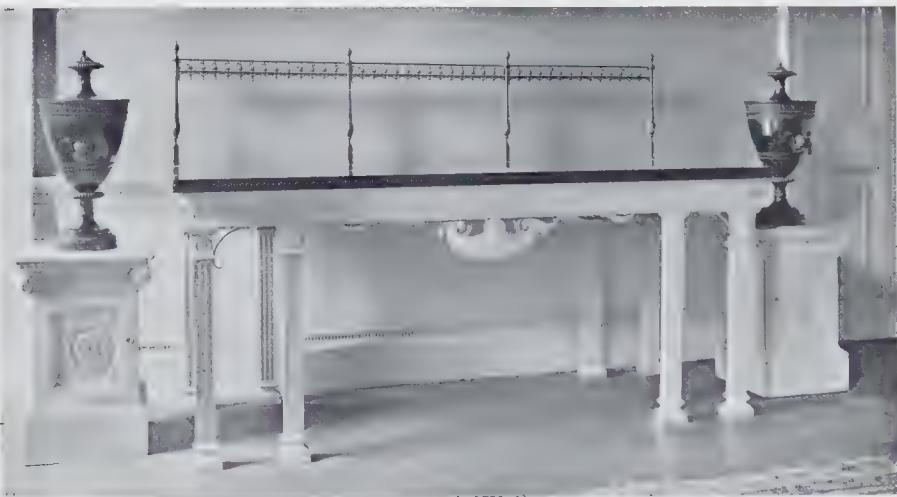
THE ENTRANCE HALL.

appearance and manners of David made him a Royal favourite. He displayed great presence of mind in the Gowrie conspiracy and in quelling the insurrection at Perth that followed upon that event. He was given lands at Scone and a barony as Lord Scone, and subsequently, in 1621, was created Viscount Stormont. The estates were gradually dissipated, and in the time of the fifth viscount little remained beyond the ruined castle of Scone. This Viscount Stormont married the only daughter of David Scot of Scotstarvel, the heir male of the Scots of Buccleuch. His wife brought him no fortune but that of fourteen children, of whom William Murray, future Earl of Mansfield, was the eleventh, born in 1705.

James, the second son, fifteen years older than William, was deep in the councils of the Pretender, and lived a life of exile, dying at Avignon in 1770 at the age of eighty. Although Bishop Atterbury, the famous Jacobite, then Dean of Westminster, may have helped in securing

William Murray's start as a scholar at Westminster School, it was the boy's own remarkable gifts that were the real cause of his overwhelming success. To have contended on equal terms with Chatham, whose death he had witnessed in the House of Lords in 1778, to have been the mainspring of Whig cabinets and the confidential adviser of George III while all the time holding the great office of Lord Chief Justice sufficiently illustrates Murray's remarkable political gift. From 1756, when he was created Chief Justice of the King's Bench and a peer, as Baron Mansfield in the County of Nottingham, he continued to preside over his Court for a complete generation.

Naturally Junius, up to his disappearance in 1772, fell upon him with unsparing malice, so keen was his invective that it still forms an indispensable feature in the portrait of the great judge. Lord Mansfield exhibited some of the best features of the really great lawyer who can rise above the minima of the law, and bring it into the scope of a great agent of civilisation.



ADAM FURNITURE IN THE ENTRANCE HALL.

All as illustrated in the "Works": part of the under-cresting to the table is missing.

"Law, as a rational science, founded upon the basis of moral rectitude, but modified by habit and authority."

Definite and clear in his ideas, he recalls in his dicta the grand brevities of Roman law, those sententiae which ring true for all time. "Non erit alia Lex Romæ, alia Athenis, alia nunc, alia post hac, sed et apud omnes gentes et omni tempore, una eademque lex obtinet."

This breadth of mind gave him firmness in such hours of stress as the factious trials of Wilkes in 1770, and the deadly Gordon Riots of 1780, when his house in Bloomsbury Square was burnt down by the mob, and all his books and papers irretrievably lost, as Cowper laments :

So then the Vandals of our Isle
Sworn foes to sense and law
Have burnt to dust a nobler pile
Than ever Roman saw!

And Murray sighs o'er Pope and Swift
And many a treasure more,
The well judged purchase and the gift
That graced his lettered store.

It is as the expounder of the essentials of law and order that the great Lord Mansfield deserves to be gratefully remembered :

Every individual in his private capacity may lawfully interfere to suppress a riot, much more to prevent acts of felony, treason, and rebellion. Not only is he authorised to interfere for such a purpose, but it is his duty to do so, and if called upon by a magistrate he is punishable in case of refusal.

The political errors of the American War and the dubious mazes of the personal intrigues of that day fade into insignificance, while remembrance is fixed on the great lawyer who gave the best years of his life to the establishment of order and principle in the jungle of the common law. Especially in maritime and commercial law he was a great pioneer. In 1753 he vindicated, in a masterly reply to the King of Prussia,² the naval rights of Great Britain. Thanks to him, the old feudal jurisprudence was expanded to meet the rising needs of manufacture and commerce, expanding rapidly under the second and third Georges.

Of his memorable decisions, one that may be recalled is that first step in the abolition of slavery, the declaration that in England the negro was a free man :

Every man who comes into England is entitled to the protection of English law, whatever oppression he may heretofore have suffered, and whatever may be the colour of his skin.

"Quam vis ille niger, quam vis tu candidus esses."³
Let the Negro be discharged.

In the furtherance of tolerance he was in advance of his time ; Quakers and Dissenters had cause for gratitude. Edmund Burke said of Mansfield : "His ideas go to the growing melioration of the law by making its liberality keep pace with the demands of Justice, and the actual concerns of the world."

To literature Mansfield brought the conception of an effective copyright, and to art the discriminating patronage to which we owe that great work of Robert Adam which is here illustrated, "Whatever defects, either in beauty or composition, shall be discovered in the following designs, they must be imputed to me alone : for the noble proprietor, with his usual liberality of sentiment, gave full scope to my ideas : nor were these confined by any circumstances, but the necessity of preserving the proper exterior similitude between the new and the old parts of the building : and even with respect to this, where the latter appeared defective in its detail, I was at full liberty to make the proper deviations." Thus Robert Adam in his "Works" introduces the subject of Kenwood.

Adam, in this undertaking would seem to have found a work after his own heart, and he dwells on the fine placing of the house on the summit of Hampstead, in a way which marks his appreciation of the locality :



THE STAIRCASE WITH ADAM BALUSTRADING.



THE ANTE-ROOM TO THE GREAT ROOM.

"A great body of water covers the bottom, and serves to go round a large natural wood of tall trees rising one above another upon the sides of a hill. Over the vale, through which the water flows, there is a noble view let into the house and terrace, of the City of London, Greenwich Hospital, the River Thames, the ships passing up and down, with an extensive prospect, but clear and distinct, on both sides of the river. To the north-east, and west of the house and terrace, the mountainous villages of Highgate and Hampstead form delightful objects. The whole scene is amazingly gay, magnificent, beautiful, and picturesque. The hill and dale are finely diversified; nor is it easy to imagine a situation more striking without, or more agreeably retired and peaceful within."

Adam's Johnsonian prose concludes with a justification of his work: "The decoration bestowed on this front of the house is suitable to such a scene. The idea is new, and has been generally approved."⁴

It is curious to remark how often Adam drops into the terms of the theatre in his remarks and criticisms. He seems to have the *mise-en-scène* constantly before him, and his phrases recall the sentiment of the age of Sterne, Goldsmith, and Sheridan; they are those of the society of his own day and of the circles in which he was an admired ornament. Unfortunately, the scene at Kenwood, while still most "Agreeably retired and peaceful within," has been completely changed by the growth of the trees all around, and the broad terrace along the south front no longer commands the extensive view which he describes. Adam would have no idea, in those early days of science, of the value of the locality as a piece of wild nature, a small portion of the great primæval forest of South Britain, where badgers are still to be found.

Approaching the house from the north, from the Spaniard's Road, the present drive winds up through fine trees on steep banks to end in a wide space in front of the great portico. As the ground is falling, the house is a little sunk from this point of view, and in the absence of any steps the portico now seems somewhat lacking in elevation. There is no plinth as at Shardenloes, with its effective flight of shallow steps. Two wings have been added since Adam's day, but the body of the house, with the portico, remains unchanged, and exactly corresponds with his drawings.

That the surroundings of the house have been materially altered is shown by a rough survey of 1793, and a complete plan of 1797.⁵ It is not apparent whether any of the Adams were connected with this reconstruction of the grounds after the death of Robert, and of Lord Mansfield. Originally there was a long forecourt in front of the house, probably enclosed by walls, with a central entrance from the road marked on the plan as "the old road." The present curved road of approach has been carried across the site of the old stables on the west and the enclosure marked "Menagerie" (Aviary) on the east, and, sweeping close up to the house, cuts away at least one half of the original depth of the forecourt. The change is important, because the house is no longer visible from the main road, and the former forecourt must have given both importance to the portico and expression to the villa idea of the original Adam design.

In front of the house on the south was a lawn, or pleasure garden, also apparently enclosed by walls, extending down to an irregularly shaped lake, beyond which on the east is an oblong tank marked on the plan as "The thousand pound pond." The kitchen garden was close to the road on the west, beyond the stable and laundry court. It is shown enclosed by walls ending in a great apse. Beyond, again, is marked a farmyard. It will be seen, therefore, that the present lodge gates, the octagonal farmyard and buildings, and particularly the large block of offices on the east, as well as the stables, all belong to the later period, subsequent to the deaths of Lord Mansfield and Robert Adam. A view by George Robertson,⁶ published by Boydell and dated 1781, shows the south front of Kenwood from the opposite point of view to the plate dated 1774 in Adam's "Works."

It is interesting to recall that the Kenwood property was demised by the Duke of Argyle, who used it as a town residence, to his nephew John, third Earl of Bute, who, in 1755, sold it to Murray. There is a reference to Kenwood in Lord Bute's time in Lady Wortley Montagu's letters.⁷ Murray had shared a house in Hampstead previous to this purchase.

Entering the hall direct, we step back into the eighteenth century. The ceiling set-out has ovals painted in chiaroscuro, with reliefs of swags and medallions, all bound together in a well devised scheme. The sideboard, of a white painted framework, with polished mahogany top and brass



LORD MANSFIELD'S RECEPTION ROOM AND LIBRARY.
By Robert Adam, 1767-69.

back rail, is flanked by two carved mahogany vases on pedestals. This furniture, as well as the mahogany wine cooler, with its treatments of swags, lions' heads and fluting, all remains, and nothing is lacking but the elaborate plate and cutlery stands, and the silver vases and flagons which Adam so fully delineates in his plates of Kenwood published in the "Works." There are four settees, also in white, which seem to be part of the original furniture. The white marble mantel has bulls' heads as ornaments, with flutings as a general ground to the design.

Leaving the hall on the left we come at once upon the staircase, which is of oak, with a characteristic metal balustrading of iron and brass, all now painted. The walls are plainly panelled and there is an oval lantern in the flat ceiling. An ante-room of a very charming character, lit by an end Venetian window on the south, beneath a coved ceiling, with central circle of decoration, leads into the "Adam Room," as it is now appropriately called. This



THE ADAM ROOM : PORTRAIT OF THE FIRST LORD MANSFIELD BY DAVID MARTIN.

The arched recesses had Adam mirrors and settees.

truly magnificent salon ranks high among the great chambers to be found in England, and takes a leading place in the list of its architect's achievements.

Robert Adam's own account is as follows : "The great room with its anti-room was begun by Lord Mansfield's orders in the year 1767, and was intended both for a Library and a 'room for receiving Company.' The circular recesses were therefore fitted up for the former purpose, and the square part, or body of the room, was made suitable to the latter."

Adam in this dual disposition, expresses the character of his client as his contemporaries realised it.

Boswell. Lord Mansfield is not a mere lawyer
Johnson. No sir : I never was in Lord Mansfield's company ; but Lord Mansfield was distinguished at the University.
Lord Mansfield, when he first came to town, "drank champayne with the wits, as Prior says. He was the friend of Pope."



THE ENTRANCE APSE OF THE ADAM ROOM.
The dado to the bookcases was originally solid. Refer to detail of Syon gallery.

Few friendships, in fact, have a more attractive history than that of Pope and Murray. The poet, in a new edition of the "Dunciad," regrets that the law should "hang one jingling padlock on the mind."

How sweet an Ovid Murray was our boast
How many Martials were in Pulteney lost.

Pope, a few days before his death (1742) when weak and ill, was—yet, at his own desire—carried from Twickenham to dine with Murray at his chambers in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Adam continues his account of the library by saying that the ceiling of the great room "is in the form and style of those of the ancients. It is an imitation of a flat arch, which is extremely beautiful and much more perfect than that which is commonly called the coved ceiling when there is a height sufficient to admit of it, as in the present case. The coved ceiling, which is a portion or quadrant of a circle around the room, and rising to a flat in the centre, seems to be altogether of modern invention, and admits of some elegance in the decoration."

The eighteenth century architects, following Palladio and the Italians, had established in England the lofty "piano nobile" of Italy, and had been much exercised by the excessive height



THE ADAM ROOM: DECORATION OF THE HALF-DOMES.

so obtained, unsuited as it was for living-rooms in our northern climate. The cove, as described above by Adam, is to be found in all the houses of the time, and particularly in those rooms of single and double cube dimensions, experiments to which the Palladian School were excessively devoted.

The State dining-room at Bowood is a good example of the coved type of ceiling which Adam is here describing, and in that instance he has certainly invested the older structure "with some elegance in the decoration." Continuing his description of the great room at Kenwood, Adam tells us that "The stucco work of this ceiling, and of the other decorations, is finely executed, by Mr. Joseph Rose. The paintings are elegantly performed by Mr. Antonio Zucchi,⁸ a Venetian painter of great eminence; and the grounds of the *pannels* and *freeses* are coloured with light tints of pink and green, so as to take off the glare of white, so common in every ceiling, till of late. This

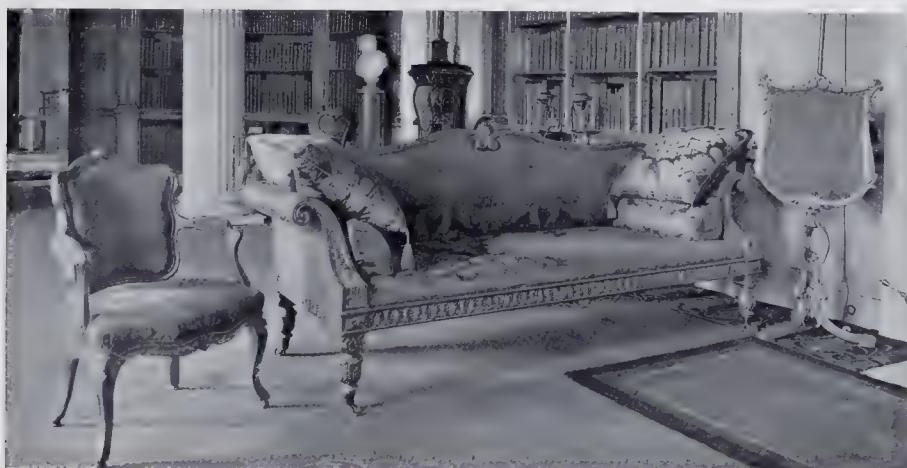
has always appeared to me so cold and unfinished, that I ventured to introduce this variety of grounds, at once to relieve the ornaments, remove the crudeness of the white, and create a harmony between the ceiling and the side walls, with their hangings, pictures and other decorations."

Here we have a pretty clear statement of Robert Adam's ideas. His idea of low relief in schemes of house decoration, with details of elegance and refinement, carries him on to the use of flat tones of colour which shall give the needed emphasis to his ornament. It is not, properly speaking, that "picking out" method which followed later, as the style degenerated in the hands of his successors. That detestable method of decoration was, however, an easy step down as soon as the Adam manner was imitated and cheapened.

A main feature of the Kenwood salon is the pair of great apses with their screens of columns, whose entablature, carried straight across the spring at the half domes, binds together the whole design of the interior. By this means an effect of perspective and some mystery of light and shade are produced. The half domes, very difficult to adequately illustrate, are masterly pieces of decorative stucco work, worthy of Piero Ligorio himself. In fact, the work here recalls the famous Papal Casino in the Vatican garden. The great vault is extremely ably set out in flat compartments, varied in proportion, and adorned with ovals, half ovals and circles. These are filled in with brightly coloured paintings executed in tones strong enough to stand the rich gilding, which forms so large an element in the total effect. The carpet is red, and the furniture gold and damask, so that it has required much judgment to



THE WINDOW SIDE OF THE ADAM ROOM, SHOWING CURTAIN BOXES, CONSOLE TABLE AND MIRROR.



SETTEE OF THE TYPE DESIGNED BY ADAM FOR THE TWO RECESSES, CONTAINING MIRRORS EITHER SIDE OF THE FIREPLACE.



DETAIL OF HALF DOME OF APSE AT THE ENTRANCE END OF THE ADAM ROOM.

ensure a general harmony of colour effect. The fluted columns in white form a strong element in a very successful scheme.

Continuity of design between the two apses and the centre bay is promoted by a bold honeysuckle band at the base of the vault and of the apses. It is a recall of the narrower frieze of the entablature where lions' and deers' heads, the former being the supporters and the latter the crest of the family, are repeated in a chain of running ornament. The two large arched recesses on either side of the fireplace, which had originally Adam mirrors and settees, are now book-lined. Adam says that the glasses reflecting the objects that are seen from windows have a most singular and beautiful effect. The books in the original cases in the apses now reach the floor, filling in the formerly solid dado. On the piers between the windows are two mirrors in carved wood and gilded frames exactly as illustrated in Adam's "Works." The two oval mirrors, which he shows on the same plate, however, do not now appear to be in the house. Evidently the curtain boxes belong to the original design of the room, being similar in style.

The mantelpiece in white statuary remains with its carved pilasters, deers' heads and sphinxes. This marble work is a trifle laboured in the execution, and not so finely wrought as usual. Over it is the imposing portrait of the great Lord Mansfield set in as a wall panel with a finely designed flat framework. As shown in Adam's drawing, there is a bottom border to balance the top cresting. The painter, however, one David Martin (1736-98), must have exceeded his dimensions, and the bottom frill has been swallowed up by the exigencies of the painter's canvas. This room is, of course, the climax of the house, which Adam did not build, as he simply added this one-storey room, with its ante-room, at the eastern end of the south front. It balanced an existing orangery, with a similar ante-room at the western end. He put a storey on the centre portion of the house without taking off the roof, so that it could be occupied all the time. He cased up the old brickwork which, executed at different times, was of various colours, and pulled together the whole south front with a pilaster treatment which he regarded as of a novel character. The exterior design of this southern façade is not unsuccessful, in spite of the

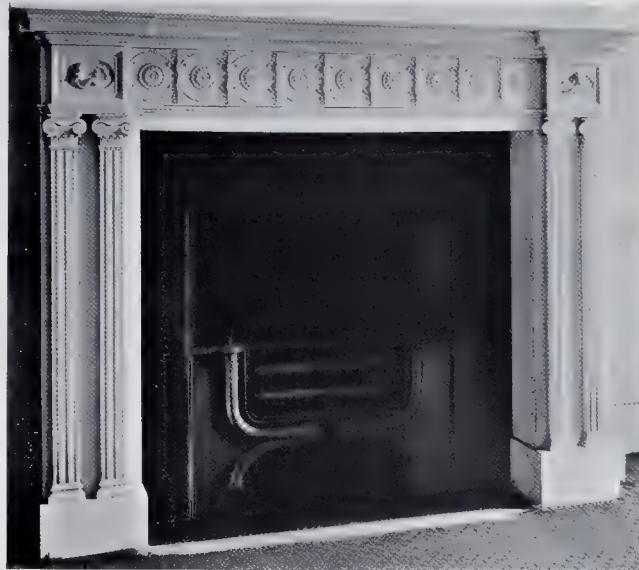
severe limitations under which the designer was working. It would appear to greater advantage in a street, where its very flatness would be a gain. On an open site a bolder design would carry further and be more effective.

Moreover, all the ornamental detail of this façade shown in Adam's plates in the "Works" no longer exists. The cement work has been overhauled, and the ornaments have not been repeated in the process.

The Adams used Liardet's stucco, of which, unfortunately for themselves, they had acquired the patent rights, and, like all the oil stuccoes of the time, it failed externally. Lord Mansfield seems to have told Humphrey Repton that the cost would have been no more had he used Parian marble.

The columns of the side wings, which Adam shows fluted, are now plain. The capitals of the main order have also apparently been altered, as they are now Ionic, like those of the wings. The great length of the total façade, with its raised centre, is effective in the sharp perspective view afforded by the terrace. Since the day of the first earl and his architect Kenwood has received some important additions, apparently of the earliest days of the nineteenth century, by which the domestic amenities of the house have been considerably increased. As first contrived, it was as a villa rather than a permanent residence, Lord Mansfield's own house being in Bloomsbury Square.

It would appear, from the few papers relating to the building of Kenwood that have survived, that the building work was done direct by the Adams, Lord Mansfield himself



MANTELPIECE IN THE EARL OF MANSFIELD'S BEDROOM: 1770 PERIOD.



THE MANTELPIECE IN THE ADAM ROOM.

paying for the materials, and probably the labour was similarly dealt with in day accounts settled weekly. An account for carcase timber in the name of William Adam will be found in the Appendix, and it would appear from the following letter dated as late as 1775 that Dixon was the carpenter, while Hamilton seems to have been the architect's representative or clerk of works.

MADAM

The bearer of this, Joseph Johnson, Sawyer, has been at my house several times every year since the 1768, when he performed Sawyer's work at Kenwood under Dixon, the carpenter. Mr. Hamilton neglected giving in the Bill when the other affairs were settled and paid for on Mr. Partridge's account.

I have had the whole of the accounts examined and find that this bill of £3 . 0^s . 6^d never was paid by Lord Mansfield, to the best of my knowledge, as it does not appear on our Books. I have therefore taken the liberty of stating the matter to your Ladyship rather than to sign a Bill of so long standing, which your Ladyship could know nothing about, and seems to have been putt off from time to time by Poor Hamilton.

I have the Honour to be with great Esteem,

Madam,

Your Ladyship's most obedient
and very humble servant,

ROBT ADAM

P.S.—I have had Dixon with me who says the work was done by Johnson, but that he never paid him any money on that account and has certified the Bill accordingly.

Adelphi, 21 June 1775.

"Poor Hamilton" was probably the father of William Hamilton, R.A. (1751–1801), a young artist who was sent to Italy by Robert Adam too early, it was said, to derive real benefit from the opportunity, though he is reported to have been there nine years. There are three works by him in the Soane Museum. If he entered the R.A. Schools in 1769, being then eighteen, he can apparently only have gone to Italy in 1781, when Zucchi, who had married Angelica Kauffmann, returned to Rome, but as he would then be thirty, either the story is incomplete or there must have been some other journey of Zucchi to Italy in which Hamilton could have accompanied him. As Zucchi only came to England himself in 1766, the difficulties are considerable. The fact that Hamilton was elected A.R.A. in 1784 rather suggests an earlier date for his Italian experience. He was elected R.A. in 1789. Soane particularly mentions Hamilton as one of the artists patronised by Robert Adam. One of the Hamiltons is recorded as having acted as deputy for Robert Adam in his appointment as clerk of works to Chelsea Hospital.

The following account paid to Antonio Pietro Zucchi, A.R.A. (1726–95), is of great interest, as it gives full particulars of his work in the Great Room at Kenwood. In Adam's design for the ceiling there are thirteen paintings in all, agreeable to this account. The paintings on the walls of the apses also agree with the drawings in general sizes and disposition.

Memoire de Mr. Zucchi pour des Tableaux peints pour son Excellence

My Lord Mansfield.

Dans le Plafond.

	£ s. d.
Un ovale dans le centre de 5 pieds et 6 pouces de large sur 4.1 de haut qui represente Ercule entre la Gloire et les passions ..	15 15 0
4 Lunettes de 1 pied et 6 po de haut sur 3 p ^d et 4 po de large, representant La Justice qui embrasse la Paix, le Commerce et la Navigation et l'Agriculture a 4 Ghinée chaque ..	16 16 0
4 panneaux quavi d'1 pied et 11 pouces representant La Teologie, la Jurisprudence, le Mathematique et la Philosophie a 3 ghinés chaque ..	12 12 0
4 Medallions de 1 pied et 11 pouces de diametre, representant les quatre Saisons a 3 Ghinée chaque ..	12 12 0

Dans les latereaux circulaire de la chambre. [Walls of the Apses]

Un tableau en demi Cercle, dessu de la porte, de 1 pd et 11 pouces de haut sur 5 ped et 2 de large, representant Ercule enfant qui etoufent les deux serpents ..	10 10 0
5 Tableaux de 8 pieds et 7 pouces de long sur 2 pd et 2 pouces de haut representant, Un Marriage, L'Enlèvement d'Europa, Un Bacanalle, un Epithalamie, et Minerva parmi les arts, sujets tous tirée de l'antique à 16 ghinée chaque ..	84 0 0
Totalle	£152 5 0

London 22^d June 1769.

Examined by Rob^t Adam.

Je sous signee J'ai reçu de Son Excellence My Lord Mansfield la somme contenue en present memoire.

a Londres ce Jour le 30 Juin 1769

Ant^o Zucchi.

Antonio Zucchi was a Venetian by birth, his father being an engraver and his uncle a scene painter, and the young artist is also said to have studied under F. Fontebrasso and T. Amiconi. Probably Robert Adam met Zucchi in Venice in 1757, and engaged with him to go to Spalatro,



THE TERRACE FRONT: ADAM ROOM IN FOREGROUND.
The stucco work has been restored, omitting ornaments and fluting of columns.



KENWOOD FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

but as Adam records that the artists he took with him had long been known to him, it may be that Zucchi had already been with Robert Adam at Rome, particularly as the year 1754 is mentioned in some accounts of the artist.

Zucchi was invited to England by Adam, it is said, in 1766, and this may have been in view of work in hand at Luton, Syon, Osterley, etc. He was elected A.R.A. in 1770, and exhibited classical landscapes in 1770, 1771, 1778, and 1779. In 1781 he married "Mrs. Angelica" and returned to Italy, dying at Rome December 25th, 1795. A younger brother, Giuseppe, accompanied Antonio to England, where he practised line engraving, and was employed on the "Works." He is also said to have finished many of Angelica's etchings. Antonio Zucchi was evidently a good all-round practical artist, extremely useful for the decorative painting work required to fully complete Robert Adam's conception of interior decoration.

The next accounts introduce Thomas Chippendale, the elder, in connection with the two important composite mirrors in the arched recesses on either side of the fireplace in the Great Room at Kenwood. The dimensions given agree with those in the plate in the "Works." There is a reduction in height from Robert Adam's original drawing, as he has introduced a small but effective frieze, or necking, possibly in order to bring the height down to a practicable size for the glass makers of the time.

London June 14th 1769.

I promise to Deliver in about Two Months from this Date to M^r Adam Architect The Following French plate Glass, in London Silver'd & ready to be put up

Viz ^t		£ s. d.
Two plates 74 ^{ins} by 44 ^{ins} at £69 10 ea]	[Mirrors in recesses]	139 0 0
Four D ^{ms} 74 by 26 at £35 ea]		140 0 0
Four D ^{ms} 74 by 13 at £15 5 ea ^s		61 0 0
		£340 0 0

The above dimensions are in English measures

P Thos. Chippendale

Rob^t Adam -

[Endorsed as below]

Received Jan^y 27 1770 the full Contents of this bill by the hand Mr. France and My Sun and in full of all demands

P Thos. Chippendale

25th August 1769—

Receiv'd from Lord Mansfield by a Draft upon Messrs. Hoare & C^o the sum of £170 : 0 : 0 to be paid to Thos Chippendale on account of an agreement enter'd into by him with Robert Adam Esq^r & in Case the said M^r Chippendale shall not within three months deliver all y^e Glass pursuant to his agreement in good Condition; I do engage that the said M^r Chippendale shall upon Demand repay y^e said Sum of £170 . 0 . 0 or in Case of any Neglect on his part, I hereby promise to pay y^e same to his Lordship

W^m France

(Endorsement)

Received Nov^r 29th 1769 of the Right Hon^{ble} Lord Mansfield by the order and for the use of Thos Chippendale, the Sum of one hundred and seventy Pounds, which with the like sum before paid, makes in all three Hundred and forty Pounds in full of all Demands

Thos Chippendale Jun^r
W^m France

It rather looks as if there was some doubt as to the fulfilment of Chippendale's promise to supply mirrors of these dimensions on Lord Mansfield's and his architect's part, as

DETAIL OF ENTABLATURE AND PEDIMENT OF THE ENTRANCE PORTICO.



security is required and given for the repayment of the advance in case of default.

It is most unfortunate that no further papers of the 1769 date relating to Chippendale at Kenwood remain, but it seems certain that the settees now in the room which originally stood below these mirrors in the two recesses were made by him from Robert Adam's design. Evidently Chippendale did not supply all the mirrors, as William Twaddel on May 19th, 1769, supplies eighteen plates 27¹/₂ins. by 17¹/₂ins., for £19 7s. His account is passed by Robert Adam, February 8th, 1770, and he gives a receipt in full on the 10th of the same month. The only other paper is dated December, 1770, and seems to record the completion of the furnishing as follows :

The Right Hon^{ble} Lord Mansfield,

	To W ^m France.	£ s. d.
1770 Dec ^c 4 th	For the Library at Kenwood	
	For a large Mahogany Reading Stand on a stout Pillar and Claw with a screw Nutt, work'd very true, capable of screwing to rise to Inches if requir'd, the whole of very Good Mahogany and the pillar and Claw richly Carv'd	6 14 0
	A Man carrying D ^o to Kenwood	2 0
	A Set of 3 Wheel Castors and a Mans Time putting on the Stand above at Kenwood Screws etc.	4 6
	2 very Elegant Screens richly Carved and Gilded on 2 Mahogany Poles with Pine Apples at the Top Gilded and the Pillars and Claws richly Carv'd and Gilded, as also the Ornaments round the Screen Parts very perfectly carv'd in Good Shapes and well Gilded at £5 18s. each	11 16 0
	Covering the Screen Parts with white Cloth and fine Elephant Paper & Your own India-Damask after, and papering up the Damask carefully to defend from Gold Size etc.	11 6
	For Crimson Serge Cases to the 2 Screens above and finishing with Silk Ferret Tape, Silk etc. us'd @ 14/6	1 9 0
	A Man carrying D ^o to Kenwood	2 0
		£20 19 0

Receiv'd March 4th 1771 of
the Right Hon^{ble} Lord Mansfield
the full Contents of this Bill and
all Demands for M^r France

Pr M^r, Edw^d France

Samuel Curwen, the exile loyalist from Salem, was a visitor to Kenwood in April, 1776,¹⁰ and writes : " the house elegant, not large :—the centre is a noble portico, the walls of the hall saloon, chambers, etc., covered with paper of India or Chinese figures ; the library a beautiful room (having a fine prospect of St. Paul's, distant about seven miles, through a wood, over a lawn, and ending in a fine piece of water), contains the largest mirrors¹¹ I ever saw, being seven and a half feet high by three and a half in breadth. In the hall are two tables of jet-black marble. The walls hung with portraits of Lord Mansfield and lady, who was a daughter of Finch, Earl of Nottingham."

In the " Life of Horne Tooke," cited above, there is a description of Mansfield in 1775 : " This nobleman was now in the decline of life, for more than sixty years had shed their snows upon his head ; but the roses and lilies had not yet forsaken his cheeks ; and the lustre of his complexion was augmented by means of eyes that seemed to sparkle with genius. His person, if somewhat below the exact standard of beauty, was yet exquisitely formed ; his motions were graceful, his dress neat, becoming and appropriate. He also possessed a voice replete with music in



THE BRIDGE AT THE END OF THE LAKE. FULL SIZE MODEL IN WOOD.

all its various modulations, and was environed with a certain appearance of dignity, that struck all beholders with awe and veneration."

The five years, from his retirement in 1788 up to his death in 1793, which Lord Mansfield spent at Kenwood, may well have been the happiest in his well filled life. In his old age he still sought the companionship of the young, giving as his toast, "New friends and old books."

Such was the man and such is the house, polished and ornamented like his oratory, suited to his age, and a monument to his memory.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XVI.

¹ "He was indebted to a variety of fortunate circumstances for his rise; and to the munificent friendship of an English nobleman (Lord Foley) for the means of pursuing and adorning his profession." ("Life of Horne Tooke" (1736-1812), by Alex. Stephen, Vol. I page 441. London, 8vo, 1813). See also "Life of Lord Mansfield," in Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors."

² (1755-1801) original model in the Soane Collection. Illustrated and described in "English Eighteenth Century Sculptures" in the Soane Museum. Soane Museum publication, No. 7

³ 1759 Reference Horace Walpole, Vol. iv, page 256

⁴ Lord Mansfield in this was characteristically thinking of Virgil, whose following line is "O formosa puer nimium ne crede colori."

⁵ Mrs. Delany (Vol. iv, page 528). "Last Saturday I dined with the Duchess of Portland at Lord Mansfield's at Kenwood. The house is much improved. The front to the garden beautiful, and there is one room finished in the highest modern taste, very singular and fine."

⁶ Maps and Plans in British Museum, 61, 62. Portfolio 36. An artist named Ibbetson, some of whose coloured decorations and sketches for the latter work remain in the house, seems to have been employed by the second earl, perhaps as architect as well as painter

⁷ British Museum, No. 93

⁸ The Works of Rt. Hon. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 5 vols., 12mo. London 1803. Vol. iv, page 50. Letter to the Countess of Bute: "Louvere, August 22, 1749. I very well remember Caenwood House and cannot wish you in a more agreeable place. It would be great pleasure to me to see my grand children run about in the gardens. I do not question Lord Bute's good taste in the improvements round it, or yours in the choice of the furniture. I have heard the fame of paper hangings, and had some thought of sending for a suite, but was informed they were as dear as damask is here, which put an end to my curiosity." Vol. v, page 94. Venice Nov. 8th, 1760. Letter to same: "if you had been at Caenwood and in full leisure to read novels."

⁹ See account for same, page 312

¹⁰ Not identified. Perhaps sketches for Lady Mansfield's dress-room

¹¹ Sam Curwen Diary, page 53

¹² Another reminder that mirrors had then the advantage of rarity and had not become vulgarised.

INDEX

NOTE. The LARGE NUMERALS indicate ILLUSTRATIONS of the subject mentioned, and refer to the PAGES on which Illustrations will be found. The SMALL NUMERALS indicate REFERENCES in the TEXT.

Abbeys. Syon (now Syon House), Middlesex, see Syon House, Westminster, London, 128, 361, 380.

Adam Brothers, The (James, John, Robert and William, junior). Lord Shelburne's opposition to; over the Adelphi Embankment Act, 199, 201. Paine's testimony to the efficacy of their stucco, 245. Referred to as carrying out the building work at Kenwood, directly, 315. Sale of the effects of, 130. Their Liardet stucco, referred to, 278, 315. Wills of, referred to, 130.

Adam Building Speculations. Assumption that the Earls of Bute and Mansfield were promoters of the, referred to, 113.

Adam Drawings and Sketches. Richardson (C. J.), collection, referred to, 168, 174, 191, 243, 244. Soane collection, referred to. See Soane Collection.

Adam, Elizabeth. Referred to as keeping house for her brother, Robert Adam, 31.

Adam Family, The. Their journey to Edinburgh, referred to, 9.

Adam Family. Abilities and tastes of, 5, 9. Adelphi speculation referred to as mad in the hands of, and his brother William, 112. Anti-Palladian criticism by, 1, 23. Belief in landscape as against formal gardening, 95. Ceilings at Bowood, Wilts., by, referred to, 213. Completion of bridge at Dalkeith by, 128. Completion of Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, by, referred to, 132. Contemplated design by, for the new Houses of Parliament, referred to, 37, 129. Death of, 129, 132. Design by, for a house for Captain Hugh Dalrymple, referred to, 10. Dr. Alexander Carlyle's opinion of, 9. Early drawings by, referred to, 16. Education at Edinburgh University of, 10, 24. Election to the Society of Arts of, 74. Fanny Burney's opinion of, 9, 116. Hayward's note on the virtu manufactory of, 39. His book on agriculture, referred to, 9, 23, 129. His interview with and opinion of John Baskerville, the Birmingham printer, 10. His opinion of Blenheim Palace, referred to, 9. His opinion of the gardens at Farset's Hall, 95. His services in the firm of Robert and James Adam, 9. His post as architect of His Majesty's Works, referred to, 10, 12, 130, 132. His reference to Robert Adam's interview with George III., 48. His riding tour with Dr. Alexander Carlyle and others, 9, 10. His valiant attempt to carry on Robert Adam's practice, 128, 129. Italian travels of, and correspondence with his brothers, referred to, 1, 9, 23, 37, 73, 74, 87. Obituary notice of, 129, 132. Portland Place, referred to as mainly in his hands, 114, 118, 119, 120. Reference to his having visited Paestum, 83. Reference to his letter from William Adam, junior, regarding sums due from the Ordnance to John Adam, 4. Reference to special studies by Clerisseau of interior decoration, during the tour of, 87. Referred to as one of the architects to the Board of Works, 30. Referred to, in connection with Robert Adam's introduction to the Earl of Bute, 72. Referred to in connection with the duties on works of art from Italy, 74. Return from Italy of, 63, 74. Robert Adam's reference to, in a letter to Lord Bute on architecture, 54, 73. Stormont House, Portland Place, London, referred to as the work of, 105. Unfinished "History of Architecture," by, referred to, 129. Visit of, to Garrick at Hampton, 29. Visit of, to Oxford, referred to, 10. Visit of, to William Shenstone at Leasowes, referred to, 95. Visit of, to Hazley Park, 10, 95.

Adam, John. Connection of, with the Register House, Edinburgh, 5. Death of, 128, 132. Estate of, at Blair Adam and its development, 5. His place in the Adelphi Brothers' Group, 5, 128. His post as Master Mason to the King in Scotland, referred to, 23. His proposed house at Blair Adam, by Robert Adam, 9, 12. Hume's letter to Dr. Blair on the financial position of, 117, 131. Measure of his abilities, 5. Memorial pedestal to, on the Blair Adam estate, 8. Obituary notice of, 128, 132. Possible designer of his father's tomb, 11, 13, 24. Reference by William Adam, junior, to a remittance received from, 63, 74. Reference to his making a loan on his Blair Adam estate, during the Adelphi crisis, 118, 131. Reference in a letter from William Adam, junior, to the amount of money owing sum due from the Ordnance to, 4. Reference to the doings of, and Robert Adam in the autumn of 1770, 116. Referred to as the probable designer of Hume's house, Newtown, Edinburgh, 116.

Adam, Margaret ("Peggy"). Fanny Burney's description of, 131. Guest with her brothers, Robert and James, at the Pringle's reception, 131. Referred to as living with her brother Robert at Lower Grosvenor Street, London, 31, 71, 74.

Adam, Robert. Criticism of.

Adverse criticism of work of Blair, 204, 207. Criticism of his "Castle Style" buildings, 97. Destruction of much of his work due to adverse criticism of early nineteenth century writers, 110. Early antagonism to his ideas and practice, 11. Eldest criticism of, 11. Gwilt's criticism of, 106, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 204. Dr. Johnson's opinions of the work of, 100. Leed's criticism of, 112, 114. Regarded as a dangerous interloper by the partisans of Stuart and Wyatt, 105. "Roger Shanharn" (Robert Smirke and William Porden) pamphlet attacking, 105, 106, 108, 109, 113. Tatham's criticism of, 141. Walpole's early appreciation of, 99, 113. Walpole's biting shafts of criticism, referred to, 91. Walpole's gibes on the lack of modesty of, in the "Works," referred to, 91. Walpole's hostility to, following publication of the first part of the "Works," 99. Walpole's charge against, of imputing plagiarism to Wyatt, 99, 113. Walpole's reference to the "Gingerbread and Sippets of Embroidery" of, 100, 113. Walpole's reference to the "Harlequinades" of, 100, 113. Walpole's reference to the success of, 63, 74.

Londo Practice.

Adelphi, The, 5, 9, 71, 72, 92, 98, 99, 100, 104, 105, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 131, 210.

Admiralty, Screen for the, 37, 37, 46, 73, 130, 139.

Ahemdale Street, No. Three, 127, 130.

Aspley House, Hyde Park Corner, 302.

British Coffee House, Cockspur Street, 31.

Coventry House, Piccadilly, 184, 191.

Cumberland House, Pall Mall, 104, 302.

Designs for London houses, referred to. Arlington Street, Piccadilly, for Sir George Colebrooke, 137. Piccadilly, for Lord Holland, 48, 62, 63, 73. Portman Square, for the Earl of Kerry, 192. St. James's Square, for Lord Newhaven, 112. Whitehall, for Richard Rigby, 105.

Deputy Ranger's Lodge, Green Park, 82, 83, 130.

Drury Lane Theatre reconstruction, 30, 86.

Fête Pavilion, Derby House, 76, 102.

Fitzroy Square, 76, 97, 132.

Illuminated transparency for Queen Charlotte, 39, 48, 49.

Hill Street, Berkeley Square (Mrs. Montagu's), 99.

Lower Grosvenor Street, 25, 26.

Mansfield Street, 112, 113.

Marylebone, 113.

Northumberland House, Strand, 39, 104, 253, 255, 258, 261.

Portland Place, 112, 114, 118, 119, 120, 129.

Portman Square, 119.

Quebec Street, Crescent st., 119.

Queen's House (Old Buckingham House), 49.

St. James's Square, No. Twenty, 103, 104, 112, 200.

Shelburne (now Lansdowne) House, Berkeley Square, 46, 48, 65, 110, 111, 116, 197, 201, 206, 211, 214, 290.

Stratford Place (uncertain), 114, 118, 123, 124, 125.

Whitehall, House in, 105.

Wolfe, General, design for monument to, Westminster Abbey, 39.

Personal.

Absorption in his work, 125. Birth and parentage, 2, 23. Brilliant gifts and freedom of intellectual ideas calculated to make George III suspicious of, 120. Date of his birth in London, 25, 72. Death of, 129. Dr. Alexander Carlyle's note to preserve the interest of posterity in, referred to, 10. Dropping of final "e" in his name of "Adams," referred to, 10. Education at Edinburgh University, 10, 24. Exceptional gifts of, 5. Fanny Burney's inclusion of, in the "Scotch Party," referred to, 125. Fanny Burney's opinion of, 116. His father's purchase of Downhill Castle for, referred to, 23. His horse, "Piercy," that he parted with to John Home, 24, 27. His sisters, Elizabeth and Margaret, referred to as keeping house for him, 31. Home life in Lower Grosvenor Street, 25, 31, 71, 74. Influence of his genius on his brothers, 5, 113. Interest of, in the detail of the arrangements of social life, 201. Interment of, in Westminster Abbey, 128. Memorial notice of, in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 127, 128. Pall bearers at the funeral of, 128. Personality of, 130, 131. Sudden breakdown of, 126. Unsuccessful attempt to sell his statuary and pictures to Rome, during the Adelphi crisis, 118. Wedgwood cameo portrait of, by Tassie, 1. Will of, 132.

Professional.

Adelphi speculation referred to as an unfortunate drag on his legitimate practice, 112. Antagonism of his ideas with those of Sir William Chambers, 1, 84. Belief of, in the English aptitude for architecture, 76. Brief use of Greek detail by, 59. Commissions for completing or altering buildings of which he was not the original architect, 104. Criticism by, of prevailing ideas on interior decoration, referred to, 85. Criticism by, of Michael Angelo and Scamozzi in their use of the Ionic order, 83. Criticism by, on the "rage for painting" in Italy, 87. Decorative work by, in older houses referred to as now entirely vanished, 104. Exposure of, to the fury of imitation, 75. Forerunner of the romantic spirit of the nineteenth century, 77. Handicap of, in Gothic architecture, 2. His desire to refine some of his designs, through Gothic architecture, 2. His skill in the antiques of his clients, referred to, 26, 278. His belief in the notorious for wild speculation and gambling, 112. His belief, with an open mind, in "Palladio and the Ancients," 1, 79. His characteristic note on "Movement" in architecture, 77. His distinctive style of decorative architecture, 75. His diversion of the spirit of revived antiquity into a fresh channel, 78. His explanation of his Etruscan designs, 297, 299, 300. His high standard of artistic achievement in executed work, 141. His idea of "Movement" in architecture, referred to, 216. His opinion on the dull succession of similar apartments in buildings of his time, 21. Imitations of his interior designs and fittings in the "Builder's Magazine," referred to, 114. Ideal of, 76, 112. Ideas of, explained by quotations from the Prefaces to the "Works," 79, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87. Influence of his study of the Palace of Sparto, 85. His romanticism of 77. Note by a corner of J. Smart at Spencer House, London, referred to, 59, 83. Occasional outbursts in his "Prefaces," referred to, 105. Place of, among the great architects of Britain, 131. Plagiarism of his work referred to in his famous "Preface," 9. Plunge of, into the "Castle Style," 94, 97, 98. Principles of, in interior decoration, 87. Private domestic work of, referred to as not really well known, 112. Publication of his book on Spalato, referred to, 63, 245. Recognition by, that the progress of domestic architecture depended on breaking with the dead tradition of the orders, 78. Referred to as a master of decoration and of internal architecture, 277. Similarity of his practice to that of Sir Charles Barry, 104. Soundness of his house planning, 103. Special gift of, for decoration and furnishing, referred to, 104. Story by, of the altered slope of a pavement, 177. Swift progress of, in his profession, 14. Tendency of, to undisciplined design, 15. Travellings of, on professional work, 126. Widespread character of his influence, referred to, 105.

Provincial Practice.

Alnwick Castle, 39, 41, 43, 98, 177, 245, 251.

Boscawen, Admiral. Design for tomb of St. Michael, Penkevel, 138.

Bowood, Wilts., 39, 46, 192, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 197, 198, 199, 199, 200, 201, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 206, 207, 207, 208, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 213, 214, 215, 215.

Briesley. Plan for a tower for, 80.

Child, Robt. Design for monument of, Heston Church, 294.

Child, Mrs. Design for a workbag and firescreen, 296.

Compton Verney, Warwickshire, 39, 65, 218, 219, 220, 222, 223, 223, 224, 225, 226, 228.

Copped Hall, Essex, 61.

Croome Church, Worcestershire. Interior, 34, 34, 178, 182, 185, 186, 187, 187, 226.

Croome Court, Worcestershire, 128, 164, 172, 178, 178, 179, 179, 180, 181, 181, 182, 182, 183, 183, 184, 184, 185, 185, 186, 187, 187, 188, 189, 189, 190, 191, 191, 191.

Eaton Hall, Cheshire. Design for, 45, 114.

Evton. Design for, 45.

The Ideal Chateau, 137, 141, 144, 144, 172, 177, 182, 183, 239, 242.

Fonthill. Consultation on Interiors for, 210.

Garden room, Lord Melcombe's house, Hammersmith, 55, 74, 80.

Garden seat for Duke of Montrouge, Richmond, Surrey, 278.

Garrick's villa, Hampton-on-Thames, 28, 29, 31, 31.

Goodwood, Sussex. Design for, 45, 46, 207.

Great Saxham, Suffolk, 40, 41, 42, 49, 50, 115.

Harewood Church, Yorks. Design for new top to the tower, 34, 164, 191.

Harewood, Yorks, 45, 65, 74, 104, 157, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 169, 170, 170, 171, 171, 172, 172, 173, 173, 174, 174, 175, 175, 176, 176, 177, 178, 236, 302.

Harewood Village, Yorks. Stone houses in, 174, 177.

Hatchlands Park, Surrey, 34, 133, 133, 134, 135, 136, 136, 137, 137, 138, 138, 139, 139, 140, 140, 141, 141, 142, 142, 143, 143, 143, 144, 173.

Hawkshead, Cumbria. Design for a house for, 82, 83.

Higdon, near Hitchin, Herts., 36, 43.

Kedleston, Derbyshire, 43, 45, 71, 78, 79, 87, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 143, 229, 229, 230, 231, 231, 232, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 236, 237, 237, 238, 239, 239, 240, 240, 241, 241, 242, 242, 243, 243, 244, 244, 245, 245, 245.

Kenwood, Middlesex, 114, 202, 303, 303, 304, 305, 305, 306, 306, 307, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 312, 313, 313, 314, 314, 315, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 319, 320.

Kimbolton Castle, Hunts. Gateway and screen, 63, 65, 66, 67, 219.

King's College Chapel, Cambridge. Design for reredos, 92, 94, 97, 98.

Lowther Castle, Cumberland. Design for, 65, 98.

Luton Hoo, Beds., 65, 67, 88, 69, 70, 70, 71, 74, 110, 278.

Market Harborough and Shambles, High Wycombe, Bucks., 46, 50, 58, 59.

Moor Park, Herts. Additions to, 43, 44, 45, 54, 81.

Newby, 65, 70, 176, 184.

Noctel Priory, Yorks. Alterations to, 63, 103, 173, 232, 238, 243, 290, 292.

Osterley Park, Middlesex, 39, 65, 99, 113, 173, 175, 187, 279, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 286, 287, 287, 288, 288, 289, 290, 290, 291, 291, 293, 294, 294, 295, 295, 296, 266, 297, 297, 298, 299, 299, 300, 300, 301, 301, 302.

Shardeloes, Bucks., 34, 56, 58, 144, 144, 145, 146, 147, 147, 148, 148, 149, 150, 150, 151, 151, 152, 153, 153, 154, 155, 155, 156, 156, 211, 213, 218, 240, 258, 292.

Stansted House, Sussex, referred to, 233.

Stowe, Bucks., 110, 115, 117, 117, 119, 121, 240.

Strawberry Hill, Middlesex, 91.

Syon House, Middlesex, 63.

Temple for Sir William Stanhope. Design for, 10.

Trestile Bridge, Brasted, Kent. Design for, 77, 226.

Warkworth Castle, Northumberland, 253, 257.

Weal Hall, Essex, 111.

West Wycombe Park, Bucks., 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 57, 58, 58, 59, 59.

Whitchurch, Village at, 65.

Witneybury de Broke. Richard, 12th Baron. Design for monument of, 131.

Witham, Somerset. Design for, 49.

Wormsbury, Herts., 104, 106, 107.

Public Office and Recognition.

Electoral as Member of Parliament for Kinross, referred to, 48, 71. Election to the Royal Society, 46. Election to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 124. Election to the Society of Arts, 25. Interview with George III and appointment as Architect of His Majesty's Works, 48. Member of the Architects' Club, 127. Non inclusion in the Royal Academy, referred to, 105, 120. Resignation as Architect of His Majesty's Works, 71, 74, 120, 131.

Relations with Clients, Friends, other Architects, etc.

Absence of any record of his acquaintance with Sir Joshua Reynolds, 73, 125. Acquaintance with Barnes, referred to, 76. Acquaintance with Thomas and Paul Sandby, referred to, 4. An offer at the Earl of Bute's cold reception, 132. Apprenticeship by, of the son of Sir John Vanbrugh, 70, 216. Association with John Carr at Harewood House, 104, 157, 236. Association with Clerisseau at Spalatro, 10. Association with James Paine at Kedleston, 43. Bute, 3rd Earl of, referred to as patron of, 32. Commissions for Hugh, 1st Duke of Northumberland, for work at Syon House, Alnwick Castle, and Northumberland House, London, 251, 253. Comparison of, with James Wyatt, 135. Connection with David Hume, 10, 11, 13. Discussions with James Stuart on Greek architecture, referred to, 81. Early clients of, 34. Friendship with David and Mrs. Garrick, 27, 30. Friendship with General Robert Clerk, 10. Friendship with Adam Smith, William Robertson, David Home, Adam Ferguson and John Horne, referred to, 10,

First meeting with Mrs. Garrick, 72. Garrick and Adam referred to as reformers of existing taste, 30. His many foreign acquaintances, referred to, 23. His probable personal relations and subsequent approach to Henry Walpole, referred to, 91, 98. His rough note on his many influential clients (1761-62), 68. Introduction to the Earl of Bute, 23, 70. Letter of, to the Earl of Buchan, referring to his situation as "not at Court," 123, 132. Letter of, to his client, John Foyde, 60, 61. Letter of, to Lord Kames on the hope of a new Royal Palace being built, 49, 51. Letter of, to Lord Kames on the Orders of Architecture, 50, 51, 54, 73. Letter of, to Baron Mure on the success of the Adelphi Lottery, 118, 131. Letter of, to Baron Mure on the house the latter wanted, 115, 116, 131. Letter of, referring to his having no correspondence with Sir William Chambers, 123. Mansfield, 1st. Mansfield, 1st Earl of, referred to as a patron of, 3, 307. Meeting with Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, referred to, 23. Meeting with Zuccoli, referred to, 316, 319. Mentions James Stirling in the "Works" by, referred to, 23. Probable association with James Paine, Alnwick Castle, 245. Relations between James Wyatt and, 124, 125. Relations with the builders of Mansfield Street and Portland Place, London, referred to, 122. Relations with the 2nd Earl of Shelburne (1st Marquis of Lansdowne), 109. Relations with the last set headed by the 5th Baron Le Spencer, referred to, 55, 73. Resentment of, at the success of Wyatt and the privileged position of Chambers, referred to, 113. Soane's reference in his Royal Academy lectures to, 109, 110, 114. Strained relations with Lord Shelburne over the Adelphi project, referred to, 210. Supersession of, by amateurs at Nuneham, 92. Tribute by to the 1st Earl of Mansfield, in the "Works," 307. Visit to Bowood with Lord Shelburne and Mr. Townsend, 1768, 199. Visit to Garrick at Hampton, with others of the "Scotch Group," 29. Weekly meetings with others of the "Scotch Group," 27.

Scottish Projects.

Advice by, for fortress gaol on Calton Hill, Edinburgh, referred to, 67, 98. Bridge at Dalkeith (completed by James Adam), 128, 131. Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, Designs for, 97, 132. Culzean Castle, Ayrshire, 88, 91, 92, 93, 97. Designs for Scottish houses and buildings, referred to. Advocates Library, Edinburgh, 132. Airthrey, Stirlingshire, 132. Archerfield, Berwick, 132. Balavale, Badenoch, 132. Balbaird, near Edinburgh, 132. Blair Adam, house for John Adam, 9, 12. Bridewell, Edinburgh, 95, 132. Champfleurie, Linlithgow, 132. College of Justice, Edinburgh, 132. Concert Rooms, Edinburgh, 132. Congilton, East Lothian, 132. Dumfries for Lord Kenmure, 132. Dunbar Castle, office building, 94, 95. Glasgow Assembly Rooms, Glasgow Infirmary, 132. Glasgow Trade Hall, 132. Glencairn, Perthshire, 132. Gostord House, 132. "House of the Bush," Edinburgh, 132. Lasswade Church, 132. Lauder Castle, Thirlestane, Berwick, 95, 96, 128, 132. Library, Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh, 64. Lint House, near Glasgow, 132. Maudlesay Castle, Lanarkshire, 132. Ninewells near Dundee, Berwick, 122. Riding House, Edinburgh, for John Foyde, 64. Rosebank-on-Clyde, 132. Rudding Castle, 132. St. George's Square, Glasgow, 132. Semple Castle, Renfrew, 132. Hume David. Designs for the tomb of, 145, 157.

House at Caldwell for Baron Mure, 60, 115, 118, 132. Ill-fated scheme of, for Edinburgh University, referred to, 112. Register House of Scotland, Edinburgh, 116, 125, 126, 128, 131, 132. South Bridge Improvement, Edinburgh. Suggested treatment of, 128, 132.

Unfinished work at Edinburgh at the death of, 126.

Work in the last years of, referred to as mainly in Scotland, 126, 128, 132.

Travel, Study Drawings, Sketches, etc.

Absence in the Soane Collection of many important drawings of, referred to, 24. Architectural character of the studies of, 17, 24. Catholicity of the Architectural studies of, 1. Date of the return of, from Italy, 21, 22. Departure of, from Rome to Spalatro, referred to, 24. Design for a firework or festival building at a general peace, referred to, 34. Drawing by, of buildings at Genoa, referred to, 14. Drawing by, of the Arch at Pola in Istria, referred to, 24. Drawing by, of balustrade of St. Lorenzo Florence, referred to, 24. Drawing by, based on a study of Roman Thermes, referred to, 15. Drawing by, of Maria della Salute and the Dogana, Venice, referred to, 17. Drawing by, of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, referred to, 15. Drawings (probably by) of the Trevi Fountain, 15, 17, 21. Drawing by, of the Villa Panphilj, referred to, 15. Farewell dinner of, at Inveresk, before going to Italy, 24. Grand tour of, referred to, 14, 20, 21. His book on Spalatro, 1, 17, 19, 21, 23, 24, 33, 63, 245. Letters of, from Rome, 14, 24. Plan by, of a theatre at Serento, near Viterbo, referred to, 24. Reference to his not having visited Greece, 83. Semi-architectural landscapes by, in the Soane Collection, 77, 78, 87. Sept. 16 volume of miscellaneous sketches by, and others, in the Soane Collection, referred to, 10, 11, 24. Sketch by, of cornice at the Pitt Palace, Florence, referred to, 15. Sketch design by, for a Casino, 15, 24. Sketch by, of the loggia, Villa Madama, Rome, referred to, 15. Various sketches, drawn out from the original rough notes of, 4, 18, 20.

Adam, Robert and James. Adelphi enterprise of, The, 5, 9, 71, 71, 92, 98, 99, 100, 104, 105, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 131, 210. Alterations by, at Drury Lane Theatre, 30, 88. Attendance of, at the reception given by Captain and Mrs. Prince, 116, 137. Building enterprise of, at Portland Place, London, 112, 114, 118, 119, 120, 129. Building scheme of, at Mansfield Street, London, 112, 118, 118. Elmes' relegation of, to the position of speculative builders, referred to, 112. Meeting of, with Fanny Burney, 116, 131. Paine's desire to remain on good terms with, referred to, 236. Paine's relinquishing of Kedleston to, 232. Portraits of, by Fragonard, referred to, 87. Prefaces to the "Works in Architecture" of, referred to, 1, 3, 4, 14, 50, 78, 79, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87, 99, 106, 113, 147, 216, 228, 243, 266. Reference in the "Works" to the 3rd Earl of Bute, 95, 97. References to the published "Works in Architecture," of,

50, 76, 77, 78, 98, 103, 106, 125, 130, 147, 216, 228, 242, 270, 271, 296, 297, 299, 300, 306, 307, 308, 310, 320. Reference to, as "Messrs. Adelphi," in a letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1781, 92, 98. Referred to in connection with the sale of the unfinished Shelburne (now Lansdowne) House, London, 65. Revision by, of Paine's plans for Kedleston, Derbyshire, 103, 113. Robert Smirke's pamphlet attack on, 105, 106, 108, 109, 113. Tatham's letter to Henry Holland, junior, criticising the work of, 114. Tendency to ascribe all the late Georgian squares and streets in London, to, 114. Their collection of antiques, 4. Walpole's reference to, as "The Constellation of the Adelphi," and their "bubble lottery," 100, 113. Work by, for John Elwes, M.P., referred to, 119. Adam Room, The, Kenwood, Middlesex, see Kenwood.

Adam, Susannah. Her marriage to John Elwes, Elder, referred to, 31. Reference to her living with her brother, Robert, at Lower Grosvenor Street, 71, 74. Reference to her daughter, Susannah Clerk, living with the latter's uncle, William Adam, junior, 32.

Adam Style. The Bowles Club, St. James's London, 67. Copying of, referred to, 67. Sir Joseph Banks's House, 32, Soho Square, London, 127, 129. Stratford Place, London, 114, 118, 123, 124, 125. Wyatt's classical work referred to as submerged in, 125.

Adam, Type of Decoration. Referred to as the drawing-room style, 75.

Adam, William, senior, architect. (Father of the Four Brothers) Building by, of Fort George, referred to, 23. Characteristics of his architectural work, 2. Design for the tomb of, 11, 18. Details of his life and works, 23. Drum House, referred to as his masterpiece, 4. His book, "Vitrivius Scoticus," 2, 23. His brother-in-law, Archibald Robertson, referred to, 4. His connection with "The Society for Improving Arts and Sciences," etc., Edinburgh, 4. His direction of the cutting of a tunnel to drain the Piney moorland, referred to. His Crown patent for draining the Highlands, 4, 23. His position and practice, 4. His post as Master Mason to the King in Scotland, referred to, 23. His treatment of Drum House, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11. His wife, 23. Influence of the work of Vanbrugh, Kent and Gibbs on, referred to, 2. Quality of his work, 5. Referred to in the memorial notice of Robert Adam, 128. Works by, referred to—Arliston House, 2, 23. Dumfries House, 23. Dundee Town Hall, 23. Gray House, 23. Hopetoun House, wings of, 2, 23. Kinnoull House, 23. Adam, Mrs. William (senior) (Mother of the four brothers). Her opinion of David Hume, 13. Marriage to William Adam, senior, referred to, 23.

Adam, William, junior. Account for carcass timber at Kenwood, referred to as the name of, 116. Adelphi enterprise, referred to as existing in his hands, 116, 117. Bridge by, over William Street (now Durham House Street), Adelphi, 129. Progress by, for completing Edinburgh University, 126, 128. Design by, for the new House of Parliament, 10, 129. George III's letter to Lord North with reference to, being made Treasurer of the Ordnance, 121, 131. Gradual impoverishment of, 130. His indiscriminate collecting of office sketches, referred to, 15. His place as financier in the Adam group, 9, 10, 129. Houses by, in Whitehall and Whitehall Place, London, 129. Letters from, to James Adam in Italy, 4, 63, 73, 74. Measure of his abilities, 5. Obituary notice of, 130. Preservation by, of the Adam drawings forming the Soane collection, referred to, 10. Referred to as present at a conference on Naval Tactics, 31. Referred to in connection with insurance on a shipment of statues and busts from Italy to London, 74. Will of, and residence at death, referred to, 32. Winding up by, of the mercantile practice of the Adelphi brethren, 129.

Adam, Rev. Horace. His guide to Blair Adam estate, referred to as the property of John Adam. His descriptive guide to the Blair Adam estate, referred to, 123. His memorial pedestal to his father, John Adam, at Blair Adam, 8. His quarrel and duel with Charles James Fox, referred to, 128. Referred to as Lord Chief Commissioner in Scotland, 31. Referred to as present at a conference with his uncles, William and James, 31. Referred to as Robert Adam's nephew, 128. Walpole's exaggerated dislike of, referred to, 128.

"Adelphi, Messrs." Robert and James Adam referred to as, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1781, 92, 98.

Adelphi, The, London. Bridge over William Street (now Durham House Street) in, 129. Differentiation between the enterprise of, and Nash's reckless commercialism, 113. Hasty launching of, referred to, 71, 72. The inception of, as Robert Adam's dream of a great building, 115. John Adam's connection with, 5. Negotiations of the Royal Society of Arts in the scheme of, referred to, 112, 113. Plans referred to in, 104. Points, 6, in the third edition of the "Works," referred to, 10. Shelburne's opposition to the project of, referred to, 210. Strain of the enterprise of, on the resources of the Adam family, 115. Reference to, in Tatham's letter of criticism on the Adam's work, 114. Referred to as a heavy drag on Robert Adam's legitimate practice, 112. Referred to as mainly in the hands of James and William Adam, junior, 112. Referred to as probably the only Adam work with which Gwilt and Elmes were acquainted, 112. Referred to by W. H. Leedes as a speculation that turned out badly, 114. Referred to in James Adam's obituary notice, 129. Robert Adam's connection with, probably only that of the artist, 112. Robert Smirke's attack on, 105. Walpole's abuse of, 99, 100, 113. Adelphi Cris. The Baron Mure's help in, referred to, 116. David Hume's letter to Adam Smith, referring to, 117, 131. John Adam's note, 112, for a loan on Blair Adam to him in, 118. Lottery promoted in, 100, 103. Robert Adam's letter to Baron Mure on the success of the lottery, 118, 131. Robert Adam's unsuccessful attempt to sell his statuary and pictures during, 118. Referred to as a probable reason for John Adam's house at Blair Adam not being built, 9.

Admiralty Screen, Whitehall, London, 37, 37, 46, 73, 130, 139. Admiralty, The, Whitehall, London. Ripley's building of, referred to, 140.

Adrian's Villa. Referred to by Robert Adam in his essay on "Ceilings and Wall Decoration," 87. Walpole's reference to, 92.

Advocates Library, The, Edinburgh. Robert Adam's design for, referred to, 132.

"Agis," poetic tragedy by John Home. Its refusal by Garrick, 23. Its subsequent production by Garrick, 29.

Agriculture. James Adam's treatise on, referred to, 9, 23.

Ailesbury, The Countess of. Walpole's letter to, referring to Lady Sarah Lennox as "The Ninth Statue," 123, 132.

Airthrey, Shropshire. Robert Adam's design for, referred to, 132.

Albany, The, London (formerly Melbourne House), 48, 62, 73.

Alberti, Leon Battista, referred to in Robert Adam's notes on Etruscan Architecture, 299.

Alnwick Castle, Northumberland. Robert Adam's work at, 39, 41, 43, 73, 98. Walpole's reference to building at, 253, 278. Wesley's criticism of, 177.

Alston-Youngest, John. Reference to Robert Adam's design for a house in Millar Street, Glasgow, for, 132.

Altarpiece, King's College Chapel, Cambridge, 92, 94, 97, 98.

Ambrosden. Sanderson Miller referred to as architect of, 98.

Amherst, Field-Marshal Lord. Walpole's apostrophe to, 133, 143.

Amiconi, T. Zucco referred to as a pupil of, 316.

Angelo, Michael. Robert Adam's criticism of, in the use of the Ionic order, 81. His art contrasted with that of Pragonard, 76, 87. Angelo's "Reminiscences." Referred to in regard to Wyatt's guaranteed income from the nobility, 114.

Anne, Queen. Her quarrel with her sister Mary, Queen of William III, referred to, 251. Her residence at Syon House, referred to, 251.

Anson, Lord. His purchase of Moor Park, Herts, and laying out of its park and gardens, referred to, 54.

Ante-room. Its suggested purpose, 261, 262. Kenwood, Middlesex, 307, 310. Syon House, Middlesex, 264, 255, 256, 260, 261.

"Antiquities of Athens," The, by Stuart and Revett. Effect of, on current architectural ideas, 1.

Apse. Harewood Hall, Yorks, 171, 173, 174. Kedleston, Derbyshire, 237, 238. Kenwood, Middlesex, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315. Osterley Park, Middlesex, 284, 285, 292, 293. Syon House, Middlesex, 249, 251, 257, 258, 259, 260, 262.

Apsley House, London. Etruscan decoration by Robert Adam at, referred to, 102.

Arch of Constantine. The south front grouping of Kedleston, referred to as based on the, 103.

Arch of Octavia. The lodge at Kedleston, referred to as following the, 103.

Archerfield, Berwick. Robert Adam's design for, referred to, 132.

Architect, Profession and qualifications of an, as defined by the Architects' Club, 127.

Architects' Club, The. At the Thatched House Tavern, London, 126, 127.

Architectural book treasures in the library, Croome Court, Worcestershire, referred to, 184.

Architectural studies of Robert Adam. Their catholicity referred to, 1.

Architecture. Dr. Johnson's opinions on, 102. Trend of, during the second half of the eighteenth century, 1. The Orders of, Robert Adam's letter to Lord Kames on, 50, 51, 54, 73.

Architecture, Nature and the Standard of Taste. Robert Adam's views on, 70.

Argyll, Archibald, Duke of. Referred to in the memorial notice of Robert Adam, 128.

Argyll and Greenwich, John, Duke of. Referred to as father of Lady Mary Coke, 143.

Argyll, Duke of. Referred to as the second husband of Elizabeth Gunning, 101.

Arkwright, Sir Richard. Referred to as among the leaders of industry and science, 201.

Arniston House. Referred to as the work of William Adam, senior, 2, 23.

Artists' arrival in Rome, 1753-1775. William Hayward's list of referred to, 24.

Arts, The Society of. James Adam's election to, 74. Robert Adam's election to, 25. Negotiations of, in the scheme of the Adelphi, referred to, 112, 114.

Assembly Rooms, The, Glasgow. Robert Adam's design for, referred to, 126, 132.

Atholl, The Dowager Duchess of. Referred to as a patron of Adam Ferguson, 27.

Atterbury, Bishop, Dean of Westminster. His assistance in securing a scholarship for William Murray, afterwards first Earl of Mansfield, 303, 306.

Aunceier's "History of Isleworth and Syon," referred to in regard to Syon House, 253, 255.

Autobiography of Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, referred to, 4, 9, 10, 11, 23, 24, 26, 33, 71, 72, 73, 74, 95, 177.

Aylesbury, The last Earl of. Marriage of his daughter to the fourth Duke of Richmond, referred to, 46.

Avott St. Lawrence Church. Referred to as the work of Nicholas Revett, 58.

Baird, George Husband. Principal of Edinburgh University, referred to, 24.

Baker, Mr. His house, 18, Portman Square, London, referred to, 131. Referred to as ground landlord of the Crescent, Quebec Street, London, 119, 131.

Balville, Badenoch. Robert Adam's designs for additions and alterations at, referred to, 132.

Balbardie, near Edinburgh. Robert Adam's designs for, referred to, 132.

Balckas. Its purchase by Sir William Bruce, referred to, 23.

Balustrade; Metal Stair. David Garrick's villa, Hampton-on-Thames, 33. Hatchlands Park, Surrey, 143. Harewood House, Yorks, 168. Kenwood, Middlesex, 307, 310. No. 20, St. James's Square, London, 290. Osterley Park, Middlesex, 283, 287, 290. Wormley, Herts, 108.

Barham, Cedric. Bishop of (1215-41). Walpole's reference to the tomb of, in the possession of Richard Barham, 89.

Bank of England, London. Area of, compared with that of the Palace at Spalato, 19, 24.

Bankes, Sir Joseph, F.R.S. His house, 32, Soho Square, London, imitated Adam style, 127, 128.

Barre, Colonel. Referred to as a friend of William, 2nd Earl of Shelburne.

Barry, Sir Charles, R.A. Alterations and additions to Harewood House, Yorks, 157, 167, 171, 171, 172, 173. Campanile at Bowood, referred to, 210, 213. Garden designs at Bowood, 211. His final shaping of Bowood, 204, 207. His Houses of Parliament, referred to, 19. His indifference to Adam's work, 110. His pupil, John Gibson, referred to, 224. Meeting with Joseph Gwilt in 1814. Plan showing his additions to Bowood, 209. Referred to, 131. Similarity of his practice to that of Robert Adam, 104. Sir Charles Eastlake, his companion at Rome in 1818, 215. Use by, of Painswick,

box, blue stone and probably Calne and local stone for work at Bowood, 208. Villa for Lord Tankerville, Walton-on-Thames, referred to, 210. Work at Bowood, 210, 211, 215.

Barry, James, R.A. Referred to as a prophet of the High Art School, 177.

Bartoli Giuseppe, Italian Antq., 1717-1790. His seaglolia plasters in the salon or rotunda, Kedleston, 237, 240, 245.

Bartolozzi, Gaetano Stefano, Italian artist. His engravings in Robert Adam's book on Spalatro, referred to, 21.

Bateman, Richard. His "Gothick" house at Windsor, 89, 98. Sir James, father of Richard Bateman, referred to, 98. Walpole's reference to his stripping and selling the "Gothick" house at Windsor, 98.

Bath. Robert Adam's great river bridge at, 128.

Batoni, Pompeo Girolamo. His copy of Raphael's "Meeting and Feast of the Gods" at Northumberland House, London, referred to, 41.

Baskerville, John, Birmingham Printer. Details of life and work, 10. Dr. Alexander Carlyle's interview with and opinion of, 10. His Hockley Hill, referred to, 10. His letter to Walpole, soliciting patronage, referred to, 10. Hutton's account of, 10. James Adam's interview with and opinion of, 10. Sales of his types in France, referred to, 10.

Beaconsfield, The Earl of. See Distrail.

Beaufort, 4th Duke of. Marriage of his daughter to the 7th Earl of Northampton, referred to, 34.

Beckford, Alderman William, Lord Mayor of London. Visit of, with other clients of Robert Adam to Eastbury, 55. Robert Adam's designs for Witham, Somerset, for, 49, 73.

Bedchamber, State. Althwick Castle, 43. Osterley Park, 286, 295, 295, 296, 297. Strawberry Hill, 91.

Bedford, Duke of. Referred to as in the early Cabinet of George III, 123.

Beds, Upholstered. Luton Hoo, 69. Osterley Park, 295, 296, 297.

Behave, Mrs. Her "Apology" quoted on the sale of Piccadilly Houses, 7.

Bell' Turret, Bowood, Wilts. Design by Geo. Dance, the younger, for, referred to, 211.

Benchies, Wood Settle, Osterley Park, the hall, 285, 293.

Bentham, Jeremy. An habuté of Bowood, 204. His note on the 2nd Earl of Shelburne, 1st Marquis of Lansdowne, 199, 214.

Bentley, Richard. Boswell's opinion of his capabilities, 98. Designs by for the "Odes" of Thomas Gray, 98. Assistance of to Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill, 88. His cloister of founders at Richard Bateman's "Gothick" house, Windsor, 89. His father, referred to as "The Great Scholar," 88, 98. His monument to Sir Horace Mann's brother at Linton, Kent, 89. His residence with Walpole at Strawberry Hill, 89. His retirement to Jersey on account of debt, 98. His share in Walpole's Architecture, 89. His tragedy, "Althousius," and its reception at Covent Garden, 98. His "Meetings of the Strawberry Hill Committee," 99. Quarrel with Walpole and expulsion from Strawberry Hill, 89. Walpole's application to, for a library ceiling design for Strawberry Hill, 88. Walpole's letters to him on: (a) The Committee of Strawberry Hill, 88; (b) Sanderson Miller's ruined Castle at Hagley Park, 94. (c) The Temple at Garrick's villa, 31. Walpole's reference to him as "a treasure of drawing and taste," 89.

Bentley, Richard, and Miller, Sanderson. Referred to as designers of the earliest castle building in the middle eighteenth century, 88.

Berenger, Mr. Referred to by Robert Adam in his letter to John Fordyce, 60.

Berry, Miss. Walpole's letters to, referred to, 294.

Bertot, Mons., French Sculptor. His work on Robert Adam's design for General Wolfe's monument, referred to, 19.

"Biographical Dictionary." Article on Robert Adam by W. H. Leeds in the, 5.

Bridgewater, Svn. House, Middlesex, circular gallery boudoir, 269, 272.

Birmingham. Hutton's History of, referred to, 10. James Adam's visit to, referred to, 10.

Bishop's Palace, Durham, The. Sanderson Miller's work at, referred to, 98.

Black, Parson, Vicar of Hampton. His game of golf at Molesley Hurst, 29.

Blair, Dr. Conference at his house at Westminster, referred to, 31.

Hume's letter to, on the financial position of John Adam, 117.

Blair Adam Estate, The. Description of, 8, 9. The home of William Adam, senior, 2. John Adam's succession to and development of, 5. Memorial pedestal to John Adam on, 8. Probable reasons for not building the house on, 9, 23. Reference to John Adam raising money on, 118, 131. Robert Adam's design for the intended house on, 6, 12.

Blair Drummond. Referred to, 90, 113.

Blenheim Palace, Oxon. Robert Adam's reference to, as an example of "movement" in architecture, 216. James Adam's reported opinion of, 9. Referred to (a) as a lordly mansion of the great house-building epoch, 107; (b) As the work of Sir John Vanbrugh, 214.

Bloom, Mr. Carpet weaver at 1st Earl of Lonsdale's carpet factory, Whitehaven, referred to, 65.

Blythe, R. Engraver of plates in the Adam "Works," mentioned, 105.

Boaden, James. His "Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons," quoted in regard to the poet, Mason, 98.

Boathouse. Svn. House, Middlesex, 217.

Boodles Club, St. James's, London. An example of imitation Adam, referred to, 67.

Bookcases, Groome Court, Worcestershire, 183, 184. Harewood House, Yorks, 171, 173, 174. Kedleston, Derbyshire, 242, 242. Kenwood, Middlesex, 309, 310, 311, 314. Nostell Priory, Yorks, 183, 184, 202. Osterley Park, Middlesex, 289, 292. Svn. House, Middlesex, 267, 268, 268, 269, 270, 271.

Books, Pamphlets and Publications referred to or quoted

- "Account of the Parish of Liberton, 1712" (Rev. Thomas White), 23.
- "Am des Etrangers en Angleterre" (Louis Dutens), 69, 73.
- "An Appeal to the Public, occasioned by the suspension of the Architectural Lectures in the Royal Academy, etc." (Sir John Soane), 108, 113, 114.
- "Anecdotes of Painting" (Horace Walpole), 90, 91.
- "Antiquaire acariac et brusque" (de Caylus), 302.
- "Antiquities of Athens" (Stuart, James and Revett, Nicholas), 1, 58, 73.
- "Apology of George Anne Bellamy" (by Herself), 73.
- "Architecture Campestre" (T. E. Hunt), 114.
- Arnold's "Library of the Fine Arts," 73, 215.
- "Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delaney" (edited by Lady Hanover), 89, 92, 98, 320.
- "Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk" (edited by J. Hill Burton), 4, 9, 10, 11, 23, 24, 26, 33, 71, 72, 73, 74, 95, 177.
- "Baibaer" (Robert Wood), 39.
- "Beauties of England and Wales" (Brayley, E. W. and Britton, John), 204, 206, 207.
- "Biographical Dictionary" (article by W. H. Leeds on Robert Adam), 23.
- "Biographical Dictionary of the Fine Arts Series" (incomplete), 114.
- "Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen" (Robert Chambers), 72, 73.
- "Book for a Rainy Day" (J. T. Smith), 74.
- "Builder, The," October 6, 1849, 215.
- "Builder's Magazine, The," 1770, 114.
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- "Castle of Otranto, The," a Gothic novel (Horace Walpole), 88, 90.
- "Civil Engineer and Architects Journal," Vol. x, 112, 113, 114.
- "Collection of Etruscan, Greek and Roman Antiquities from the Cabinet of the Hon. William Hamilton, 1766" (Sieur de Hancarville), 302.
- "Correspondence of David Garrick," 30, 72.
- "Decisions" (Lord Kames), 73.
- "Diary of Mrs. Philib. Lybbe Powys" (edited by Mrs. E. J. Chisholm), 74, 98, 120, 131, 266, 302.
- "Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay" (edited by her niece, Charlotte Barrett), 73.
- "Diary of John Evelyn," 250, 251.
- "Diary of a Journey to England, 1761-62" (Frederick von Kielmansegg), 41.
- "Diary of George Bubb Dodrington" (published by H. P. Wyndham), 32.
- "Dunciad" (Alex. Pope), 312.
- "Early Diary of Francis Burney" (edited by Mrs. A. Raine Ellis), 116, 131.
- "Eccentricities" (John Edwin), 278.
- "Eighteenth Century Correspondence: Letters to Sanderson Miller of Radway" (edited by Dickens, Lilian and Stanton, Mary), 98, 178, 181.
- "Elizy of a Country Churchyard" (Thomas Gray), 98.
- "Elements of Criticism" (Lord Kames), 73.
- "Encyclopedia of Architecture: Historical, Theoretical and Practical" (Joseph Gwilt), 160, 168, 169, 111, 112, 113, 114, 204, 270, 272.
- "English Connoisseur, The" (Sir John Soane), 245.
- "English Eighteenth Century Sculptures in the Sénèze Museum," 320.
- "English Garden, The" (Rev. William Mason), 92.
- "Essays" (Lord Kames), 73.
- "Evelina" (Fanny Burney), 116, 123.
- "Fife, Pictorial and Historical" (A. H. Millar), 23.
- "Gentleman's Magazine" (Vol. LXII), 132; (Vol. LXIV), 132; (Vol. xcii), 130.
- "George Brydges and His Contemporaries" (J. H. Jesse), 74.
- "Gothic Impression" (Batty Langley), 88.
- "Handbook of the London Bankers" (Price), 302.
- "Heroic Epistle" (Rev. W. Mason, anonymously), 121, 132.
- "Historical and Posthumous Memoirs of Sir W. W. Wraxall" (H. B. Wheatley), 32, 33, 72.
- "History and Antiquities of Stratford-on-Avon" (R. B. Wheler), 30.
- "History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey" (O. Manning), 138, 143.
- "History of Birmingham" (Hutton), 10.
- "History of George the Third" (J. H. Jesse), 32.
- "History of Great Britain" (David Hume), 11.
- "History of Isleworth and Svn." (Aunger), 254, 255.
- "History of Luton" (Fred. Davis), 74.
- "History of Music, 1782" (Dr. Charles Burney), 121.
- "History of Society, 1782" (A. Miller), 121.
- "History of the Modern Styles of Architecture" (J. Fullarton), 101.
- "History of the Roman Republic" (Adam Ferguson), 27.
- "History of the Royal Residences" (W. H. Pyne), 49.
- "History of Warwickshire" (Dugdale), 219, 228.
- "Il Campanile dell' antica Roma, 1762" (G. B. Piranesi), 72.
- "Intimate Society Letters of the Eighteenth Century" (edited by the 9th Duke of Argyll), 191.
- "Johnson's Dictionary," 274, 277.
- "Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects," January, 1910, 104, 177.
- "Journals and Letters of Samuel Curwen" (edited by G. A. Ward), 131, 238, 239, 245, 319, 320.
- "Les Edifices Antiques de Rome" (A. Desgodetz, translated by G. Marshall), 184.
- "Les Ruines de plus beaux Monuments de la Grèce, 1758" (I. D. Le Roy), 72.
- "Letters from Liverpool, etc." (Sam. Derrick), 23.
- "Letters of 'Junius, The,'" 306.
- "Letters of Mary Lepel, Lady Hervey," 12, 72.
- "Letters and Works of the Rt. Hon. Lady M. Wortley Montagu" (W. M. Thomas), 22, 23, 24, 32, 34, 392, 398.
- "Letters of the Hon. Horace Walpole, 4th Earl of Orford" (edited by Mrs. Page Toynbee), referred to, 23, 33, 34, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 143, 141, 46, 49, 63, 65, 73, 74, 79, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 98, 99, 100, 112, 113, 114, 121, 123, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 143, 178, 179, 181, 190, 197, 214, 231, 237, 245, 253, 269, 270, 277, 278, 279, 281, 283, 286, 287, 294, 295, 302, 304, 320.
- "Letters to the Rev. W. J. Temple" (James Boswell), 72.
- "Letters to Sir John Sinclair, Bart., respecting Edinburgh, n.d. 1765" (William Creech), 124, 132.
- "Lettres sur l'Angleterre" (Madame M. A. Figuet du Bocage), 24, 98.

INDEX.

325

"Life and Times of Sir Joshua Reynolds, R.A." (Leslie, C. R. and Taylor, T.), 73.
 "Life and Correspondence of David Hume" (Edited by J. Hill Burton), 131.
 "Life of Horne Tooke" (edited by Alex. Stephen), 319, 320.
 "Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D." (James Boswell), 100, 102, 103, 113, 132.
 "Life of the late John Elwes, Esq., M.P." (Edward Topham), 131.
 "Life of William, Earl of Shelburne" (Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice), 214, 215.
 "Literary and Miscellaneous Memoirs, 1828" (Edward Cradock), 114, 238, 245.
 "Lives of the Chief Justices" (Lord John Campbell), 320.
 "London and Environs, 1761" (Dodsley), 54, 73, 277, 278.
 "London and Westminster Improved, 1766" (John Gwynn), 73, 113.
 "Memoirs (Sir John Soane)," 132.
 "Memoirs of a late Traveller" (Louis Dutens), 74, 278.
 "Memoirs of Mrs. Siddons" (James Boaden), 98.
 "Memoirs of Richard Cumberland" (by Himself), 55, 73.
 "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Hon. Henry Home of Kames" (Hon. A. F. Tytler), 73, 99, 113.
 "Memoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of William Smellie, F.R.S., etc." (Robert Kerr), 24, 123, 132.
 "Naval Tactics, 1779" (John Clerk), 31.
 "Northern Heights of London, The" (Howitt), 114.
 "Nutsells," by Jos MacPake (James Peacock), 109, 114.
 "Observations and Reflections on a Journey through France, Italy and Germany" (Mrs. Thrale), 113.
 "Observation of the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, 1803" (Humphrey Repton), 156.
 "Odes" (Thomson), 98.
 "Palmer" (Robert Wood), 39.
 "Passerii Picture Etruscorum in Vasculis," 302.
 "Plans, Elevations and Sections of Buildings executed in the Counties of Norfolk, etc." (Sir John Soane), 127, 132.
 "Plans, Elevations and Sections of Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Houses" (James Paine), 103, 113.
 "Practical Essays on Agriculture" (James Adam), 9, 23.
 "Quattro Libri dell' Architettura" (Andrea Palladio, translated by Giacomo Leon), 184.
 "Reflections on the Revolution in France" (Edmund Burke), 76.
 "Reminiscences of Henry Angelo," 114.
 "Rewards and Fairies," Tale of "The Wrong Thing" (in Rudyard Kipling), 4.
 "Robert Adam and His Brothers" (Joseph Swarbrick), 131.
 "Rooms of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalato in Dalmatia" (Robert Adam), 119, 21, 23, 33, 35, 36, 38.
 "Select Architecture, being regular designs of Plans and Elevations, well suited to Town and Country" (Robert Morris), 166.
 "Selection from the Family Papers at Caldwell" (Colonel William Mure), 60, 74, 118, 131.
 "Sketch of a Tour into Derbyshire and Yorkshire, etc." (William Bray), 231, 232, 239, 245.
 "The Exhibition, or a Second Anticipation, being Remarks on the Principal Works to be Exhibited next month at the Royal Academy, 1780," by Roger Shanhagan, Gent (Robert Smirke, R.A., senior), 105, 106, 108, 109, 113.
 "The Tourist's Companion to Harewood" (John Jewell), 177.
 "Topographical Dictionary of Scotland, 1813" (Nicholas Carlisle), 23.
 "Tour in 1787 to the Western Highlands of Scotland" (Anon. Attributed to Rev. S. Shaw), 41, 73, 174, 175.
 "Tour through the Northern Counties" (Rev. Richard Warner), 62, 106, 245.
 "Tour through England" (Richard Pococke, Bishop of Meath), 23, 98.
 "Tour to the Hebrides, 1773" (James Boswell), 23.
 "Tour to the Western Islands" (Dr. Samuel Johnson), 125, 132.
 "Tours in Scotland" (Richard Pococke, Bishop of Meath), 98.
 "Travels in Egypt and Nubia" (F. L. Norden), 51.
 "Treatise on Civil Architecture" (Sir William Chambers), 1, 78.
 "Vitrivius Britannicus," 2, 38, 49, 58, 59, 74, 103, 113, 125, 157, 158, 168, 173, 224, 225, 232, 234, 238, 239, 240, 245.
 "Vitrivius Scotticus," being a collection of Plans, Elevations and Sections of Public Buildings, Noblemen's and Gentlemen's Houses in Scotland (William Adam, senior), 2, 4, 6, 23.
 "Voyages" (John Pinkerton), 45.
 "Waldstein" (John Pinkerton), 72.
 "Worship of Nations" (Adam Smith), 24, 128.
 "Wesley's Journals" (N. Curnock), 73.
 "Works in Architecture" (Robert and James Adam), 50, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87, 99, 103, 106, 125, 130, 147, 216, 228, 242, 270, 271, 296, 297, 299, 300, 306, 307, 308, 310, 318, 320.
 "Works in Prose and Verse of William Shenstone," 98.
 "Works of Jeremy Bentham, The" (J. Bowring), 214.
 "Works of Peter Pindar, Esq." (Dr. J. J. Wolfot), 123, 124, 132.
 Borgnis. Italian plaster-worker. His work at West Wycombe Park, referred to, 108.
 Borta, Signor. Referred to as chief architect for Stowe, Bucks., 120. His salons for Earl Temple at Stowe, referred to, 240.
 Boscowen, Admiral. Biographical details, 133, 134, 137. Building-owner of Hatchlands Park, Surrey, 34, 133, 137. His marriage to Miss French, 136. His rule for servants at Hatchlands Park, 148. His probable influence in procuring Robert Adam the Admiralty Screen Commission, 34, 37. Robert Adam's tomb for, at St. Michael Penkevel, Cornwall, referred to, 138. Walpole's flattering apostrophe to, 133.
 Boscowen of Cornwall, The. Family history referred to, 137.
 Boswell, James. His account of the Shakespeare Jubilee, 1769, referred to, 72. His adoption of Johnson's bias against Scotsmen, referred to, 22. His confusion of the "Works" of R. and J. Adam with Vitruvius Britannicus, 125. His interest in the fall of the R. v. Dr. Dodd, referred to, 45. His "Life of Johnson," referred to, 103, 113. His opinion of the 1st Earl of Lonsdale, 72. His reference to, 137.
 Boscowens of Cornwall, The. Family history referred to, 137.
 Boswell, James. His account of the Shakespeare Jubilee, 1769, referred to, 72. His adoption of Johnson's bias against Scotsmen, referred to, 22. His confusion of the "Works" of R. and J. Adam with Vitruvius Britannicus, 125. His interest in the fall of the R. v. Dr. Dodd, referred to, 45. His "Life of Johnson," referred to, 103, 113. His opinion of the 1st Earl of Lonsdale, 72. His
 remark to Dr. Johnson on the Earl of Mansfield, 310. His representation by Mrs. Hannah Moore, referred to, 261. His "Tour to the Hebrides," referred to, 23, 125, 132. His visit to Kedleston, 101, 242. His visit to Luton Hoo, 70. Walpole's criticisms of, referred to, 100, 113.
 Boucher, François, French Painter, 1707-1770. Referred to, 87.
 Boucher-Nelson Tapestries, 184, 291, 292, 293, 295.
 Boudoirs. Kedleston, Derbyshire, 241, 242. Syon House, Middlesex: The gallery, 269, 272.
 Boulton, Mathew, of Soho, Birmingham. Referred to as a leader of industry and science, 201. Referred to as a manufacturer of fire grates, 142.
 Bowood, Wiltshire. Britton's confused idea of Robert Adam's work at, 204, 215. Camille, 216, 215. "Capability" Brown's work on the grounds at, referred to, 204, 214. Ceiling drawing, possibly James Adam's, for, 74. Chapel, 207. Dining-room (formerly the great drawing-room), 204, 205, 206, 208, 209, 211. Diocletian wing, 192, 193, 195, 204, 208, 210, 211, 215. Doric porch on west side, 201, 208. Drawing-room (now the dining-room), 204, 205, 206, 209, 211. Entrance gateway and lodges, 210. Front forecourt, 210. General Robert Clerk, referred to as having a hand in the layout of, 196. Great portico, 197, 199, 203, 207. Hall, 204, 208, 211, 213, 215. Henry Holland, senior, referred to as paymaster for the works at, 214. Henry Keene's work at, 39, 204, 207, 210, 214, 215. Indian room, 207, 213. Its collection of pictures and sculpture referred to, 213. Its complex and obscure architectural history, 210. Its failure to reach the level of a unique masterpiece, referred to, 199. Its purchase by the 1st Earl of Shelburne, referred to, 204, 215. Lady Shelburne's diary notes on the work at, 199. Lead garden statues at, 214. Marble staircase, 204. Mausoleum, 39, 40, 73, 205, 211, 212. Mr. Hamilton's advice in this launay, referred to, 196. Orangery, 213. Plans and maps of, 194, 198, 200, 208, 210, 215. Quadrant balconies in the hall, 208, 211. Referred to as a centre for distinguished and enlightened men, 202, 215. Richard Wall, referred to as paymaster for the works at, 1769-76, 214. Robert Adam's work at, referred to, 39, 46, 194, 196, 204, 210, 210, 204. Sir Charles Barry's final shaping of, 204, 206, 207, 210, 211. Sir Orlando Bridgeman's earlier house at, 204, 208, 215. Staircase ceiling at, and its similarity to that at Hatchlands, 141. Terrace Gardens, 192, 195, 210. The 3rd Marquis of Lansdowne's building operations at, 206, 207, 215.
 Boyce, P. P., Stone Carver. Employment at Drum House and Kinross House, referred to, 2.
 Boydell, John. Publisher of George Robertson's View of Kenwood, referred to, 308, 320.
 Boyle, Richard, 3rd Earl of Burlington. Quotation from Alex. Pope's address to, 2.
 Bramante D'Urbino, Donato Lazzari, Italian Architect. Referred to by Robert Adam in his essay on entablatures for interiors, 85.
 Bray, William. His "Sketch of a Tour into Derbyshire and Yorkshire," referred to, 231, 232, 239, 245.
 Brettingham, Matthew, Architect. Book on Holkham Hall, referred to, 113. Design for a new House of Lords, referred to, 129. Design (in conjunction with Paine), for the north front of Kedleston, as revised by Adam, 232, 237, 245. Method of connecting quadrant galleries with the wings at Kedleston due to him or to Adam, 243. Paine's attribution of the north-east wing of Kedleston to, 103. Referred to as architect for the Duke of Cumberland's house, Pall Mall, 104. Referred to as probably the first architect employed at Kedleston, 103, 232.
 Bretherton, F. F. Architect. Referred to as a member of the Architect's Club, 127.
 Bridewell, Edinburgh. Robert Adam's designs for, referred to, 98, 132.
 Bridges, Bath, over the great river, 128. Brasted, Kent, 77, 77. Compton Verney, Warwickshire, 217, 226, 228. Croome Court, Worcestershire, 178, 191. Dalkeith, 128, 132. Kedleston, Derbyshire, 43, 76, 244, 245. Kenwood, Middlesex, 319. London, 114. Osterley Park, Middlesex, 300, 301. Park Place, Walpole's opinion on, 89. Pont des Arts, Paris, referred to, 79. Richmond, Surrey, 104. Shrewsbury, 113. South bridge and viaduct, Edinburgh. Robert Adam's design for, referred to, 132. South Bridge approaches, 114. Syon House, Middlesex, Robert Adam's design for an intended bridge at, 251, 278. William Street (now Durham House Street), Adelphi, 129. Bridgeman, Sir Orlando, 1st Bart., Family History, 215. His original house at Bowood, 204, 215.
 Bridgeman, Sir Francis, 3rd Bart., Sale of Bowood after his death to the 1st Earl of Shelburne, 215.
 Brierley, Mr. Walter H., Architect. Plans of Harewood House, Yorks., found in his office, formerly that of John Carr, 161, 162, 168, 169. Breslau. Plan of a tower for, 80.
 Brindley, James. Referred to as among the leaders of industry and science in the late eighteenth century, 201.
 British Coffee House, Cockspur Street, London. Referred to as rebuilt by Robert Adam, 31.
 Britton, John, F.S.A. His "Beauties of Wiltshire," referred to, 204. His confused ideas of Adam's work at Bowood, 204, 215. His critical criticism of Adam's work at Bowood, 204, 207. Referred to as a visitor at Bowood, 202, 204.
 Brown, Dr. John. His visit to David Hume's tomb, referred to, 13.
 Brown, Lancelot ("Capability") Landscape Architect, contribution to him of the 1st Earl of Compton Verney, 268. Genealogy of his memory at Croome Court, 178. His claim to be architect of Croome Court and Croome church, 178. His employment at Bowood, 196, 214, 215. His lakes at Croome Court, referred to, 178. His layout at Croome Court, 178. His lay-out at Moor Park, referred to, 54. His refashioning of the grounds at Compton Verney, 226.
 Bruce, Lady Mary. Her marriage to the 4th Duke of Richmond, referred to, 46.
 Bruce, Sir William. Referred to as architect of Hopetoun House and Kinross House, 2, 23. Restoration of Holyrood Palace by, referred to, 23.
 Buceleuch, Duke of. Referred to as a pall-bearer at Robert Adam's funeral, 128.
 Buchan, Earl of. Referred to as President of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, 123. Robert Adam's letter to him referring to his situations as "not at court," 123, 132.
 Buchanan House, near Stirling. Robert Adam's reference to his visit to, 116.

Buck, Samuel and Nathaniel. Their view of Syon House or Abbey in 1737. 247.

Buckingham, Earl of. Dallaway's reference to his house, Stowe, 110.

Buckingham House or Palace. Formerly the "Queen's House," referred to, 49. Walpole's reference to George III as settled at, 48. Buckingham's Plotting Closet. Walpole's reference to the tower at Thornbury as, 62.

Building Owners.

- Alston-Youngest, John (House in Millar Street, Glasgow), 112.
- Beckford, Alderman William (Witham, Somerset), 49, 73.
- Boscawen, Admiral (Hatchlands Park, Surrey), 34, 133.
- Buccleuch, Duke of (Bridge at Dalkeith), 128.
- Bute, 3rd Earl of (Shelburne House, London, and Luton Hoo, Beds.), 33, 65.
- Child, Francis (Osterley Park, 1761-11), 290.
- Child, Robert (Osterley Park, 1763-82), 279, 282.
- Coventry, 6th Earl of (Croome Court, Worcestershire), 128, 178.
- Curzon, Sir Athelstane, Baron Scarsdale (Kedleston, Derbyshire), 42, 101, 103, 245.
- Douglas, William (house at Newton Stewart, Galloway), 126.
- Drake, William (Shardeloes, Bucks.), 144.
- Dundas, Sir Lawrence, Bart. (Moor Park, Herts), 44.
- Dunlop, J. (Rosebank-upon-Clyde), 132.
- Elwes, John, M.P. (Great Marlborough Street, Welbeck Street, Portland Place, Portman Square, and a great part of Marylebone, London), 110.
- Grant, William (Congleton, East Lothian), 112.
- Haldane, R. (Airthrey, Stirlingshire), 132.
- Home, John (Ninewells), 112.
- Hunter, Thomas (Glencarse, Perthshire), 132.
- Hyndford, the Earl of (Maudesley Castle, Lanark), 132.
- Johnston, Alexander (Champfleurie, Linlithgow), 132.
- Kinnaird, Lord (Drimmies), 132.
- Lansdowne, Henry, 3rd Marquis of and 4th Earl of Shelburne (Bowood, Wilts.), 266.
- Lansdowne, William, 1st Marque of and 2nd Earl of Shelburne (Bowood, Wilts.), 102, 206. (Shelburne House, London), 65.
- Lascelles, Edwin, 1st Earl of Harewood (Harewood House, Yorks.), 157.
- Lauderdale, the Earl of (Lauder Castle, Thirlstane, Berwick), 96, 128, 129.
- Le Despencer, 5th Baron (West Wycombe Park, Bucks.), 52.
- Leicester, Thomas Cooke, 1st Earl of (Holkham, Norfolk).
- Lonsdale, Earl of (Lowther Castle, Cumberland), 98.
- Loughborough, Lord (Rudding Hall), 112.
- Lytton, Lord (Hazley Park, Worcestershire), 178, 262.
- McDowell, William (Semple Castle, Renfrew), 132.
- Mackenzie, Sir (Balavilie, Badenoch), 132.
- Mar, John (St. George's Square, Glasgow), 132.
- Manchester, Charles, 1st Earl and 1st Duke of (Kimbolton Castle, Hunts.), 63.
- Manchester, George, 3rd Duke of (Kimbolton Castle, Hunts.), 63.
- Mansfield, 1st Earl of (Kenwood, Middlesex), 113, 114, 303.
- Muir, Hutchinson (Great Saxham, Suffolk), 49, 50, 7.
- Mure, Baron (Caldwell), 122.
- Nisbet, Mr. (Archercfield, Berwick), 132.
- Northampton, 7th Earl of (Castles Ashby, Northants), 34.
- Northumberland, Hugh, 1st Duke of (3rd creation) (Syon House, Middlesex; Northumberland House, London; Alnwick Castle, Northumberland), 251.
- Radcliffe, John (Highdown, Hitchin, Herts.), 43.
- Scarsdale, 1st Baron (Sir Nathaniel Curzon), 43, 101, 103, 24.
- Shelburne, John, 1st Earl of (Bowood, Wilts.), 206.
- Shelburne, William, 2nd Earl of and 1st Marquess of Lansdowne (Bowood, Wilts.), 102, 206. (Shelburne House, London), 65.
- Somerville, James, 13th Lord (Drum House, Midlothian), 2, 6.
- Sproul, Mr. (Linton House, near Glasgow), 132.
- Stratford, the Earl of (Stratford Place, London), 118.
- Styles, B. H. (Moor Park, Herts), 54.
- Temple, the Earl of (Stowe, Bucks.), 120, 240.
- Trotter, R. ("House of the Bush," Edinburgh), 132.
- Waller, John (Gregories, Bucks), 113.
- Walpole, Sir Robert, 1st Earl of Orford (Houghton Hall, Norfolk), 113.
- Willoughby de Broke, 12th Baron (Compton Verney, Warwickshire, 1760-65), 219.
- Willoughby de Broke, 14th Baron (Compton Verney, Warwickshire), 219.
- Wynn, Sir Rowland, Bart., (Nostell Priory), 232.
- Wolsey, Cardinal (original house, Moor Park, Herts.), 54.
- Wynn, Sir Watkin Williams (20, St. James's Square, London), 20.

Bute, Edi und, Statesman. Bill for the reform of the Board of Works, referred to, 121, 129, 132. Essay "On the Sublime and the Beautiful," referred to, 102. Friendship with Dr. Charles Burney, referred to, 131. His high art ideal, referred to, 177. Prejudice against Shelburne, referred to, 197, 199. "Reflections on the Revolution in France," by, referred to, 76. Tribute to the 1st Earl of Mansfield, quoted, 307. Dr. Johnson's Comment on *Gregorio*, the Buckinghamshire retreat of, 103, 111. Referred to as an associate of Dr. Johnson, 102. Referred to as the actual patron of Dr. Charles Burney, 121. The Marquess of Rockingham referred to as his political chief, 113.

Burlington, 3rd Earl of. His rooms at the Royal Academy, referred to, 164. Its influence at Shardeloes, Bucks., referred to, 155.

Burney, Dr. Charles, Musician and Author. Edmund Burke referred to as his actual patron, 121. George III's interest in his "History of Music," 121. His appointment as organist of Chelsea Hospital, referred to, 111. His eminence in cultivated circles, referred to, 116, 117. His friendship with Johnson, Reynolds, Burke, Garrick, Mrs. Thrale, etc., referred to, 111. His second marriage, referred to, 131. Meeting of his daughter Fanny with Robert and James Adam, 116, 131.

Burney, Fanny. Her account of the Countess of Bute, quoted, 34. Her diary referred to, 116. Her inclusion of Robert Adam in the "Scotch Party," referred to, 26, 125. Her meeting with Robert and James Adam, 116, 131. Her novel, "Evelina," referred to, 116. Her opinion of James Adam, 9.

Burne, Mr. the Surveyor. His valuation of the Blair Adam estate, referred to, 118.

Bute, the 3rd Earl of, Statesman. Ascendancy to power, referred to, 26. Assumption that he promoted Adam building speculations, referred to, 113. Building-owner of Shelburne House, London, and Luton Hoo, Beds., 33, 65. Care and early up-bringing of George III, referred to, 32. Dallaway's reference to him and the plan of Luton Hoo, 110. Death of, referred to, 72. George III's feeling at the resignation of, 33. His cold reception of Robert Adam and his companions, 33, 72. His commissions to Robert Adam for Shelburne House and Luton Hoo, 33. His eldest daughter's marriage to the 1st Earl of Lonsdale, 33. His house at Luton Hoo, referred to, 278. His introduction of Sir William Chambers to George III, referred to, 22. His subscription to Robert Adam's book on Spalato, 33. John Home's introduction of Robert Adam to, 33, 72. Letter to Sarah Murray, 116. His plan for Mure's house, 69, 74. Louis Dutens referred to as secretary of the brother, 253. Meeting with Col. William Erskine Esq., afterwards 2nd Earl of Shelburne, referred to, 106. Old relations with Shelburne, referred to, 202. Opposition to intrigues over George III's love affair with Lady Sarah Lennox, 123. Patron of Robert Adam, 22, 32, of John Home, 31, 32, of "Ossian" Macpherson, 32. Political appointments, referred to, 32. Production of John Home's dramatic poem "Douglas" by, referred to, 23. Purchase of Luton Hoo, referred to, 67. Referred to as instrumental in obtaining a pension for Dr. Samuel Johnson, 32. Referred to regarding negotiations for a peerage for Lady Caroline Fox, 106. Robert Adam's design for Eton, a seat of, referred to, 45. Robert Adam's memorandum of an engagement with, 61. Robert Adam's reference to, in the "Works," 65, 67, 101, of his uncompleted town house to Lord Shelburne, 65. Sir George Kenealy's to Ed. of Stamford, referred to, 208. Sir W. N. Wrasall on his taste and abilities, 33. The size of his wealth, 34. Temperamental unfriendliness of some of his peers, referred to, 32. Baron Melcombe's idolatry for, referred to, 56. Unpopularity as a statesman, referred to, 32. Villa at Highcliffe, Christchurch, for referred to, 72. Visit to Italy, referred to, 69, 74. Walpole's reference to his resignation, 31, 72.

Bute, Countess of. Her mother's letter mentioning Robert Adam, referred to, 22. Fanny Burney's account of, quoted, 34.

Butler, Bishop of Durham. Sanderson Miller's work for, referred to, 98.

Button, John, Mason. His estimates and accounts for work at Bowood, 207, 210, 215.

Byng, Admiral. The 5th Baron Le Despencer's effort to save him from being shot, referred to, 56.

Cadogan, Bishop of Bangor. Walpole's reference to his tomb in the possession of Richard Bateman, 89.

Caldwell, Robert Adam's plans for Baron Mure's house at, 69, 115, 118, 132.

Caldwell Papers. Reference to letters from Robert Adam to his clients, preserved in the, 60, 74.

Calton Hill Site, Edinburgh. Robert Adam's advice for a fortress paol on the, referred to, 97, 98. Prison by Elliott, the city architect, on the, referred to, 98.

Cambridge University. Robert Adam's drawings for new buildings at, referred to, 98. Altarpiece by James Essex at King's College Chapel, referred to, 98. Ceiling, King's College Chapel, referred to as a model for that at Alnwick Castle Chapel, 43. Letter of "Architect" quoted on the altarpiece at King's College Chapel, 92, 14, 15. Robert Adam's design for a reedos at King's College Chapel, 17, 97. Roof, loft and screen at King's College Chapel, attributed by Willis, Clark & Clark to Italian Artists, 98. Walpole and Gray associated at, 88.

Camden, Lord. Referred to as opposing the taxation of America, 197.

Camelford, Lord. See Pitt, Thomas.

Campanile, Bowood, Wilts., 210, 213.

Campbell, Caroline, Countess of Aylesbury. Referred to as the mother of Lady Mary Bruce, 46.

Campbell, Colin, Architect. Design for Goodwood, Sussex, 38, 45, 46. Design for Houghton Hall, Norfolk, referred to as carried out by Ripley, 193. His "Vitruvius Britannicus," referred to, 2. Referred to as a *protégé* of the 3rd Earl of Burlington, 87.

Campbell, General John, and Duke of Argyll. Referred to as father of Caroline, Countess of Aylesbury, 46.

Campbell, Lord Frederick. Lord Registrar of Scotland, referred to, 128. Mortification a name by Robert Adam, 126. A pall-bearer at Robert Adam's funeral, 28.

Candelaire, Tablette. Kedleston, Derbyshire, the Saloon or Rotunda, 236, 237, 240, 241.

Capability" Brown. See Brown, Lancelot.

Capel, Mr. Painter. Referred to as arriving at Rome at the same time as Robert Adam, 24.

Caracci, Annibale, Painter. Copy of his "Triumphal Procession of Bacchus and Adraste," by Felice Costanzo at Northumberland House, London, referred to, 41. Statue of, in East Portico, West Wycombe Park, Bucks., referred to, 51, 74.

Cardonnel, Commissioner. Referred to as a neighbour of Dr. Alexander Carlyle, 24.

Carlisle, Nicholas. His "Topographical Dictionary of Scotland," referred to, 23.

Carlyle, Mrs. London. Referred to as a residence of George III in early life, 32, 100.

Carlyle, Rev. Dr. Alexander, of Inveresk. Account of the visit of the "Scotch Group" to William Shenstone at Lesseswes, 95, 98. Account of his visit to the Lock Chapel to hear the Rev. Dr. David, 45, 73. David Hume's character as given by, 11. Enthusiasm over John Home and his dramatic works, referred to, 10. Golfing at Molesley Hurst, referred to, 20. His aunts in London and their connections, referred to, 31, 72. His Autobiography, referred to, 4, 9, 10, 11, 23, 24, 26, 33, 71, 72, 73, 74, 95, 177. His reference to Alnwick Castle, quoted, 73. His reference to Robert Adam's home life, 71, 74, to Robert Adam's start for Italy, 24, to Robert Adam's return to England, 21. His sister and brother-in-law, the Dicksons, referred to, 31, 72. Interest in social and literary

topics rather than architecture, referred to, 10. Introduction to the 3rd Earl of Bute, 33, 72. Omission from his Autobiography of James Adam's impressions on their riding tour, 10. Opinion of James Adam, 9. Opinion of the 3rd Earl of Bute, 33, 72. Opinion of the 1st Earl of Lonsdale, 72. Riding tour with James Adam and others, 9, 10. Visit to David Garrick at Hampton, 29. Visit to Hagley Park, Worcestershire, referred to, 95. Visit to Harewood House, Yorks, 177. Visit to Syon House, Middlesex, referred to, 269. Weekly meetings with Robert Adam and others of the "Scotch Group," 27.

Carnarvon, 2nd Earl of. His sale of West Wycombe Park, Bucks, referred to, 56.

Caroline, Queen, of George IV. Her relations with Fanny Burney, referred to, 124.

Carpet Factor, Whitehaven. The 1st Earl Lonsdale's, 65.

Carpet designs by Robert Adam. Croome Court, Worcestershire, 184. Harewood House, Yorks, 185, 172, 173, 174. Osterley Park, Middlesex, 288, 294, 295. Syon House, Middlesex, 246, 263, 264, 265.

Car, John, Architect, of York. Adoption and misunderstanding of Adam's decorative motives, referred to, 174. Association with Robert Adam at Harewood House, Yorks, 157, 169, 232, 236. Biographical details, 164. Building of Kirby Hall, Great Ouseburn, referred to, 164. Competitive design for Harewood House, referred to, 34. Grand Stand at York racecourse, by, referred to, 166. His copy of Morris' book on "Select Architecture," referred to, 166. His indebtedness to text books, 166. His probable kinship with Edwin Lascelles, 1st Earl of Harewood, referred to, 164. His published drawings of Harewood House, *Vetus Britannicus*, 158, 177. His succession to the position held by James Paine, Yorks, referred to, 164. His position as member of the Architects' Club, 127. Influence of the Burlington-Kent School, 164. Mr. Sidney Kitson's article on, referred to, 164, 177. Plans of Harewood House found in the former office of, 161, 162, 168, 169. Carron Iron Works. Interest of the Adam Brothers in, referred to, 144. Cartaret, Lady Sophia. Her marriage to the 2nd Earl of Shelburne, 196, 197, 214.

Carter, Benjamin. His estimate for marble chimneypiece at Bowood, Wilts, 214.

Carter, J. Imitation of Adam's interiors, grates, etc., in his *Builder's Magazine*, referred to, 114.

Carter, Thomas. His account for work at Bowood, quoted, 213, 214. "Casini." Small retreats, remarkable for their decorative displays, referred to, 4.

Casino. Sketch design by Robert Adam for a, 15, 24.

Cast Iron Work (ornamental). Kedleston, Derbyshire. Urns and pedestals for air heating in the Saloon or Rotunda, 238, 237, 241.

Cast Ashby, Northants. Robert Adam's scheme for the internal casting of the hall at, referred to, 34. Walpole's opinion of, 73.

Castle Building Movement, The. Its beginning and stability, 94.

Castle Howard, Yorkshire. Referred to as Vanbrugh's first work, 219. Referred to by Robert Adam as an example of "movement" in architecture, 216. Referred to as an example of the great house-building epoch, 103.

Castle Style, The. Culmination of its epoch in Windsor Castle, 94. "House of the Bush," Edinburgh, referred to, 132. Robert Adam's designs in, reflecting little credit on his taste, 94. Robert Adams experiments in confined to the exteriors, 97. Robert Adam's plunge into, 94, 98. Sir Jeffrey Wyatville's success with Windsor Castle, in, 97.

Castles, Warwick. 39, 41, 43, 98, 177, 245, 253. Chilham, Kent, 131. Culzean, Ayrshire, 91, 92, 93, 97. Downhill, Blair Adam, 23. Dunbar, 97, 98. Kimbolton, Huntingdon, 66, 88, 87, 210. Lauder, 95, 96, 125, 135. Lowther, Cumberland, 98. Maudslay, Lanarkshire, 132. Scone (ruined), 305. Semple, Renfrewshire, 132. Warkworth, Northumberland, 253, 277. Windsor, Berks, 94, 97.

Castles, Mid-eighteenth Century. Bentley and Miller referred to as designers of the earliest, 88.

Castles, Ruined. See "Temples and Garden Buildings."

Cathedrals. St. Pauls, London, 78. Salisbury, 132. Southwark, 14.

Catherine of Russia, The Empress. Her invitation to James Wyat to visit Russia, referred to, 114. Robert Adam's design of a piano for, referred to, 242.

Cave, Mr. Editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, referred to as personal friend of Robert Adam, 132.

Cave, Sir Thomas. Marriage of his daughter to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, referred to, 215.

Ceilings. Designed by Robert Adam for Horace Walpole, referred to, 91.

Ceilings, Bowood. Wilts. Entrance hall, 208, 211, 215. Great drawing-room (now the dining-room), 206, 211. Compton Verney, Warwickshire, Hall, 224, 225. Croome Court, Worcestershire. Long gallery, 181, 182, 183, 191. Tapestry room, 183, 183, 184, 190, 191. Harewood House, Yorks. Dressing-room (now removed), 174, 177. Gallery, 187, 172, 175. Library (formerly the salon), 171, 174. Music room, 175. Hatchlands Park, Surrey. Dining-room, 135, 141, 142, 136. Library, 139. Principal staircase, 141, 142. Kedleston, Derbyshire. Dining-room, 238, 241, 245. Drawing-room, 239, 242. Dome of the Saloon or Rotunda, 237, 240. Great Hall, 234, 235, 236, 245. Kenwood, Middlesex, Hall, 205, 208. Library of great room, 309, 310, 311, 312, 312, 313, 314. Landseer House, London. Gallery, 211. Mrs. Montagu's House, Hill Street, Berks, Surrey, London. Referred to, 99. Moon Park, Herts. Tea pavilion, 42. No. 15, St. James's Square, London. Great drawing-room, 101. No. 32, Soho Square, London, 129. No. 3, Stratford Place, London, 124, 125. Osterley Park, Middlesex. Drawing room, 288, 294. Eating-room, 284, 292. Etruscan room, 286, 288, 299. Great portico, 281, 288. Hall, 284, 285, 293. Staircase, 290, 292. Tapestry room, 294, 295. Queen's House (Old Buckingham House), London. Referred to, 49. Robert Adam's suggested examples in ancient buildings of, for study, 87. Shardeloes, Bucks. Drawing-room, 151, 152. Dining-room, 150, 150, 151. Library, 246, 258. Salon, 147, 211. Character of the decoration of, referred to, 213. Syon House, Middlesex. Ante-room, 255. Character of the decoration of, referred to, 184. Dining-room, 246, 258, 259, 262. Drawing-room, 262, 263, 264. Gallery, 266, 267, 268, 270. Hall, 249, 250, 257. Weld Hall, Essex. Eating-room, 111. West Wycombe Park, Bucks. West portico, 47.

Cement. The Adam patents for, referred to, 10.

Chairs, Adam. Croome Court, Worcestershire, 184. Harewood House, Yorks, 173. Osterley Park, Middlesex, eating-room, 284, 292. Etruscan room, 298. State bedchamber, 297. Tapestry-room, 291, 292, 293, 295.

Chairs, Chinese "Chippendale." Kenwood, Middlesex, ante-room, 307.

Chairs, Empire. Syon House, ante-room, 256, 261.

Chairs, Hepplewhite. Syon House, dining-room, 262.

Chairs, Wheelback. Croome Court, Worcestershire, 184.

Chambers, Sir William, R.A., Architect. Attitude towards the ideas of Robert Adam, 1, 84. Competitive designs for Osterley Park gallery, referred to as in his manner, 13. Competitive designs for Harewood House, referred to, 164. Description of, from the Royal Academy catalogue of, 1769, 74. Design for General Wolfe's monument, referred to, 39, 73. Election of his pupil, Yenn, to the Royal Academy, referred to, 120. His "Civil Architecture," referred to in regard to his official attitude on classic architecture, 1, 78. His copy of Robert Adam's plan for Lord Holland's house in Piccadilly, London, 62. His grave adjoining Robert Adam's, referred to, 128. His Somersett House, London, referred to, 100, 113. Invitation to him to submit plans for Harewood House, referred to, 164. Marriage of, to Joseph Wilton's daughter, referred to, 73, 302. Member of the Architects' Club, 127. Narrowness and restricted ideas referred to as affecting his practice, 125. Paucity and feeble character of section and interior decoration, 125. His "Civil Architecture," referred to, 84, 85. Peter Pindar's references to, 24. Plan by, for Melbourne House (now the Albany), Piccadilly, 62. Preservation of, by Robert Adam's design for a house on the site of Piccadilly House, referred to, 73. Privileged position of, with George III, referred to, 113, 120. Purchase of Piccadilly House on behalf of Lord Melbourne, referred to, 48, 73. Referred to as architect of Melbourne House (now the Albany), Piccadilly, London, 73. Referred to as Treasurer of the Royal Academy, 120. Return from Italy with Cipriani and Joseph Wilton, referred to, 73. Robert Adam's letter stating that he had no correspondence with, 123. Smirke's reference to, in his pamphlet attack on Robert Adam, quoted, 108. Stress on his Swedish birth, referred to, 22. Walpole's reference to his running away on account of heavy extras at Somerset House, 100, 113. Champfleurie, Linlithgow. Robert Adam's design for, referred to, 132.

Chandler, Dr. His journey with Nicholas Revett to Ionia for the Dilettanti Society, referred to, 88.

Chapels. Althorpe Castle, 41, 43. Bowood, Wilts, 207. Compton Verney, Warwickshire, 185, 226, 227, 228. King's College, Cambridge, 17, 93, 94, 97, 98. Lock Hospital, Grosvenor Place, London, 45.

Charles I, King. Referred to as conferring a baronetcy on Sir John Curzon, 231. The 10th Earl of Northumberland referred to as guardian of his children, 250.

Charles II, King. His conferring of a baronetcy on Orlando Bridgeman, referred to, 215. John Evelyn's record of a Council meeting of, at Syon House, 250.

Charlotte, Queen to George III. Her visit to Strawberry Hill, referred to, 90. Marriage and coronation, referred to, 84. Robert Adam's design for an illumination and transparency for, 39, 48, 49. Walpole's reference to her being settled with the King at Buckingham House, 48.

Charlotte Square, Edinburgh. Robert Adam's scheme for, referred to, 97, 106, 132.

Charlotte Willing Pitt (the elder), Earl of. Death of, referred to, 202. Inclusion of Lord Shelburne in his last Cabinet, 197. Mansfield's contentions with, referred to, 306. Marriage to Richard Grenville's sister, referred to, 120. Resignations from office, referred to, 32, 72, 107. Second illness of, referred to, 201. Shelburne's deference to, referred to, 199. Shelburne's final letter to, quoted, 201.

Cheere, John. His account for lead garden statues at Bowood, Wilts, 214.

Chelsea Hospital. Robert Adam's appointment as Clerk of Works to, referred to, 316.

Chesterfield, 4th Earl of. Building-owner of Chesterfield House, Mayfair, London, 87. His idea of a house, referred to, 87. Referred to as an ex-pupil of Rev. Dr. Dodd, 45.

Chesterfield House, Mayfair, London. Rooms at, referred to, 76, 87. Sir Francis (the second). His purchase of Osterley Park, referred to, 209.

Child, Francis. Robert Adam's plans of proposed additions to Osterley Park, 1761, for, 280. Reference to his suicide, 302.

Child, Robert. Building-owner, Osterley Park (1762-82), 282. Death of, referred to by Walpole, 294, 302. Family history of, 302. Marriage of, to Sarah, daughter of Paul Jodrell, referred to, 302. Monument to, in Heston Church, referred to, 294. Portrait of, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, referred to, 294.

Child, Mrs. Robert. Robert Adam's design for a workbag for, referred to, 296. Second marriage of, to Lord Ducie, referred to by Walpole, 294, 295, 302.

Child, Sarah, daughter of Robert Child. Her elopement with the 10th Earl of Westmorland, referred to, 294, 302.

Chilham Castle, Kent. Referred to as in possession of Robert Colebrooke, 131. 1774, 131. Referred to as in possession of Robert Colebrooke, 131.

Chimneypieces, Fireplaces and Mantelpieces. Bowood, Wilts : Accounts for, 144. Entrance hall, 208, 213. Great drawing-room (now the dining-room), 205. Croome Court, Worcestershire : Bedrooms, 185 ; Gallery, 182, 183 ; Lord's dressing-room, 185 ; Tapestry-room, 184, 185, 190, 191. Drum House, Midlothian : The hall, 7. Harewood House, Yorks : Present dining-room, 164, 172, 177 ; Gallery, 167, 173 ; Old library, 173 ; Salon (now the library), 169, 174. Hatchlands Park, Surrey : Bedrooms, 142 ; Great drawing-room (formerly dining-room), 137, 141 ; Lesser dining-parlour, 141, 141 ; Library, 138 ; Present dining-room, 141, 142. Kedleston, Derbyshire : Dining-room, 245. Drawing-room, 239, 242 ; Fireplaces with Wedgwood plaque, 243 ; Great hall, 238, 238 ; Library, 244, 242. Music room, 242. Kenwood, Middlesex : Adam room, 314, 318 ; Mrs. Montagu's bedroom, 316 ; Hall, 305, 310. Montagu's House, Hill Street, Berkley Street, London, 99, 242. Moor Park, Herts : The tea-room, 81. Osterley Park, Middlesex : Dining-room, 284, 292 ; Gallery, 293, 294 ; Library, 289, 292. Queen's House (old Buckingham House), London, 49. Robert Adam's designs for Horace Walpole, 91. Robert

Adam's early ideal form, 137, 141, 164, 172, 177, 182, 183, 239, 242. *Shardeloes, Bucks*: Dining-room, 150, 151; Drawing-room, 151, 151; Library, 153, 155; Salon, 148. *Syon House, Middlesex*, 257; Dining-room, 260, 261, 262; Gallerie, 268, 270. Chinese Wallpapers. See Wallpapers.

Chippendale, Thomas (the second), Cabinet maker. His account for the Adam wall mirrors at Kenwood, 318. His probable retention of Robert Adam's drawings for furniture at Harewood House, 172. Mirrors by, at Harewood House, 175, 177. Referred to in connection with the Adam mirrors at West Wycombe Church, 60. Settees in the Adam room at Kenwood probably made by him from Robert Adam's designs, 319.

Chippendale, Thomas (the third), Cabinet maker. His receipt for his father's account for the Adam mirrors at Kenwood, 318.

Churches: Avot St. Lawrence, Herts., 58. Charlton, Woolwich, Kent, 114. Croome, Worcestershire, 34, 178, 182, 185, 186, 187, 187, 220. College Des Quatre Nations, Paris, 78, 179. Harewood, Yorks., 34, 164, 191. Heston, Middlesex, 294. High Wycombe, Bucks., 204. Lasswade, 132. Kedleston, Derbyshire, 233, 243. St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, 191. St. Mary-le-Bow, London, 114. St. Mary-le-Strand, London, 3. St. Ouen, Rouen, 90, 98. St. Sulpice, Paris, 74. West Wycombe, Bucks., 57, 60, 61, 74. Wroxton, Worcestershire, 98.

Chute, John. His opinion of Bentley's design for the monument to Sir Heneage Mann's brother, 89. Referred to as a friend of Walpole, 98. Referred to as a member of the "Strawberry Hill Committee," 92, 98.

Cipriani, Giovanni Battista, Italian Painter. Frieze panels, dining-room at Syon House attributed to, 258, 259, 261, 262. His coming to London with Chambers and Wilton, referred to, 73, 302. Joint directorship with Wilton of the 4th Duke of Richmond's gallery for art students, 46, 73. Referred to as a native of Florence, 302.

Clandon Park, Surrey. Reference to Leoni as architect of, 54.

Clarendon Press Building, Oxford, by Vanbrugh, referred to, 221.

Clarrisseau, Mons. Hayward's reference to him as Director of the Adam's Manufactory of Virtu, 39.

Classical Architecture. The standpoints of Robert Adam, Sir William Chambers and James Gibbs concerning, 78.

Clay, of Bowood. Referred to as making the lacquered panels to the doors of the saloon at Newstead, 196.

Clérisseau, Charles Louis, French Draughtsman. His association with Robert Adam at Spalato, 19. His special studies of the interiors of ancient buildings on his tour with James Adam, referred to, 87. Sir John Soane's reference to Robert Adam's employment of, 114.

Clerk, General Robert. Referred to: "An old friend of Robert Adam, 192. As a visitor at Bowood, 215. As having a hand in the lay-out of the grounds at Bowood, 196. As having planned the expedition to Rochefort, 192.

Clerk, John, of Eldin. His advocacy of new naval tactics, referred to, 31, 32. His marriage to Susannah Adam, referred to, 31. His work on naval tactics referred to as a favourite study with Nelson, 31.

Clerk, Susannah. Reference to her living with her uncle, William Adam, junior, 32.

Clermont, -Painter. Referred to by Walpole as the artist to paint his library ceiling at Strawberry Hill, 88.

Clinton, Sir Henry, Middx., 246, 258.

Conde and Seely's terra-cotta works at Lambeth, referred to, 180.

Conde's Stone. Referred to as a burnt, artificial stone, 278.

Cobett, William. Reference to the amount of his travelling, 126.

Cockerell, S. P. His design for the new House of Lords, referred to, 129. His pupil, William Porden, referred to, 114. Referred to as one of the founders and treasurer of the Architects' Club, 126.

Cockerell, Professor C. R., R.A. His chapel at Bowood, Wilt., 200, 207.

Coke, Lady Mary. Referred to: "As daughter of John, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, 143. As daughter-in-law of Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester, 143. As widow of Edward, Viscount Coke, 143. Walpole's flattery of, 133.

Colebrooke, Sir George, Bart., M.P. His purchase, on Baron Mure's advice, of estates in Lanarkshire, referred to, 111. Reference to his financial difficulties and bankruptcy, 116, 131. Referred to as Chairman of the East India Company, 111. Robert Adam's designs for his house in Arlington Street, London, referred to, 111.

Colebrooke, Robert. His possession of Chilham Castle, Kent, referred to, 131.

Coleman. His work at Kemberton Castle, referred to, 61.

College of Justice, Edinburgh. Robert Adam's designs for, referred to, 132.

College of Physicians, Trafalgar Square, London. Sir Robert Smirke, R.A., referred to as architect of the, 113.

Collins. Stone carver at Harewood House, Yorks., referred to, 175.

Colonnades: Compton Verney, Warwickshire, 222, 223, 223, 224, 288. Moon Park, Herts., 43, 54. West Wycombe Park, Bucks., 53, 57, 58.

Columns (English alabaster): Kedleston, Derbyshire. Drawing-room window, 240, 242. Great Hall, 234, 235, 238.

Colours. Robert Adam quoted on the diminution of, 81.

Committee of Strawberry Hill, The. Walpole's letter to Richard Bentley on, 88.

Commode, Lacquer. State bedchamber, Osterley Park, Middlesex, 295.

Composite Order of Architecture. The. Robert Adam's views on, 63.

Compton Verney, Warwickshire. Alteration of back wall of the portico by J. Gibson, referred to, 223, 223. "Capability" Brown's refashioning of the grounds of, 226. Chapel, 185, 226, 226, 227, 228. Colonnaded loggia or portico, 222, 223, 223, 224, 288. Continuation of Vanbrugh's work by Robert Adam, referred to, 65. Date of the original building of, 210. Date of the Adam ceilings, 213, 214. Discrepancies between the plates in "Vitruvius Britannicus" and the executed work, referred to, 225. George Vertue's notes on, referred to, 219. Hall, 224, 225. Its glorious setting, 226. Lead sphinxes on the bridge, 226. Orangery, 227, 228. Porch, 224. The state room and plan of, 176, 223, 225. Reconstruction of the state room, by J. Gibson, 185, 224. Robert Adam's additions to, 39, 218, 223, 224. Robert Adam's original drawing for an addition to the south front of, 219, 219, 220, 228. Robert Adam's sketch elevation for the east front, 222, 223, 225. Robert Adam's treatment of the dining-room, 224. Stables, 226, 226. Stonebridge, 217, 226, 228. Styles of the facades, referred to as in the manner of Vanbrugh, 219. Tombs in the chapel at, 228.

Concert Rooms, Edinburgh. Robert Adam's designs for, referred to, 132.

Congleton, East Lothian. Robert Adam's designs for, referred to, 132.

Console Tables. See Tables.

Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, The Emperor. His opinion of the Palace of Spalato, 19.

"Constellation of the Adelphi, The." Walpole's criticism of, referred to, 91.

Conway, The Hon. Seymour. Greenhouse and cottage at Park Place, by Thomas Pitt for, referred to, 89.

Copper Hall, Warwick. Memorandum of Robert Adam as to sections required of, 61.

Corelli, Arcangelo. His music, referred to as being played on the clock organ at Luton Hoo, 69.

Corinthian Order of Architecture. Robert Adam's views on, 84, 87, 50, 51.

Cornice at Spencer House, London, by James Stuart. Robert Adam's note of a, referred to, 83.

Cornwallis. Referred to as opposing the taxation of America, 197.

Correggio, Antonio Allegri da, Painter. His statue in the east portico, West Wycombe Park, Bucks., referred to, 58, 74.

Country House in Warwickshire, by Sanderson Miller, referred to, 98.

Court's Bank, London. Connecting bridge over William Street (now Durham House Street), Adelphi, referred to, 129.

Cover Garden, Theatre, London. Sir Robert Smirke, referred to as architect of the structure built in 1856, 113.

Courtesy Maria Gunnung, 1st Countess to the 6th Earl of, see Gunnung.

Coventry, Barbara St. John, 2nd Countess to the 6th Earl of. Carpet worked, to Robert Adam's design, by, referred to, 184. Referred to, 159.

Coventry, Earls of. Family history, 178, 179, 181.

Coventry, the 6th Earl of. Building-owner of Croome Court, Worcestershire, 34, 178. "Gilly" William's letter to George Selwyn, referring to, 169, 170. His letters to Sanderson Miller on Croome Court, quoted, 178, 191. His first marriage to Maria Gunnung, referred to, 178, 179, 181. His second marriage to Barbara, daughter of Lord St. John of Bletsloe, referred to, 179. His portrait by Reynolds, Croome Court, referred to, 179. Inscription on his memorial, 179. Letter of Robert Adam to, referred to, 171. Pall-bearer at Robert Adam's funeral, 128. Robert Adam's connection with, referred to, 29. Walpole's reference to, 179. Walpole's and Selwyn's sketches of his character, referred to, 181.

Coventry House, Piccadilly, London. Carpet worked by Barbara, Countess of Coventry, to Robert Adam's design, for, referred to, 184. Robert Adam's completion and decoration of, referred to, 191.

Coventry, Sir Henry. His tomb in Croome Church, referred to, 187, 191.

Cowper, The Countess of. Referred to as the half-sister of Lady Sophia Cartaret, 196.

Cowper, William, Poet. His lines on the burning of the 1st Earl of Mansfield's house by rioters, quoted, 306.

Crace Collection of Architectural Drawings, The. Referred to, 304.

Craddock's "Memoirs." Reference in, to the 1st Earl of Mansfield, 114.

References to, at Kedleston, Derbyshire, 238, 245.

Creech, William. His Letters to Sir John Sinclair, Bart., respecting the park, 1763, referred to, 63, 74, 124, 131.

Croker, Secretary of the Admiralty. His engagement of Sir Robert Smirke to advise on the alteration of the Admiralty Screen, London, referred to, 143.

Cromwell, Oliver. His policy in regard to France, referred to, 202.

Croome Court, Worcestershire. "Capability" Brown's claim to be the architect of, 178. General view, 187, 187. Interior, 187, 187. Monuments of the Coventry family in, 187. Plans of, 186, 226.

Robert Adam the probable architect of, 185. Robert Adam's drawings for interior work at, referred to, 185.

Croome Court, Worcestershire. Alcove seat in the grounds, 186, 190. Bookcase in the library, 183, 184. Buildings in the grounds, by James Wyatt, referred to, 187. "Capability" Brown's claim to be architect of, 178. "Capability" Brown's lay-out of the grounds, referred to, 178. Castle-side chimney-piece at, referred to, 242.

Crespioli, Giacomo. Capability Brown at, 187. Gallery, 181, 182, 183, 184. Garden room, 184, 190. Gateway, main entrance, 180, 190. Island temple, 186, 189, 189, 190. Its stone resemblance to Hagley Park, referred to, 178. Lake at, by "Capability" Brown, referred to, 178. Lamp column in stable yard, 184, 190. Library, 183, 184. Orangery, 185. Panorama tower, 186, 188, 189. Plans, 180. Reference to the sketching of the stuccoes on the walls of the gallery, 141. Robert Adam consulted about the completion of, 29, 34. Robert Adam's interior work and buildings in the park, referred to, 180. Salon, 179. Sanderson Miller, architect of the original house at, 178. Situation and lay-out, 178. Sundial, 190, 190. Tapestry-room ceiling, 183, 183, 184. Terra-cotta statuary and ornament in the grounds, 178, 189.

Culzean Castle, Ayrshire, 88, 93, 97.

Cumberland, William, Duke of. His house in Pall Mall, London, referred to, 104.

Cumberland House, Pall Mall, London. Estrucan decoration at, referred to, 102. Robert Adam's alterations and decorations to, referred to, 104.

Cumberland, Richard. His "Memoirs" referred to in regard to a meeting of Robert Adam's clients at Eastbury, 55, 73. Referred to as Private Secretary to Lord Halifax at the Board of Trade, 55.

Curtain Boxes, Adam. Kenwood, Middlesex, 313, 314.

Curwen, Samuel. His visit to and note on Kenwood, Middlesex, 319, 320. His visit to and note on Stowe, Bucks., 220, 231. Reference in his Journal and Letters to Kedleston, Derbyshire, 238, 239, 245.

Curzon, Sir John, Bart. Creation of his baronetcy by Charles I, referred to, 231.

Curzon, Sir Nathaniel, 1st Baron Scarsdale. Referred to as building-owner of Kedleston, Derbyshire, 43.

Curzon of Kedleston, George Nathaniel, 1st Marquess. Referred to as present owner of Kedleston, Derbyshire, 229.

Dalkeith, Bridge at, 128, 132.

Dallaway, Rev. James. References in his "Anecdotes of the Arts" to works by Robert Adam, quoted, 110, 114.

Dalrymple, Sir David. Walpole's letter to, quoted, on the lack of development in art during George III's reign, 121, 132.

Dalrymple, Captain Hugh, of Forde. James Adam's design of a small house for, referred to, 10.

Dalrymple, John. His weekly meetings with Robert Adam and others of the "Scotch Group," 27.

Dalrymple, Miss. Referred to as a guest at the Pringle's reception which Robert and James Adam attended, 131.

Dance, George, R.A. (the younger). His design for a bell turret at Bowood, referred to, 213. His enterprise in building late Georgian houses, 114. His proposals for better access to the Doseleyian wing, Bowood, referred to, 213. His survey of Bowood and unused plans for its alteration, referred to, 213, 215. James Peacock referred to as his chief assistant, 114. Plan showing his addition to Bowood, 200. Referred to as one of the founders of the Architect's Club, 126. Sir John Soane's start in his office, referred to, 114. Soane's succession to him as Royal Academy professor of architecture, referred to, 114.

D'Arblay, Madame. Her "Diary and Letters," referred to, 73.

Dashwood, Sir James, Bart. His seats of Northbrook and Kirtlington Park, referred to, 65. Marriage of his daughter, Elizabeth, to the 4th Duke of Manchester, referred to, 65.

Dashwood, Sir Francis, Bart., 1st Baron Le Despenser. See Le Despenser.

Dashwood, Sir Thomas, Bart. Marriage of his daughter, Susannah, to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, 2nd Bart., referred to, 215.

Debrett, Captain and Mrs. Referred to as guests at the Pringle's reception, which Robert and James Adam attended, 116, 131.

De Caylus, Comte. Robert Adam's reference to his writings on Etruscan decoration, 297, 302.

Decoration. Ceiling. See Ceilings.

Decoration. Interior. Opposing schools of thought of Adam and Chambers, referred to, 84. Paucity and feeble character of section on, in Chambers' "Civil Architecture," referred to, 84, 85. Robert Adam's views on, 85, 97.

Decoration. Mural. See Mural Decoration.

Decoration. Painted. See Painted Decoration.

De Guynes, Mons. Walpole's reference to the unfavourable reports of Strawberry Hill heard by, 91, 98.

Delany, Mrs. Her appreciation of Robert Adam's work at Kenwood, 320. Her opinion of Richard Bateman's "Gothick" House at Windsor, 89, 98. Her reference to the garden buildings and designs of the Rev. William Mason at Nuneham, 92, 98. Her visit to and description of Luton Hoo, 174, 69.

Deputy Ranger's Lodge, Green Park, London. Design for, 82, 83, 130.

Derby, Lord. His house in Grosvenor Square, London, referred to, 106, 296. Robert Adam's Fête Pavilion for, referred to, 76, 102.

Derrick, Sam. His "Letters from Liverpool, etc." referred to in regard to his visit to John Baskerville at Easy Hill, 23.

Devonshire, Duke of. His selection of Wilton's design for General Wolfe's monument, referred to, 41. Referred to as in the early Cabinet of George III, 123.

Digby, Lord. Referred to as "after" the site of the present Lansdowne House, London, 196, 214.

Dilettanti Society, The. Prominent position in, of 5th Baron Le Despenser, referred to, 58. Promotion of Revett and Stuart's designs for the Pantheon, referred to, 58, 59. Referred to, 56.

Dilly, Edward (the elder), Publisher. Referred to as accompanying Dr. Johnson and Boswell to Luton Hoo, 70.

Diminution of Columns, The. Robert Adam's views on, 81.

Dining-rooms. Alnwick Castle, 43; Bowood, Wilts., 204, 211. Compton Verney, 224. Drum House, Midlothian, 3, 9. Harewood House, 172. Titchfield Hall, 173. Surrey, 136, 141, 142. Kedleston, Derbyshire, 238, 245. Osterley Park, Middlesex, 279, 284, 282. Syon House, Middlesex, 183, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262.

Diurnal Hour in the Late Eighteenth Century. Gradual declension of the, 138, 143.

Dioctetian Wing, Bowood, Wilts., The. Britton's mistake as to the, 204, 215. Button's estimate for the screen colonnade to, 210. Dance's proposals for better access to, 211. Its erroneous association with the palace at Spalatro, referred to, 210. Lady Shelburne's dissatisfaction with Adam's work on, 210. Robert Adam's work on, 204, 208, 210, 215.

Dioctetian's Palace at Spalatro, The Emperor. Area compared with that of the Bank of England, London, 19, 24. Area compared with that of the Houses of Parliament, London, 19. Opinion of the Emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenitus on, 19. Referred to in Gwilt's criticism of Robert Adam, 111. Robert Adam's book on, 1, 17, 19, 245.

Disraeli, Benjamin, Earl of Beaconsfield. His comment on the 2nd Earl of Shelburne, 1st Marquess of Lansdowne, 199. His letter on the duty of the nobility to utilise their stately saloons, referred to, 104.

Dixon, Mr. Referred to as carpenter at Kenwood, Middlesex, 316.

Dodd, The Noted Rev'd. Dr. William. Biographical details, 45, 73. His execution for forgery, referred to, 45. James Boswell's interest in his fall, referred to, 45.

Dodington, George Bubb, 1st Baron Melcombe. See Melcombe.

Dodseley's "Environs of London, 1761." Quoted in regard to the Adam sideways and colonnades at Moor Park, Herts., 54, 73.

Domes:—Kedleston, Derbyshire: The salon or rotunda, 229, 237, 240. Somerset House, London, 124, 132.

Donowell or Donowell, J. His drawing of Mary'ebone Gardens, referred to, 74. Referred to as architect of a design for West Wycombe Park in "Vitruvius Britannicus," 58, 59, 74.

Doors and Doorways (Interior):—Kedleston, Derbyshire: Drawing-room, 239, 240, 242; Salon, 237, 239. Osterley Park, Middlesex: Tapestry-room, 292, 295. Shardeloes, Bucks., 148: Boudoir, 153; Drawing-room, 151; Salon, 147, 150. Syon House, Middlesex: Dining-room, 258, 259, 262; Drawing-room, 265, 265; Gallery, 265, 271. Great hall, 258, 257.

Doors and Doorways (Exterior):—Osterley Park, Middlesex: Entrance north front, 283, 290. Bowood, Wilts., west side, 205.

Doran, Dr. Quotes Sir Horace Mann's letter referring to Burton's work on Robert Adam's design for Wolfe's monument, 39.

Doric Order of Architecture. Robert Adam's views on the, 50, 73, 83.

Dormer, Charles, and Earl of Carnarvon. His sale of West Wycombe Park, Bucks., referred to, 56.

Douglas, Sir Charles. Referred to as present with William and James Adam at a conference, 31.

"Douglas," Dramatic Poem by John Horne. Its refusal by Garrick and subsequent production, referred to, 19, 23, 29.

Downhill Castle, Blair Adam. Its purchase by William Adam, senior, for Robert Adam, referred to, 23.

Drake, Mr. Tywhitt. Owner of Shardeloes, Bucks., referred to, 144.

Drake, William. Building-owner of Shardeloes, Bucks., referred to, 144.

Drake, Sir William. Builder of the Market House, Amersham, referred to, 144.

Drakes of Shardeloes, Bucks., The. Family history of, 144.

Draughts-rooms. Alnwick Castle, 41, 73. Bowood, Wilts., 205, 206, 209, 211. Drum House, Midlothian, 3, 4, 11. Great Saxham, Suffolk, 210. Harewood House, Yorks., 173, 175. Kedleston, Derbyshire, 239, 242. Luton Hoo, Beds., 69. No. 15, St. James's Square, London, 101. Northumberland House, London, 39. Osterley Park, Middlesex, 270, 288, 294. Shardeloes, Bucks., 151, 152, 153. Syon House, Middlesex, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266. West Wycombe Park, 58.

Dressing-room, The. Its importance in the eighteenth century, 174. Harewood House, Yorks. (now removed), 174, 177.

Drimnie House. Robert Adam's design for, referred to, 132.

Drum House, Midlothian. Architectural treatment of the exterior, 3. 5. Date of, 2. Dining-room, 3, 9. Drawing-room, 3, 4, 11. Employment of P. Boyce and C. Van Nerven, stone carvers, at, referred to, 2. Exterior stairway, south front, 3, 5, 23. Hall, 3, 7, 8. Plans, 3, 6. Staircase, 4, 8. William Adam, senior, architect of, 2, 4, 23.

Drummond, Agatha, of Drummond Blair. Her marriage to Henry Hope, Lord Hope, referred to, 73.

Drury Lane Theatre, London. Garrick's tenure of, 30. Hours of performances at, in Garrick's time, 143. Prices of seats in Garrick's time, 143. Robert Adam's reconstruction of, 30, 86. Sheridan referred to as Garrick's successor at, 30.

Du Boccage, Pierre Joseph Fiquet. Referred to as the husband of Madame du Boccage, 98.

Du Boccage, Madame Marie Anne le Page. Her "Lettres sur Angleterre" referred to in regard to Gothic architecture, 90, 98. Her liking for the church of St. Ouen, Rouen, 90, 98. Walpole's reference to her report of French opinion on Strawberry Hill, 92. Walpole's sneer at Lord Chesterfield's patronage of, referred to, 98. Dugdale's "History of Warwickshire." Referred to, 219, 228.

Dunfries House. Referred to as the work of William Adam, senior, 23.

Dumont, Mons. His grand tour with the 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne, referred to, 209.

Derrick, Sam. Referred to as a friend of Mirabeau, 206.

Dundur Castle. Robert Adam's sketch design for encircling office buildings at, referred to, 48.

Dunbar, Mr., of Newton Stewart. Robert Adam's note referring to him as a genius for laying out and planting grounds, 126.

Dundas, James, M.P. Guest with John D. Dundas and Major Dundas at the Pringle's reception, which was attended by Robert and James Adam, 116, 131.

Dundas, Sir Lawrence. Building-owner of Moor Park, Herts., referred to, 44. His purchase of and additions to Moor Park, Herts., 54. Robert Adam's design for console tables for, referred to, 173.

Dundee Town Hall, referred to as the work of William Adam, senior, 23.

Dunlop, J. Robert Adam's designs of Rosebank-upon-Clyde, for, referred to, 132.

Duomo: St. Lorenzo, Florence, 15. St. Peter's, Rome, 78, 79.

Durno. Soane's reference to the employment of, by James Paine, 114.

Dunton, Louis. His account of the 1st Duke of Northumberland, 253, 278. His "Anecdotes," quoted in regard to the drawing room at Alnwick Castle, 73. His journey to Ireland with the 1st Duke of Northumberland, referred to, 253. His reference to Luton Hoo, 69, 74. Referred to as secretary to the Earl of Bute's brother, 253.

Eastlake, Sir Charles, P.R.A. His paintings in the great drawing (now dining) room at Bowood, referred to, 211, 215. Referred to as in the company of Sir Charles Barry, R.A., at Rome in 1818, 215.

Eastbury. Meeting of Robert Adam's clients at, 55. Referred to as the seat of George Bubb Dodington, 1st Baron Melcombe, 55.

Eaton Hall, Cheshire. Robert Adam's design for an enlargement of the earlier house, referred to, 45. William Porden referred to as architect for, 1804-12, 114.

Edgcumbe, Lord. Reference to his portrait in a conversation piece by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 98.

Edinburgh Royal Infirmary. Referred to as by William Adam, senior, 23.

Edinburgh University. Designs by William Adam, junior, for the completion of, 120, 122. Education of Robert and James Adam at, 10, 24. Principals of, referred to, 24. Prints of Robert Adam's designs for, in the third volume of "The Works," referred to, 130.

Robert Adam's ill-fated scheme for, referred to, 112, 128.

Edward VI, King. His grant of Syon Abbey to Edward, Duke of Somerset, referred to, 249, 251.

Edwin, Richard, Surveyor and Architect. Referred to as concerned in the promotion of Stratford Place, London, 118.

Elizabeth, Queen. Her dissolution of the nunnery at Syon, referred to, 249. Her policy in regard to France, referred to, 202. Her visit to Osterley Park, referred to, 302. Portrait of, at Shardeloes, Bucks., referred to, 151.

Elizabeth, Princess, Daughter of Charles I. Her visits to Syon, referred to, 250.

Elliott, City Architect of Edinburgh. Referred to as designer of the existing Calton Hill Prison, 98.

Elliott, Sir Gilbert, of Minto. Referred to as probably influencing Robert Adam's commission for the Admiralty screen, 73.

Elliott, The Rt. Hon. Hugh. Reference to Luton Hoo in his "Memoirs," 74.

Elliott, Isabella. Her reference to Luton Hoo, 70, 74.

Ellys, Sir Richard. Marriage of his widow to the 5th Baron le Despencer, referred to, 56.

Elmes, James. His biographical articles on British architects, referred to, 112, 114. His description of the earlier Georgian tradition, referred to, 105. His placing of James Wyatt above R. and J. Adam, 112. His relegation of R. and J. Adam to the position of speculative builders, referred to, 112. The Adelphi referred to as probably the only Adam work with which he was acquainted, 112.

Elwes, John, M.P., Biographical details, 118, 119, 120. His appointment of Mr. Gibson as his builder in place of Mr. Adam, referred to, 119. His building speculations, 119. His custom of living in any vacant house on his London properties, 119. His engagement of "one of the Adams" for his building speculations. His illegitimate sons, referred to, 120. His inheritance of property in London, referred to, 118, 131. His unfortunate building speculation of Quebec Street Crescent, London, 119.

Empress, Catherine of Russia. Her invitation to James Wyatt to visit England referred to, 114. Robert Adam's design of a piano for, referred to, 122.

English aptitude for Architecture. Robert Adam's belief in the, 76. Entablatures. Robert Adam's views on freedom in the use of, 84, 85, 87. Euzer, Dutch Plaster-worker. His employment at Arnotton House, referred to, 29.

Euse, James. His altar piece at King's College Chapel, Cambridge, referred to, 98. Referred to as a member of "The Strawberry Hill Committee," 92. Referred to as Walpole as "our only Gothic Architect," 92. Reference to his relations with Walpole as brought about by the poet, Mason, 92, 98. Similarity of his tower at Strawberry Hill to that at Thornbury, 92.

Etruscan Decoration by Robert Adam. Harewood House, Yorks: the lesser drawing-room, 175. Lord Derby's House, Grosvenor Square, London (now destroyed), 296. Osterley Park, Middlesex: the Etruscan room, 286, 287, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 302.

Evelyn, John. His diary quoted from in reference to Syon House, 250, 251. Evelyn. Robert Adam's design for, referred to, 45.

Falmouth, 1st Viscount. His marriage to Miss Charlotte Godfrey, referred to, 137.

Falmouth, Charlotte, Viscountess. Referred to as the mother of Admiral Boscombe, 137.

Farquhar, Mr. A guest at the Pringle's reception, which was attended by Robert and James Adam, 131.

Ferguson, Sir Adam. Referred to as a valuer of the Blair Adam estate for the purpose of a loan on it, 118, 131.

Fergusson, James. His dogmatic opinions on architecture, referred to, 171. His "History of Architecture," referred to, 101.

Fermor, Lady Sophia, Countess of Granville. See Granville.

Ferrers, 4th Earl. His trial referred to, 46.

Fitz Pavillon for the Earl of Derby, by Robert Adam, referred to, 102, 126.

Fiamingo. Statue by Rysbrack, of at Chiswick House, referred to, 143. Fife, Pictorial and Historical, by A. H. Millar. Referred to, 21.

Firework or Festival Building at a General Peace. Design by Robert Adam for, referred to, 34.

Fishing House, Kedleston, Derbyshire, 243.

Fitzpatrick, Lady Louisa. Her marriage to the 2nd Earl of Shelburne, 1st Marquess of Lansdowne, 202, 206.

Fitzpatrick, Lady Mary. Her marriage to Stephen, Lord Holland, referred to, 202.

Fitzroy Square, London. Robert Adam's scheme for, 76, 97, 132. W. H. Leeds, reference to, as a bad speculation, 114.

Flaxman, Joseph, R.A., Sculptor. His monument to the 1st Earl of Mansfield in Westminster Abbey, referred to, 161, 202.

Floors. Carpets. Syon House, Middlesex: Ante-room (sogliola), 254, 255, 256, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273; Great hall, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 257.

Foley, Lord. His mischievous friendship to William Murray, afterwards 1st Earl of Mansfield, referred to, 120.

Fontebasso, F. Antonio Pietro Zucchi referred to as the pupil of, 316.

Foote, Samuel. Referred to as living in Paris, 1765, 74.

Fordyce and Down, Scottish Bankers. Their failure, referred to, 2.

Fordyce, John. Letter of Robert Adam to, 60, 61.

Forts on the Caledonian Canal. *Augustus*: referred to, 23. *George*: General Wolfe's praise of the works at, referred to, 4. Reference to its building by William Adam, senior, 23. William Adam, senior, and his contract for, 4. *William*: referred to, 23.

Fox, Lady Caroline. Negotiations regarding her peerage referred to, 106.

Fox, Charles James. His connection with his son, 1st Earl of Shelburne, referred to, 202.

His connection with William Adam, M.P., referred to, 123.

His unnatural coalition with Lord North, referred to, 123.

Fox, Henry, 1st Baron Holland. See Holland

Fragonard, Honoré. His art as a painter paralleled with that of Robert Adam as an architect, 76, 87.

France, William. His account for a mahogany reading stand and screen at Kenwood, Middlesex, 310. Referred to as the firm of Thomas Chippendale, 318.

Franklin, Benjamin. His acquaintance with the 2nd Earl of Shelburne, referred to, 196.

Franklin, Dr. His attempt to sell John Baskerville's printing types in France, referred to, 10.

Frederick, Prince of Wales. His death referred to, 32, 72.

Freedom in the Use of Entablatures. Robert Adam's views on, 84.

Freeman's Tavern, Queen Street, London. Referred to as Sir John Somers' meeting place with the architects competing for the new House of Parliament, 120, 132.

Freycinet, at Moor Park, Herts. Referred to as Sir James Thornhill, 73. 1st and 2nd Dr. Adam. Biographical details, 26, 27. Chaplain to the "Forty-Second," 27. Dr. Alexander Carlyle's interest in, referred to, 10. His friendship with Robert Adam, referred to, 10. His "History of the Roman Republic," referred to, 27. Referred to as a travelling tutor, 24. Referred to in the memorial notice of Robert Adam, 128.

Furniture

Chester Court, Worcestershire: Adam settees and chairs, 184: Girandoles, 184; Wheel-back chairs, 184; Carpet to Robert Adam's desunt, 184.

Harewood House, Yorks: Adam chairs, second drawing-room, 173;

Carpet designed by Adam, second drawing-room, 173; Console tables, second drawing-room, 173; Console tables, gilt, music-room, 172; Console tables, cilt., 166, 173; Girandoles in the gallery, 167, 173; Mirrors, great drawing-room, 175, 177; Mirrors (oval), second drawing-room, 173; Mirrors in the gallery, 168; Mirrors, music-room, 172; Valances of carved wood to gallery windows, 166, 173;

Kedleston, Derbyshire: Furniture in drawing-room, 239, 240, 244, 245; Tables, marble topped, dining-room, 238, 241; Wine-cooler of Sicilian jasper, dining-room, 238, 241.

Kenwood, Middlesex: Adam settees, the hall, 305, 310; Adam

settee, wall mirror, console table and curtain boxes in the

hall room, 313, 314, 319; Adam sideboard (early form of

side table with detached pedestals and urns), the hall, 306, 308,

, 310; Chinese "Chippendale" chairs, the ante-room, 307;

Mahogany reading-stand and screens, the Adam room, 319;

Mirrors, the Adam room, 318, 319.

Luton Hoo, Beds: Mrs. Delany's description of furniture at, 69.

Moore Park, Beds: Reference to furniture designed by Robert Adam at, 55.

Osterley Park, Middlesex: Adam chairs, the Etruscan-room, 298;

Adam chairs, settee, screen and lampstand, tapestry room, 291, 292, 293, 295; Adam gilt side tables with marble mosaic slab tops, the "eating" room, 292; Adam lyre-back chairs, the "eating" room, 284, 292; Lacquer commode, the state bedchamber, 295; Mahogany spinet, library, 292; Mirror, state bedchamber, 295; Sideboard (side table with pedestals and urns), the "eating" room, 284, 286, 292; Settee benches, the hall, 285, 293; State bed, by Robert Adam, 286, 295, 297.

Shardeloes, Bucks: Console table, gilt, 12; Mirror in drawing-room, 12.

Syon House, Middlesex: Adam marquetry side tables, 269, 270,

273; Bridgeway, gilt, circular gallery boudoir, 269, 272;

Console table, dining-room, 262; Console tables, drawing-

room, 265, 266, 268; Console, half-circle, tables, gilt, with

inlaid marble tops, the gallery, 270; Empire suite, the ante-

room, 258, 261; Hepplewhite chairs, set, dining-room, 262;

Louis Quinze petit point suite, the gallery, 269, 273; Louis Seize type sofa, the gallery, 273; Mirrors, dining-room, 260,

262; Suite in crimson damask, the gallery, 269.

Gainsborough, Thomas, R.A., Painter. George III's indifference to the merits of, referred to, 121. Reference to the sentiment of his pictures being recalled by some of Robert Adam's designs, 77, 87. Robert Smirke's pamphlet reference to him in relation to Benjamin West, P.R.A., 106, 113.

Galleries: 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, Count, Worcestershire, 181, 182, 182, 183, 184.

Harewood House, Yorks, 167, 175. Lonsdale House, Middlesex, 270, 286, 291, 294. Shelburne (now Lonsdale) House, London, 59. Strawberry Hill, Middlesex, 99, 98. Syon House, Middlesex, 1, 10, 268, 267, 268, 268, 269, 269, 270, 270, 271, 272.

Galleries connecting to Wings, Kedleston, Derbyshire, 238, 242, 243.

Gallery for Art Students. The 4th Duke of Richmond's, 46, 73.

Gandon, James, Architect. Part compiler, with John Woofe, of "Vitruvius Britannicus," continuation Vols. IV and V, 103, 113. Referred to as an Hon. Member of the Architect's Club, 127.

Garden Buildings, Pavilions, Temples, etc. See Temples.

Garden Statues, Lead, Bowood, Wilts., 214

Gardening. Landscape of the late eighteenth century. William Shenstone's essay on, quoted, 95.

Gardens: Bowood, Wilts., 192, 195, 210, 211. Farsetti's villa in the Venetian style, 192. James Adam's opinion of, 93.

Garnett, David, Actor. Gathering of the "Scotch Group" at his Hampton Villa, 29. His controversy with "Pope" Quin, referred to, 30. His friendship with Robert Adam, 30. His friendship with Dr. Burney, referred to, 131. His friendship with John Home, 29. His refusal of Home's plays, referred to, 23. His roundabouts at Stratford-on-Avon, 1760, 30. His statue by Roubiliac, 25, 29. His volumes of correspondence, referred to, 30, 72. Hours for commencing performances in his time, 143. Public honors at his funeral, referred to, 132. Referred to as a freeman of Stratford-on-Avon, 72. Referred to as the medium through which Robert Adam might have become acquainted with Reynolds, 73. Robert Adam's first connection with, 27. Tenure of Drury Lane Theatre, by, 30.

Garrick, Mrs. Robert Adam's first meeting with, referred to, 72.

His friendship with Robert Adam, referred to, 30.

Garrick's Villa, Hampton-on-Thames. Alterations and additions, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35, 38.

Portico of, referred to as mainly of wood, 31, 35. Shakespeare Temple at, 27, 30, 31, 35, 38.

Gatehouses: Syon House, Middlesex, 257, 274.

Gateway: Croome Court, Worcestershire, 180, 190. Harewood House, Yorks., 174, 175. Kimbolton Castle, Hunts., 63, 65, 66, 67. Syon House, Middlesex, 111, 251, 270, 271, 274, 275, 276, 278.

Gateway, Gothic. Alnwick, 43. Strawberry Hill, 91.

Gavthorpe (now Harewood) House, Yorks. See Harewood.

Gav, John. His "Beggar's Opera," referred to, 56.

Gemminal, Francis. His music referred to as being played on the clock organ at Luton Hoo, 60.

General Post Office, London (pulled down 1821). Sir Robert Smirke referred to as architect of the, 113.

Genos: Elevations by Robert Adam of buildings at, referred to, 14.

"Gentleman's Magazine," 1781. Letter of "Architectus" in, quoted on the Gothic altarpiece at King's College Chapel, Cambridge, 92, 94, 98.

Georgian Work, Early. Reference to weakness of, in the use of the Corinthian order, 84, 87.

George III, King. Best time of, referred to as under the Pitt Ministry, 173.

Bountiful patronage of Benjamin West, referred to, 121.

Sir William Chambers' privileged position with, referred to, 113, 170, 121.

Character and accomplishments of, 32. Expenditure on books by, referred to, 121.

Favourite Prime Minister, the 8th Baron North, referred to, 98.

Handel, his ideal in music, referred to, 121.

His aide-de-camp, Colonel John Shadwell (afterwards 2nd Earl of Shelburne), 1st Lieutenant of Guards (1760), referred to, 106.

His and Queen Charlotte's relations with, 14.

His feeling at the Earl of Bute's resignation, 37.

His interview with and appointment of Robert Adam as "Architect to the King," 48.

His invitation to Shelburne to form a new Government, referred to, 202.

His letter to Lord North as to William Adam, junior, being appointed Treasurer of the Ordnance, 121, 131.

His letter to Lord North on a successor to Worsley, the Surveyor-General to the Board of Works, 121.

His permission

to Lord North to resign, referred to, 202. His reference to Lord Shelburne as the "Jesuit of Berkeley Square," 196. His state coach by Joseph Wilton, referred to, 73. Jesse's History of, referred to, 32. Lack of the Stuart gift of artistic patronage by, referred to, 121. Lady Hervey's letter on his character, 32. Marriage and coronation of, referred to, 48. Peter Pindar's reference to, in "The Progress of Knowledge," 124, 132. Referred to as conferring the Barony of Scarsdale on Sir Nathaniel Curzon, Bart., 231. Secluded upbringing of, by his mother and Lord Bute, 32. Shelburne's opposition to his reactionary ideals, referred to, 196. Reynolds' difficulty in inducing him to sit for a portrait, referred to, 121. Social manners of his time, referred to, 261. Thwarting of his marriage to Lady Susanna Lennox, referred to, 101, 132. Visit with Queen Charlotte to Strawberry Hill, referred to, 90. Walpole's opinion on his favourite study of building, 73. Walpole's reference to, as settled at Buckingham House, 48.

Gibson, Edward. His mention of James Wyatt's Pantheon, London, referred to, 170. His passing allusion to Edwin Lascelles, 18. Earl of Harewood, 170. Miscellaneous works of, referred to, 24.

Gibbs, James. Architect. Doorway, west side of Bowood, Wilt., referred to as his school, 208. His church of St. Mary-le-Strand, London, referred to, 3. Henry Keene, referred to as a follower of, 204. His employment of Rysbrack, the sculptor, referred to, 143. His pair of garden pavilions for the earliest brick house at Kedleston, Derbyshire, 229. His attitude on classic architecture, referred to, 78. Influence of his work on William Adam, senior, referred to, 2. Soane's remarks on the heavy interiors by, quoted, 110.

Gibson, John. His representation of Mr. Adam as builder to John Elwes, referred to, 110.

Gibson, John. Architect. His alteration of the back wall of the entrance loggia, Compton Verney, Warwickshire, 223, 225. His alteration of the cove to the hall ceiling, Compton Verney, referred to, 224. His re-decoration in 1855 of the state rooms, Compton Verney, 224. Referred to as Royal Gold Medalist, 1890, of Royal Institute of British Architects, 224.

Gilmour, Sir Alexander. Referred to as the bearer to Baron Mure of the Earl of Bute's plan for Mure's house, 69.

Grändalos, Croome Court, Worcestershire, 184. Harewood House, Yorks., 167, 173. Osterley Park, 280, 292, 294.

Glanville, W. E. Marriage of his daughter, Frances, to Admiral Boscowen, referred to, 136.

Glasgow. Work at, referred to Robert Adam in his last years, 126, 130, 132.

Gloucester, Herefordshire. Robert Adam's designs for, referred to, 132.

Gloucester, Henry, Duke of, son of Charles I. Visits to Syon House, referred to, 250.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, German Poet. His recognition of the Villa Rotunda as embodying the spirit of revived antiquity, 78.

Gori, Father. Robert Adam's reference to the works of, in regard to Etruscan decoration, 297.

Goodwood House, Sussex. Robert Adam's designs for, 38, 45, 46, 67, 207. Colin Campbell's design for, 88, 45, 46.

Gosford House. Robert Adam's designs for, referred to, 132.

Gothic Apartments at Eaton Hall, Cheshire. Referred to as the work of William Porden, 114.

Gothic Architecture. Letter of "Architectus" in the "Gentleman's Magazine," quoted on, 92, 94, 98. Robert Adam's handicap in, 2. Walpole's statement that it had received great applause, 91, 98.

"Gothick." In 1750. Design for Alnwick Castle. Robert Adam's, 98. Gothic Revival. The Flood tide of, referred to, 97. Thomas Gray, the master mind of the, 88, 98. Horace Walpole's reputation as the founder of, referred to, 88.

Government House, India. Referred to as a repetition, more or less of Kedleston Hall, 102.

Græme, General. His assistance to Robert Adam at Spalato, 19, 24.

Grafton, Duke of. Reference to his divorce from Anne, afterwards Countess of Upper Ossory, 98. Reference to, as in the early Cabinet of George III, 123.

Grafton Street, Piccadilly, London. Referred to as not conclusively proved to be the work of Robert Adam, 114. Referred to by W. H. Leeds as a bad speculation, 114.

Graham, Gillespie. Referred to as a prominent architect in Scotland after Robert Adam's death, 126. Referred to, with Reid and Playfair, as the "Greek School," 130.

Granary, Lord. Referred to as a Commander of the British Forces at Minden, 102.

Grant, The Abbé. A Scotsman at Rome, referred to by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 23.

Grant, William. Robert Adam's designs of Conglinton, East Lothian, for, referred to, 132.

Granville, Earl, formerly Lord Cartaret, referred to as Sir Robert Walpole's chief opponent, 197. Referred to as father of Lady Sophia Cartaret, 196. Marriage of his daughter, Georgiana, to Mr. Spenser, referred to, 197.

Granville, Lady Sophia Fermor, Countess. Referred to as the mother of Lady Sophia Cartaret, 196.

Grates by R. and J. Adam, at Luton Hoo, Beds., referred to, 67.

At Shardeloes, Bucks., 151, 151.

Gray, Mr. Referred to as brother of Robert Adam's letter to Baron Mure concerning his son on the Blenheim estate, 18.

Gray, Thomas, Poet. Bartle's designs for his "Odes," referred to, 68. His association with Horace Walpole at Eton and Cambridge, referred to, 88. His "Elegy" and "Odes," referred to, 98. His quarrel and parting with Walpole, referred to, 88, 98. His reconciliation with Walpole, referred to, 88, 98. His travels with Walpole, referred to, 88, 98. Musings on the feudal ages by, referred to, 77. Referred to as the master mind of the Gothic revival, 88, 98. Walpole's references to him, 88, 98.

Gray House. Referred to as the work of William Adam, senior, 23.

Great Marlborough Street, London. John Elwes' house in, referred to, 119.

Great Saxham, Suffolk. Referred to as the seat of Hutchinson Muir, 115. Robert Adam's designs for, 40, 41, 42, 49, 50, 115.

Gregories, Bucks. Its purchase by Edmund Burke, referred to, 113.

John Walker referred to as building-owner of, 113.

Grenville, Richard. His inheritance of Baron Melcombe's money, referred to, 120. Marriage of his sister, Hester, to William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, referred to, 120.

Gresham, Sir Thomas. Norden's note on the Osterley House of, 288, 290.

Grey, Lady Jane. Her consent at Syon Abbey to accept the Crown, referred to, 249.

Grey, Lady Mary, sister of Lady Jane Grey. Referred to as being a State prisoner at Osterley Park, 290.

Grosvenor, Carver at Kedleston, Derbyshire, referred to, 45, 73, 87.

Grosvenor, Richard, Earl. Robert Adam's design for the enlargement of Eaton Hall, Cheshire, for, 45. William Porden referred to as surveyor for the London Estates of, 114.

Grotto, Osterley Park, Middlesex, 290.

Grover, Mr. His design for the new House of Lords, referred to, 120.

Guido. Copy of his "Aurora" by Masuccio at Northumberland House, London, referred to, 41.

Guildford. Creation of Francis, 7th Baron North, as Earl of, referred to, 94, 98.

Gunning, Mrs. Mother of the beautiful Misses Gunning, referred to, 191.

Gunning, The Beautiful Misses. Walpole's reference to, 178, 179, 191.

Gunning, Elizabeth. Her marriages, first to the Duke of Hamilton and second to the Duke of Argyll, referred to, 191.

Gunning, Kitty. Her marriage to Mr. Tracey, referred to, 191.

Gunning, Maria. Her marriage to the 6th Earl of Coventry, referred to, 178, 179, 191. Her visit by Reynolds to Coventry Court, referred to, 178. Referred to as a patron of John Home, 29. Soane's remark to concerning one of her dresses, 179.

Gwilt, George (the elder). Architect to the West India Docks. Referred to as the father of Joseph Gwilt and George Gwilt (the younger), 114. Referred to as patronised by H. Thrale, Dr. Johnson's friend, 114.

Gwilt, George (the younger). Architect. His restorations of St. Mary-le-Bow and St. Saviour's, Southwark, referred to, 114.

Gwilt, Joseph, Architect. His Byzantine church at Charlton, Woolwich, referred to, 114. His criticism of the gateway at Syon House, Middlesex, 270, 272. His criticism of Robert Adam, 106, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 204. His dogmatic opinions on Architecture, referred to, 171, 204. His "Encyclopedia of Architecture," referred to, 106, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 204, 270, 272. His meeting with Sir Charles Barry and John Wolfe in Italy, referred to, 174. His new edition of Sir William Chambers' book, referred to, 114. His plan of St. Paul's and Revert, 112.

Gwynne, John. Architect. Biographical details, 113. His book, "London and Westminster Improved," referred to, 113. His bridge at Shrewsbury, referred to, 113. His conversations with Dr. Johnson on architecture, 102. His new market at Oxford, referred to, 113. His opinion on the superintendence of building by craftsmen instead of architects, 73. Referred to as architect of Magdalen Bridge, Oxford, 113. Referred to as a writer on art and drawing, 113.

Hagley Park, Worcestershire. Its resemblance to Croome Court, referred to, 178. James Adam's visit, with others, to, referred to, 10. Lord Lyttelton's insistence on the provision of an ante-room at, referred to, 262. Lyttelton referred to as building-owner of, 178.

Ruined castle by Sanderson Miller at, 90, 94, 97. Sanderson Miller referred to as architect of, 98. Visit of the Scotch Group to, referred to, 95.

Haldane, Sir Robert. Adam's designs for Airthrey, Stirlingshire, for, referred to, 132.

Halifax, Lord. Richard Cumberland referred to as his private secretary at the Board of Trade, 55.

Halls; Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, 41. Bowood, Wilt., 204, 208, 211, 215. Castle Ashby, Northants, 34. Compton Verney, Warwickshire, 224, 225. Drum House, Midlothian, 3, 7, 8. Harewood House, Yorks., 163, 172. Kedleston, Derbyshire, 43, 45, 73, 232, 234, 235, 238. Kenwood, Middlesex, 305, 308, 310. Shardeloes, Bucks., 147, 148, 148, 149, 150. Syon House, Middlesex, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 257, 259, 260.

Hamilton, Duke of. Referred to as the first husband of Elizabeth Gunning, 191.

Hamilton, Mr. Referred to as Clerk of Works at Kenwood, 316.

Hamilton, Mr., of Pains Hill. Referred to as advising on the lay-out of the grounds at Bowood, 166.

Hamilton, Sir William. His great work on Etruscan vases, referred to, 102.

Hamilton, William, R.A. His paintings on the doors of the salon or rotunda at Kedleston, referred to, 237, 240. His tour to Italy, referred to, 316. Referred to as a protégé of Robert Adam, 316. Soane's mention of him as one of the artists patronised by Robert Adam, 114, 316. Works by him in the Soane Museum, referred to, 316.

Hampden, Hon. Maria Constantia. Referred to as the only daughter of the 4th Baron Trevor, 283. Referred to as the widow of Francis Child, M.P., 283.

Hampton Court Palace. Wren's bull's-eye windows in the Fountain Court at, referred to, 294.

Handel, G. F. His music referred to as being played on the clock organ at Luton Hoo, 69. Referred to as George III's ideal in 1727.

Hardwick, T. Referred to as a member of the Architects' Club, 127.

Hardwick, Lord Chancellor. Sanderson Miller's ruined tower at Wimpole, for, 98.

Hardwicks, The. Their indifference to Robert Adam's work, referred to, 110.

Harewood, Edwin Lascelles, 1st Earl of. Building-owner of Harewood House, 74, 157. Gibbon's passing allusion to him, referred to, 170. Mentioned by Mons. Mouret in a letter to Garrick, 170. Portrait of, by Hogarth, at Harewood House, 165, 172. Return from Paris, referred to, 74.

Harewood Church, Yorks. Robert Adam's sketch plan and elevation for, referred to, 34, 104, 191.

Harewood House, Yorks. Chambers' designs for the stables at, referred to, 164. Carr's influence on the planning of, 166, 168. Carved monograms on the north front, referred to, 175. Carved chimney-piece referred to, 164, 242. Description of in "Vitruvius Britannicus," 157, 164. Dining-room, 172. Elevations of, published in "Vitruvius Britannicus" under Carr's name, 158. Elevations as shown on Robert Adam's original drawings, 159. Etruscan

decoration at, referred to, 302. Furniture at, see Furniture. Gallery, 167, 173, 175. Great drawing-room, 175. Hall, 163, 172 Invitation to Sir William Chambers to submit a plan for, referred to, 164. Landscapes by Zucchi in the music-room, 168, 172. Library (formerly the saloon), 170, 171, 173, 174. Library (the old), 170, 174. Magazine room, 168, 172, 173, 175, 176, 181, 182, 186, 189, 190, 198. Robert Adam's association with John Carr, at, 164, 157, 161, 223, 236. Robert Adam's designs for, in competition with John Carr and Sir William Chambers referred to, 34. Robert Adam's drawings for the furniture at, referred to, 172. Robert Adam's drawings for the interiors at, 65, 74, 157, 164, 169, 170, 172. Salon (now the library), 169, 170, 171, 173, 174. Second drawing-room, 173. Sir Charles Barry's impression of his personality on, 171, 172. Staircase, 168, 173, 177.

Harewood, Village of. Stone houses in, 174, 177 "Harlequinades of Adam." Walpole's reference to, 100, 113 Hastings, Warren. His bus set up at Bowood, referred to, 204. Lord Lansdowne's defence of, 204. Marriage of his god-daughter, Mrs. Alt, to John Elton's eldest son, referred to, 120. Referred to as master of Bowood, 204.

Hatchlands Park, Surrey. Abiding interest of, 143. Ceiling at Kedleston drawing-room referred to as reminiscent of the decoration at, 242. Character of Robert Adam's work at, 140. Construction of the carcase of, by Ripley, referred to, 142. Dining-room, 136, 137, 141, 142. Dulness of Ripley's exterior, referred to, 139. Its building by Admiral Boscowen, referred to, 137. Its purchase by W. B. Sumner, referred to, 138. Library, 136, 140, 142, 143. Manning's references to, in his History of Surrey, 138, 143. Plan, 134. Present dining-room, 141, 141, 142. Ripley's fussy treatment of mezzanine floors at, 141. Robert Adam's designs for interiors at, referred to, 34, 138, 139, 140. Staircase, 141, 142, 143.

Hatton, Sir Christopher. Portrait of, at Shadloes, Bucks., referred to, 151.

Haydon, Benjamin. Referred to as a prophet of the High Art School, 177.

Havnyard, William. Sculptor. His list of artists' arrivals in Rome, 1753-75, referred to, 24. His note on the Adam Brothers manufactory of Virtu, 39.

Heath, Lord. Defender of Gibraltar. Reynolds' portrait of, referred to, 202.

Henton Hall. Wyatt's employment of Rebecca, the painter, at, referred to, 240.

Henry V, King. His founding of the monastery of the Brigittines at Sion, referred to, 247.

Herne, Mr. His purchase of Luton Hoo, and subsequent sale to the 3rd Earl of Bute, referred to, 67.

Heron, Thomas. Referred to as owner of Chilham Castle, Kent, in 1774, 131.

Hertford, The Earl of. Walpole's letters to, on the subject of Syon House, referred to, 269, 278.

Hervy, General. Robert Adam's design for a house for, 82, 83.

Herves, Mary Legel, Lady. Her letter on George III, quoted, 1.

Heston Church, Middlesex. Robert Child's monument at, referred to, 204.

Hightown, Hitchin, Herts. Robert Adam's design for, referred to, 43, 53, 122, map.

Higland Forts, The. William Adam, senior, and his contracts for, 4. Hugh Wycombe Church, Bucks. Keene's new parapets to the tower of, referred to, 204.

Hugh Wycombe Market Hall and Shambles, 46, 56, 74, 122, map, 204.

Horns, Mr. Builder of the County House, Warwick, referred to, 98 "History of Birmingham." Hutton's account of John Baskerville in his 10.

"History of Luton" by Fred. Davis. Referred to in connection with the beginning of Luton Hoo in 1771 and again in 1843, 74.

"History of Stratford-on-Avon," by R. B. Wheler. Referred to, 30.

Hougham, William. His pictures, referred to, 174.

Holderness, Robert D'Arcy, 4th Earl of. Referred to as a client of Robert Adam, 74.

Holkham Hall, Norfolk. Referred to as an attempt at grandeur on an unsuitable scale, 71. Referred to as one of the lordly mansions of the great house-building epoch, 103, 113. Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester, builder-owner of, referred to, 111.

Holland, Henry Fox, 1st Baron. His assistance to the Earl of Bute in establishing Peace, referred to, 12. His intrigue over George III's love affair with Lady Sarah Lennox, referred to, 121. His letter on Adam's search for a site for Lord Shelburne's town house, 46, 48, 65, 106, 214. His letter to Shelburne advising a return to political life, 196. His relations with Shelburne, referred to, 196. His sale of "Piccadilly House," referred to, 48, 73. His visit with other clients of Robert Adam to Eastbury, 55. Referred to as son-in-law of 4th Duke of Richmond, 46. Referred to regarding the negotiations for a peerage for Lady Caroline Fox, 196. Robert Adam's design for his house in Piccadilly, 48, 59, 62, 63, 78. Walpole's reference to his post as Paymaster, 214.

Holland, Henry (senior). Contractor for the earlier Adam work at Bowood, referred to, 210. Referred to as paymaster for the works at Bowood, 214.

Holland, Henry (junior). His reconstruction of Carlton House, referred to, 100. C. H. Tatham's letter to, criticising the work of Robert and James Adam, 114. Referred to as one of the founders of the Architects' Club, 126. His design for a new House of Lords, referred to, 129. The chapel at Compton Verney, referred to as a model of the work of, 28.

Holland, Lady. Referred to as a daughter of the 4th Duke of Richmon, 46. Referred to as accompanying Lord Shelburne and the Countess of Upper Ossory abroad, 202.

Holland, Stephen, Lord. His marriage of Lady Mary Fitzpatrick, referred to, 202.

Hollands, The. Their enterprise in building late Georgian houses, referred to, 114.

Holyrood Palace. Reference to its restoration by Sir William Bruce, 23.

Home, Hon. Henry, of Kames. Memoirs of by Hon. A. F. Tytler, referred to, 99, 113.

Home House. Etruscan decoration at, referred to, 302.

Home, John. Adam's reference to design for additional wings to his cottage, 116. Biographical details, 9, 23. Dr. Alexander Carlyle's interest in, referred to, 10. Earl of Bute referred to as a patron of, 31, 32. Garrick's refusal and subsequent production of his plays, 10, 29. His dramatic poems of "Agis" and "Douglas," referred to, 23, 269. His friendship with David Garrick, 29. His friendship with Robert Adam, 10. His gallery at Holmeley Hall referred to, 29. His house, "Percy," given to him by Robert Adam, 24, 27. His introduction of Sir William Chambers to George III, referred to, 22. His lodgings in South Audley Street, London, referred to, 31. His patron (Maria Gunning), Countess of Coventry, referred to, 29. His riding-tour with James Adam and others, 9. His visit to Garrick's villa at Hampton, 29. His visit to Hagley Park, referred to, 95. His visit to William Shenstone at Leasowes, referred to, 95. His visit with Dr. and Mrs. Alexander Carlyle to Syon House, referred to, 269. Robert Adam's designs for Ninewells for, 131, 132. Weekly meetings with Robert Adam and others of the Scotch Group, 27.

Home, Lady. Her house, No. 20, Portman Square, London, referred to, 132.

Hopetoun House. Sir William Bruce's work at, 2, 23. Wings of, referred to as the work of William Adam, senior, 2, 27.

Hoppen, John, R.A. His portrait of 1st Earl of Harrow at Harewood House, 165, 172.

Hospital, The Lock Chapel and, Grosvenor Place, London. Robert Adam's design for, referred to, 45.

Houghton Hall, Norfolk. Charge that it was built by Sir Robert Walpole with Royal money, referred to, 113. Referred to as an attempt at grandeur on an unsuitable scale, 71. Referred to as one of the lordly mansions of the great house-building epoch, 103, 113. Referred to as the seat of Sir Robert Walpole, 1st Earl of Orford, 113. Ripley's carrying out of Colin Campbell's design for, referred to, 140. William Kent (interior) and Thomas Ripley referred to as architects of, 113.

House-building Epoch in the Eighteenth Century. Its co-incidence with great agricultural prosperity, referred to, 103.

House of Bush, Edinburgh. Robert Adam's designs for, referred to, 132.

Houses

- Adelphi, London, 99, 112, 144, 119. Airthrey, Stirlingshire, 132. Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, 39, 41, 43, 98, 177, 245, 253. Ambrosden, 98. Apsley, London, 302. Archerfield, Berwick, 132.
- Balaville, Bednoch, 132. Balbardie, near Edinburgh, 132. Bateman, Richard, his "Gothick" house at Windsor, 80. Blair Adam, 9, 12, 23. Blair Drummond, 99. Blenheim P., Oxfordshire, 9, 103, 216, 219. Bowood, Wilts., 39, 46, 192, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 197, 198, 199, 199, 200, 201, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 206, 207, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 215. Buckingham, near Stirling, 101, 131. Buckingham, London, 48, 49. Burlington, London, 75, 76.
- Caldwell, 60, 115, 116, 132. Carlton, London, 32, 100. Castie Ashby, Northants, 34. Castle Dundas, Linlithgow, 131. Castle Howard, Yorks., 103, 216, 219. Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, 97, 126, 132. Chilham Castle, Kent, 131. Compton Verney, Warwickshire, 39, 65, 211, 216, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 223, 224, 224, 225, 225, 226, 226, 227, 227, 228, 228. Congleton, East Lothian, 132. Conwy, Hon. Seymour: his cottage, Park Place, London, 89. Copper Hall, Essex, 61, 122, map. Coventry House, Piccadilly, London, 184, 191. Croome Court, Warwickshire, 128, 131, 164, 172, 178, 179, 179, 180, 181, 181, 182, 182, 183, 183, 184, 184, 185, 185, 186, 187, 187, 188, 189, 189, 190, 190, 191, 191, 242. Culzean Castle, Ayrshire, 88, 91, 92, 93, 97. Culmberhead House, Pall Mall, London, 84, 104.
- Deputy Ranger's Lodge, Green Park, London, 82, 83, 130. Derby House, Grosvenor Square, London, 166, 206. Douglas William: his house at Newton Stewart, Galloway, 126. Drummond 132. Drum House, Midlothian, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11.
- Eastbury, 55. Eaton Hall, Cheshire, 45, 114. Eton, 45. Fitzmaurice, Hon. Thos., his house in Pall Mall, London, 245. Fitzroy Square, London, 97, 114, 132. Fonthill, 49.
- Garrick's Villa, Hampton, 28, 29, 31, 31, 33, 58. Glen Villa, Colney Hatch, 143. Glencar, Perthshire, 132. Goodwood, Sussex, 45, 46, 207. Gosford, 132. Government House, India, 102. Grafton Street, Piccadilly, London, 114. Great Marlborough Street, London, 176. Great Samaria, S. 107^a, 40, 41, 42, 49, 50, 115. Greenwich, R.A., 113.
- Hagley Park, Worcestershire, 89, 90, 94, 95, 178, 262. Hampton Court Palace, 204. Harewood, Yorks., 45, 55, 74, 104, 157, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 164, 165, 166, 166, 167, 168, 168, 169, 170, 170, 171, 171, 172, 172, 173, 173, 174, 174, 175, 175, 176, 176, 177, 232, 236, 302. Harewood Village, 174, 177. Hatchlands Park, Surrey, 34, 133, 134, 135, 136, 136, 137, 137, 137, 138, 138, 139, 139, 140, 140, 141, 141, 142, 142, 143, 143, 164, 172, 242. Heaton Hall, 240. Hervey, General: Design for his, 82, 83. Highdown, Hitchin, Herts, 43, 122, map. Holkham Hall, Norfolk, 1, 103, 113. Home House, 302. Hopetoun House, 2, 23. Houghton Hall, Norfolk, 103, 113, 119. House of the Bush, Edinburgh, 132. Hume, David: his house in the New Town, Edinburgh, 113.
- Kedleston, Derbyshire, 43, 45, 71, 78, 79, 87, 100, 102, 123, 124, 146, 171, 200, 229, 230, 231, 231, 232, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 236, 237, 238, 239, 239, 240, 240, 241, 241, 242, 242, 243, 243, 244, 244, 245, 245. Kenwood, Middlesex, 114, 122, map, 202, 303, 304, 305, 306, 306, 307, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 312, 313, 313, 314, 314, 315, 315, 316, 317, 318, 318, 319, 319, 320. Kirby House, Portman Square, London, 192. Kimbolton Castle, Hunts., 63, 65, 66, 67, 122, map, 219. Kinross House, Kinross, 2, 2, 3, 4, 5. Kirby Hall, Great Ouseburn, 164. Kirklington Park, Oxfordshire, 65.

Lansdowne (formerly Shelburne) House, Berkeley Square, London, 46, 48, 65, 110, 111, 197, 201, 206, 211, 214, 290. Lauder Castle, Thirlstane, Berwick, 95, 96, 128, 132. Leasowes, Worcestershire, 95, 98. Leicester House, London, 32. Lint House, near Loughborough, 132. Lower Grosvenor Square, London, 25, 28. Lowther Castle, Cumberland, 65, 98. Luton Hoo, Beds., 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 74, 75, 110, 122, map, 278. Mansfield, 73. Mansfield, 1st Earl of, his house in Bloomsbury Square, London, 132, 305, 306. Mansfield Street, London, 112, 118. Marylebone, 305, London, 119. Maudsley Castle, Lanarkshire, 132. Melbourne House (now The Albany), Piccadilly, London, 48, 62, 73. Melcombe, Baron; his house at Hammersmith, 72. Miller, Sanderson; his thatched cottage at Edgell, near Radway, 94. Millar Street, Glasgow, 132. Montagu, Mrs., her house in Hill Street, Berkeley Square, London, 99. Montagu, Mrs., her house in Portman Square, London, 99, 100, 100. Moor Park, Herts, 43, 44, 45, 54, 55, 81, 122, map. Newlyn, 73. Ninewells, near Dunse Burwick, 131, 132. No. 13, Albemarle Street, London, 127, 130. No. 20, St. James's Square, London, 101, 102, 112. No. 26, St. James's Square, London, 103, 104, 112, 290. No. 32, St. James's Square, London, 127, 129. No. 43, Welbeck Street, London, 35. Northbrook House, 65. Northumberland House, Strand, London, 39, 104, 253, 255, 258, 261. Nostell Priory, Yorks, 63, 103, 173, 232, 238, 243, 290, 292. Nunsmere, Oxfordshire, 92. Osterley Park, Middlesex, 30, 65, 99, 113, 173, 175, 187, 279, 270, 280, 281, 282, 283, 287, 284, 285, 286, 286, 287, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 294, 295, 295, 296, 296, 297, 298, 299, 299, 300, 301, 301, 302. Paine, James; his villa at Addlestone, Surrey, 104, 113. Pavilion, the, Brighton, Sussex, 114. Piccadilly (afterwards Melbourne), House, London, 48, 73. Pitshanger Manor, Ealing Green, Middlesex, 110, 114. Portland Place, London, 112, 114, 118, 119, 120, 129. Portman Square, London, 119. Quebec Street Crescent, London, 119. Queen's House (old Buckingham House), London, 48. Rosebank-upon-Clyde, 132. Roding Hall, 132. St. George's Square, Glasgow, 30. Semple Castle, Renfrew, 132. Shoreham, Bucks, 34, 56, 58, 122, map, 144, 144, 145, 146, 147, 147, 148, 148, 149, 150, 150, 151, 151, 152, 153, 153, 154, 155, 155, 156, 156, 211, 213, 218, 246, 248, 292. Somerset House, London, 105, 115, 124, 132. Spencer House, London, 59. Stansted House, Sussex, 253. Stoke Park, 243. Stormont House, Portland Place, London, 105. Stowe, Bucks, 110, 115, 117, 119, 121, 240. Stratford, Lord; his house at Twickenham, Middlesex, 98. Stratford Place, London, 114, 118, 123, 124, 125. Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, Middlesex, 88, 132, 270. Syon House, Middlesex, 36, 46, 99, 111, 113, 130, 174, 184, 238, 246, 247, 248, 249, 249, 250, 250, 251, 251, 252, 252, 253, 253, 254, 255, 255, 256, 257, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 261, 262, 262, 263, 264, 265, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 269, 270, 270, 271, 272, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 277, 278, 287, 293, 300. Tanworth, Lord; his halls at Walton-on-Thames, Surrey, 216. Thornbury, 92. Thordorn Hall, Essex, 243. Thrile, Mr., his house at Streatham, Surrey, 202. Turton, Dr., his house at Brasted, Kent, 77, 226. Vanbrugh, Sir John; his house in Whitehall, London, 221. Villiers, Lord; his house in Grafton Street, Piccadilly, London, 112, 114. Warkworth Castle, Northumberland, 253, 277. Weald Hall, Essex, 111, 122, map. Welbeck Street, London, 119. West Wycombe Park, Bucks., 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 57, 58, 58, 59, 122, map. Whitehall and Whitehall Place, London, 105, 129. Windsor Castle, Berks, 97. Witham, Somerset, 49. Wolverton Hall, Norfolk, 140. Worksop Manor, Notts, 236, 237, 245. Wormleybury, Herts, 104, 106, 107, 122, map. Wroxton Abbey, Worcestershire, 98. Wycombe Abbey, Bucks, 204. Houses of Parliament, London. Design of William Adam, junior, for the referred to, 129. Compared in area to Diocletian's Palace at Spalato, 19. Sir Charles Barry referred to as architect of the 19. Howard, Queen Catherine. Her imprisonment in the Monastery at Syon, referred to, 247. Howell's "Northern Heights of London." Referred to in regard to Kenwood, 114. Hume, David. His acquaintance with Lord Shelburne, referred to, 106. His character, 11, 13. His complaints of attacks on the Scots, referred to, 22. His friendship with Robert Adam, referred to, 10. His "History of Great Britain," referred to, 11. His letter to Adam Smith on the Adelphi crisis, 116, 131. His reputation as an atheist, 11, 13. His weekly meetings with Robert Adam and others of "Scotch Group," 27. Mentioned in the memorial notice of Robert Adam, 28. Mrs. William Adam, senior, and his opinions on art. Referred to as being "the Fashion," 74. Robert Adam's designs for a tomb for, 13, 14, 15, 17. Wallace's letter referring to the death of, 11. Hunt, T. E. His "Architectura Campestre," referred to, 114. Referred to as a pupil of James Wyatt, 114. Hunter, Robert, Professor of Greek, Edinburgh University. Referred to, 24. Hunter, Thomas. Robert Adam's designs for Glencarse, Perthshire for, referred to, 132. Hutchinson, Mr., of London. His work in the entrance hall, Harewood House, referred to, 177. Hutton's Account of John Baskerville in his "History of Birmingham," 10. Hyndford, Earl of. Robert Adam's designs for Maudsley Castle, for, referred to, 132. Ibbetson, J. C., Artist. His work at Kenwood in the time of the 2nd Earl of Mansfield, referred to, 308, 320. Ideal of Robert Adam defined, The, 76. Ideas of Robert Adam, The. Quotations from the Prefaces to the "Works" in explanation of, 78, 79, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87. Ilchester, 2nd Earl of. Marriage of his daughter to 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne, referred to, 202. Indian Room, Bowood, Wilts, 207, 213. Infirmary, The Royal, Edinburgh. Referred to as the work of William Adam, senior, 23. Ionic Order of Architecture. Robert Adam's views on the, 51, 73, 83. James I, King. His grant of Syon Abbey to 6th Earl of Northumberland, referred to, 250. Social manners of his time, referred to, 261. James, Nealy, Fordyce and Do'n, Scottish Bankers. Their failure, referred to, 23. Jersey, 4th Earl of. His marriage to Lady Sophia Fane, referred to, 302. Jesse, J. H. His "George Selwyn and His Contemporaries," referred to, 74. His "History of George III," referred to, 32. Jewell, John. His description of Harewood House, Yorks, referred to, 164, 177. Jodrell, Paul. Marriage of his daughter, Sarah, to Robert Child, referred to, 302. Johnson, Joseph, Sawyer at Kenwood. Robert Adam's letter about the account of, 6. Johnson, Dr. Samuel, LL.D. His acquaintance with the 2nd Earl of Shelburne, referred to, 196. His admiration of Joseph Wilton's daughter, referred to, 73. His admiration of the merits of the 1st Earl of Mansfield, 305, 310. His anti-Scottish bias, referred to, 22, 304, 305. His comment on Gregories' Bucks., Edmund Burke's retreat, 193, 113. His conversations with John Gwynn on architecture, 102. His criticisms of Robert Adam's work, 100. His dedication of Gwynn's book, "London and Westminster Improved," referred to, 113. His efforts to save Rev. Dr. Dodd from execution, referred to, 45. His friend Thrale referred to as a patron of George Gwilt (the elder), 114. His friendship with Dr. Burney, referred to, 131. His opinion of Home's dramatic poem, "Douglas," 23. His opinions on architecture, quoted from Boswell, 102. His pension award referred to as an act of the 3rd Earl of Bute, 32. His patriotic outlook upon art, 102. His visits to and appreciation of Luton Hoo, 70, 71. Introduction to his dictionary quoted on the subject of change and development in language, 274, 277. Lord Shelburne's characteristic remark to, 196. Reference to his dining with Ramsay, 125. Referred to as an habitue of Reynolds' studio, 102. The subtleties of artistic truth better appreciated by Lord Scarsdale than by, 103. Walpole's criticisms of, referred to, 100, 113. Johnstone, Alexander. Robert Adam's designs of Champfleurie, Linlithgow, for, referred to, 132. Jones, Inigo, Architect. Brettingham-Kent school ideas referred to as derived from, 87, 155. His engagement to do repairs at Syon Abbey, referred to, 250. His great plan for Whitehall Palace, referred to, 169. Reference to Stoke Park as attributed to, 243. Referred to, 131. Referred to in the Adam "Works" as having rescued architecture from Gothicism, 76. Referred to as the probable designer of the Cloister, Syon House, 255. Soane's remarks on his heavy interest in 110. Simplex referred to in his pamphlet attack on Robert Adam, 208. Statue by Rychnok of at Chiswick House, referred to, 143. Vanbrugh referred to by Robert Adam as understanding the art of living by the Great, better than, 76. Work of Robert Adam, a departure from the traditional work of, 1. "Junius, The Letters of." Their unsparing malice towards 1st Earl of Mansfield, referred to, 306. Jupp, R. Referred to as a member of the Architects' Club, 127. Kames, Lord. Biographical details, 73. His marriage to Agatha Drummond, referred to, 73. Literary works by, 73. Mrs. Montagu's letter to, concerning Robert Adam's work for her, 99, 113. Robert Adam's letter to, on the Or's of Architecture, 50, 51, 54, 73. Robert Adam's letter to, on the prospect of a Royal Palace being built, 49, 51. Kaufman, Angelica, R.A. Her advent in London, referred to, 73. Her residence in the drawing-rooms of Almack's Castle, referred to, 73. Painted ceiling medallions, music-room, Harewood House, attributed to, 165, 172. Painted ovals by, above mirrors in gallery, Harewood House, 166, 173. Painted panels on ceiling, drawing-room, Syon House, 262, 263, 264. Paintings for the ceiling, Etruscan-room, Osterley Park, referred to, 286. Soane's reference to Robert Adam's employment of, 114. Kedleston, Derbyshire. Boudoir, 241, 242. Bridge, 74, 244, 245. Brettingham referred to as a possible predecessor of Paine at, 103. Candelabra tablets in the salon or rotunda, 239, 240, 242. Drawing-room, 239, 240, 242. English brick house at, 229, 231. English alabaster cornices in the salons, 234, 235, 236, 238. Great hall at, 234, 235, 238. Great portico, north front, 234, 235, 237. Harewood's paintings of ruins over the doors of the salon or rotunda, 237, 240. Inscription on the south front, referred to, 109. Interior decorations referred to as by Robert Adam, 104, 238. Replica of, erected for the Government house, India, referred to, 102. Lacquered paper maché panels to doors of salon or rotunda, 230. Letters concerning the alabaster caps in the great hall, 43, 45, 73. Library, 242, 242. Lodge referred to as following the arch of Octavia, 103. Lord Scarsdale's memorandum on the dates of building, referred to, 232. Memorandum by Robert Adam about alabaster for, referred to, 61. Method of connecting quadrant galleries with the wings at, 243. Mrs. Thrale's criticism of, 101. Music-room, 241, 242. Northeast wing attributed by Paine to Brettingham, 103. Paine and Brettingham's design for the north front, as revised by Robert Adam, 232, 237, 245. Paine's original designs incorporating Brettingham's designs for the wing pavilions, 71, 103, 113, 232. Paine's plan as revised by Robert Adam, 230, 232. Paine's relinquishing

of to, Robert and James Adam, 232. Rebecca's chinoiseos over the alcoves in the saloon or rotunda, 237, 240. References in Craddock's "Memoirs," to, 238, 242. Reference to, 238. "The English Chinoiserie," 245. Referred to as one of the lordly mansions of the great building epoch, 103, 113. Referred to in Adam's "Works," as an example of "movement" in architecture, 28. Robert Adam's association with Paine at, 43. Robert Adam's design for a bridge at, referred to, 43. Robert Adam's complete design for the south front, 79, 103, 232, 237, 245. Robert Adam's earliest designs for, relating to carpets and ceilings, referred to, 232. Robert Adam's design for a garden pavilion at, referred to, 43. Robert Adam's design for a great Roman ruin at, 243, 244. Robert Adam's design for stables at, referred to, 43. Robert Adam's rebuke of Grosvenor, the carver at, referred to, 87. Salon or rotunda, 212, 234, 237, 239, 240, 241, 245. Soane's reference to, in one of his Royal Academy lectures, 109, 110. Staircase, 173. Urns and pedestals of cast iron in the salon or rotunda, 236, 237, 241. Venetian windows in drawing-room, 240, 242. William Blaik's reference to, 231, 232, 235.

Kedleston Court, Derbyshire, 233, 243.

Keene, Henry, Architect. Cost of work carried out at Bowood by him, and his personal charges, 204, 215. His advice to Sanderson Miller on ornaments for his Gothic conservatory, 94. His payments before 1761 for works at Bowood, referred to, 214. His office block at Bowood, completed by Robert Adam as the Diocletian wing, 208. His three storey bay windows at Bowood, 197, 199, 207. His town or market hall at High Wycombe, Bucks., referred to, 204. His work at Bowood, referred to, 39, 204, 207. Referred to as a follower of James Gibbs, 204. Uncertain position of the entrance to Bowood as, designed by, 208, 215.

Kent, William, Architect. Chief architect at Holkham, Norfolk, 113. His employment of Rysbrack, the sculptor, referred to, 143. His meeting, at Houghton Hall, with Riley, referred to, 139. Influence of his work on William Adam, senior, 2. Referred to as architect for the interiors of Houghton Hall, 113. Referred to as a protégé of the 3rd Earl of Burlington, 113. Some remarks on the heavy interiors, 110. Walpole's criticism of, 80.

Kensington, Middlesex. Adam room, 309, 310, 310, 311, 312, 312, 313, 314, 314. Additions to, in the early nineteenth century, referred to, 245. Building work at, referred to as carried out directly by the Adams, 315, 1st Earl of Mansfield referred to as the Lord of, 202. George Robertson's view of, in 1781, referred to, 308, 320. Hall, 305, 306, 308, 310. Its purchase by the 1st Earl of Mansfield, referred to, 308. Its sale by the 3rd Earl of Bute, referred to, 108. Mrs. Delaney's appreciation of Adam's work at, 320. New lay-out for the 2nd Earl of Mansfield, referred to, 304, 304. Orangery at, referred to, 314. Original disposition from survey by Pritchard, 304, 304. Robert Adam's work at, 3, 122, map, 304. Samuel Curwen's visit to and note on, 310, 320. South front, 314, 315, 317. Survey map of, referred to, 308, 320. Zucchi's decorative paintings at, 312, 316.

Kerr, Robert, F.R.S. His "Mémoirs of the Life, Writings and Correspondence of William Smellie," referred to, 24.

Kerr, Thomas Fitzmaurice, 1st Earl of. Referred to as grandfather of the 1st Earl of Shelburne (afterwards 1st Marquess of Lansdowne), 102.

Kerry, Earl of (Present). Reference to his discovery of Keene's bill of charges for his work at Bowood, 204.

Kerry, Earls of. Family History, 112.

Kerry House, Portman Square, London. Robert Adam's designs for decorative work at, referred to, 192.

Kew, The Old Palace at. Referred to as a residence of George III in early life, 32.

Kielmensegger, Count Frederick von. His description of Northumberland House, London, 41.

Kimbolton Castle, Huntingdonshire. Robert Adam's entrance gateway and screen block to, 63, 65, 66, 67, 122, map, 219. Robert Adam's propulsive art, referred to, 65. The stable block at, 65. Vanbrugh's work as referred to, 63, 119, 22. Walpole's reference to, 68. Robert Adam's work at, 63.

King, Dr. the Jacobite. His influence on Sanderson Miller, referred to, 88. Referred to as principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, 98.

King, Sir John Dashwood, M.P. His succession to the Francis Dashwood Baronet, referred to, 56.

King's College, Cambridge. Walpole and Gray's association at, 88. King's College Chapel, Cambridge. Altarpiece by James Essex at referred to, 98. Its ceiling referred to as a model for that of Alnwick Castle chapel, 43. Letters of "Architectus" in the "Gentleman's Magazine" on the altarpiece at, 92, 93, 98. Robert Adam's design for a reredos at, 17, 97, 98. Rood loft and screen at, attributed to Italian artists, 98.

Kinaston, 1st Duke of. Referred to as father of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, 22.

Kinloch, Sir David. His treatment of John Home's house, referred to, 27.

Kinnaird, Lord. Robert Adam's designs for Drumcraig House, referred to, 103.

Kinnaird House. Referred to as the work of William Adam, senior, 23.

Kinnaird, Native place of the Adam family, referred to, 2. Robert Adam elected as Member of Parliament for, referred to, 71.

Kinross House, Kinross. Employment of P. P. Boyce and C. van Nerven as stone carvers at, referred to, 2. Plans of, 2. Sir William Bruce referred to as architect of, 2, 23.

Kipling, Rudyard. Reference to Torrigiano in his story of "The Wrong Thing," ("Rewards and Fairies"), 4.

Kirtley Hall, Great Ouseburn. Reference to its building by Carr from designs by Burlington and Morris, 164.

Kirtlington Park, Oxfordshire. Referred to as a seat of Sir James Dashwood, Bart., 65.

Kitchens: Shadloes, Bucks., 153. West Wycombe Park, kitchen and stable block, 50.

Kitsion, Sidney, Architect. His article on John Carr, referred to, 164, 177.

Lacquered panels to doors of salon or rotunda, Kedleston, Derbyshire, 232.

Lamp Column, Croome Court, Worcestershire, 131, 184, 190.

Lamps, Original Adam. Staircase, Osterley Park, Middlesex, 287, 292.

Lancret, Nicholas, French Painter, 1660-1743. Referred to, 87.

Landscape Gardening in the Late Eighteenth Century, 95.

Lansdowne, Semi-Pictorial by Robert Adam, 77, 78, 79, 87.

Langley, Bath. His "Gothic Inn," referred to, 88.

Lansdowne, William (and Earl of Shelburne), 1st Marquess of. Principally referred to in the text as Earl of Shelburne. See Shelburne, 2nd Earl of.

Lansdowne, John, 2nd Marquess of. Referred to, 206.

Lansdowne, Henry, 3rd Marquess of. His building at Bowood, referred to, 206, 207. His grand tour with Mons. Dumont referred to, 206. His political career, 206.

Lansdowne (formerly Shelburne) House, Berkeley Square, London. Dallaway's reference to, 110. Decoration of the gallery at, referred to, 59. Earl of Bute's commission to Robert Adam for, 33. Effects of Lord Shelburne's (1st Marquess of Lansdowne's) Italian travels on the completion of, 201. Failure of the building to reach the level of a masterpiece, referred to, 199. Gallery ceiling of, referred to, 211. Gwilt's criticism of, 111. Interiors at, referred to, 76. Lord Shelburne's (1st Marquess of Lansdowne's) vacillating methods of building, referred to, 206. Purchase price of, 65. Staircase of, referred to, 200. Robert Adam's search for a site for, referred to, 66. Referred to, 197.

Lascelles, Edwin, 1st Earl of Harewood. See Harewood.

Lascelles, Rose. Mother of John Carr of York, referred to, 164.

Lasswass Church. Robert Adam's design for, referred to, 132.

Latimer, W. Clerk of Works for Garrick's rotunda at Stratford-on-Avon, referred to, 30.

Lauder Castle, Thirlstane, Berwick. Robert Adam's designs for an addition to, 95, 96, 128, 129.

Lauderdale, Earl of. Referred to as building-owner of Lauder Castle, 96. Referred to as a pall-bearer at Robert Adam's funeral, 128.

Leasowes, Worcestershire. Vizir of the "Scotch Group," to, 95.

Le Despencer, Sir Francis Dashwood, Bart., 1st Baron. His possession of West Wycombe Park, referred to, 56. His second marriage to Maria daughter of the 4th Earl of Northumberland, referred to, 56.

Le Despencer, Francis, 3rd Baron. Biographical details, 56. Building operations at West Wycombe Park, referred to, 56. His effort to save Admiral Byng from being shot, referred to, 56. His epitaph, 57. His marriage to the widow of Sir Richard Ely, referred to, 56, 58, 74. His membership of the Medmenham Abbey Club, referred to, 55, 56, 73. His visit to the dying Earl of Chatham, referred to, 56. Referred to as building-owner of West Wycombe Park, 52. Robert Adam's designs for alterations to his house in Hanover Square, London, referred to, 59. Walpole's various allusions to, 56.

Leeds, Thomas, 4th Duke of. Referred to as a client of Robert Adam, 74.

Leeds, W. H. His article on Robert Adam in the "Biographical Dictionary," referred to, 21. His criticism of Robert Adam referred to, 112, 114. His reference to the alteration of Luton Hoo by Smirke, 74. His reference to Adam building speculations in London that turned out badly, 114. His writings on architecture, referred to, 177.

Leicester, Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of (present creation). Building-owner of Holkham, Norfolk, referred to, 113. Referred to as the father of Edward, Viscount Coke, 143. Referred to as negotiating for the site of the present Lansdowne House, 166, 214.

Leicester House, London. Referred to as a residence of George III in early life, 32.

Lennox, Lady Sarah. Thwarting of George III's early love for her, referred to, 123, 132. Walpole's reference to her as "The Ninth Statue," 123, 132.

Leoni, Giacomo, Italian Architect. Referred to as architect of Clandon Park, Surrey, 54. Referred to as architect for the rebuilding of Moor Park, Herts., 44, 54. Referred to as a protégé of the 3rd Earl of Northumberland, 89. The stables at Compton Verney referred to as not unlike the work of, 226.

Le Ron, Julian David, French Architect. His book referred to in connection with the sale of Piccadilly House, London, 73.

Leslie and Taylor's "Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds." Referred to, 73. "Letters from Liverpool, etc." Sam Derrick's reference to John Baskerville in his, 23.

Letters from Rome, by Robert Adam, 14, 24. "Lettres sur l'Angleterre." Madame du Boucage's reference to Tou Magne, Nimes, in her, 24.

Levertown, Mr. His enterprise in building late Georgian houses, referred to, 114.

Lewis, James. Referred to as a member of the Architect's Club, 127.

Lewis, Alderman Thomas, of London. His purchase of West Wycombe Park, referred to, 56.

Liberton, An Account of the parish of, 1712, by Rev. Thomas White, referred to, 23.

Libraries: Advocates, Edinburgh, 132. Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, 43. Bateman, Richard, his Gothick house at Windsor, 89. Croome Court, Worcestershire, 183, 185, 184. Hatchlands Park, Surrey, 138, 140, 142, 143. Harewood House, Yorks. (old library), 170, 173, 174. (Present library), 169, 170, 171, 173, 174. Kedleston, Derbyshire, 242, 242. Kenwood, Middlesex, 309, 310, 310, 311, 312, 312, 313, 314, 314. Le Despencer, 5th Baron, his house in Hanover Square, London, 59. Luton Hoo, Beds., 69, 71, 110. Osterley Park, Middlesex, 279, 289, 292. Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh, 64. Shardeloes, Bucks., 151, 153, 154, 155. Strawberry Hill, Middlesex, 88.

Lichfield, Cornwallis, Bishop of. His marriage to Catherine Mann, referred to, 73.

Ligorio, Piero. Stuccowork in the Adam Room, Kenwood, Middlesex, referred to as worthy of, 314.

Lincet, Earl of, referred to as a client of Robert Adam, 74.

Linn House, near Glasgow. Robert Adam's designs for, referred to, 112.

Lock Chapel and Hospital, Grosvenor Place. Robert Adam's design for, referred to, 45. Horace Walpole's reference to, 73.

Locks, Compton Verney, Warwickshire, 222, 223, 223, 224, 224.

"London and Westminster Improved," by John Gwynn, referred to, 113.

Lonsdale, 1st Earl of. Boswell's opinion of, 72. His carpet factory at Whitehaven, 65. His marriage referred to, 33. Robert Adam's designs for a new house in the "Castle Style" for, 65, 68. Robert Adam's schemes prepared for, 34. Robert Adam's village at Whitehaven, designed and built for, 65.

Lorraine, Claude. His landscape panels on the dining-room walls, Kedleston, Derbyshire, referred to, 241.

Lottery, The Adelphi. Robert Adam's letter to Baron Mure referring to the success of, 118, 131.

Loughborough, William Wedderburn, Lord. Reference to Robert Adam's designs for additions to Rudding Hall, for, 132. Visit to Garrick at Hampton with the "Scotch Group," 29. Weekly meetings of, with Robert Adam and others of the "Scotch Group," 29.

Lower Grosvenor Street, London. Robert Adam's house in, 25, 28.

Lowther, Sir James, 1st Earl of Lonsdale. See Lonsdale.

Lovett Castle. Robert Adam's alternative design for, in battlemented Gothic, referred to, 65, 98.

Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire. Adam drawings for, in the Soane Collection, referred to, 69. Boswell's visit to, 70. Built by R. and J. Adam for the Earl of Bute, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 71, 74. Clock organ at, 69, 70. Dillaway's reference to, 110. Destruction of the Adam House in 1843, referred to, 74. Details of the interior architectural order of, 85. Dr. Johnson's visit to and appreciation of, 70, 71. Dutens' references to, 69, 74. Earl of Bute's commission to Robert Adam for, 33. Isabella Elliott's reference to, 70, 74. Its salt by the Bute family, and subsequent reconstruction, referred to, 67. Library, 69, 71. Mrs. Bute's reference of, 69. Purchase by the Earl of Bute, referred to, 67. Reference to Robert Adam's design being hindered by having to work on it, 262, 278. Reference to Robert Adam's design not being completed, 69, 74. Reference by W. H. Legds to its alteration by Smirke, 74. Reference to, in the "Works" of Robert and James Adam, 65, 67. Robert Adam's reference to the grates, window curtain cornices and other fittings at, 67, 69. Staircase at, 69, 74.

Lyttleton, Lord. Building-owner of Hagley Park, Worcestershire, referred to, 94, 178, 262. James Stuart's Greek Doric temple at Hagley Park for, 89. Referred to as a neighbour of William Shenstone of Leasowes, 95.

Macartney, Lord. Referred to as a visitor to Bowood, 215.

Macaulay, Lord. His coquettishness referred to as typical of his generation, 171.

MacDowall, William. Robert Adam's designs for Semple Castle for, referred to, 132.

MacGibbon and Ross. Their "Domestic Architecture in Scotland," 123.

MacMillan, Baillie. Robert Adam's note on him in connection with the Register House, Edinburgh, 125.

Macpherson, J. Robert Adam's designs for Balaville, Badenoch for, referred to, 132.

Macpherson, James, "Ossian." The 3rd Earl of Bute referred to as a patron of, 32.

Magdalen Bridge, Oxford. John Gwynn referred to as architect of, 113.

Mair, John. Robert Adam's design for St. George's Square, Glasgow, for, 132.

Malcolm, King. Monuments to him at Alnwick Castle, referred to, 43.

Mamhead. Referred to in connection with Robert Adam's letter to Lord Kames on the Orders of Architecture, 73.

Manchester, Charles, 4th Earl and 1st Duke of. Vanbrugh's work at Kimbolton Castle for, 65.

Manchester, 1st Duke of. Robert Adam's work for him at Kimbolton Castle, 65.

Manchester 4th Duke of. His marriage to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir James Dashwood, Bart., referred to, 65. Robert Adam's work for him at Kimbolton Castle, 65.

Mann, Catherine. Her marriage to the Bishop of Lichfield, referred to, 73.

Mann, Sir Horace. Biographical details, 73. Correspondence with Horace Walpole on the designs for General Wolfe's monument, 39, 73. Joseph Wilton's stay at his house at Florence, referred to, 73, 302. Monument to his brother at Linton, Kent, by Richard Bentley, 89. Walpole's letter to, on the appointment of Admiral Rowley and Boscowen to the Admiralty, 137, 143. Walpole's letter to, on Dashwood's Etruscan urns, referred to, 56. Walpole's letter to, on the marriage of the Earl and of Shelburne and Lady Sophia Cartaret, 166, 197, 201. Walpole's letter to, on the 7th Earl of Northumberland, 34. Walpole's letters to, on the progress of the Stowaway, 88, 90, 91, 98.

Manning, O. Reference in his "History of Surrey" to the building of Hatchlands Park, Surrey, 143. Reference to the sale of Hatchlands Park by Mrs. Boscowen, 138.

Mansfield, William Murray, 1st Earl of, Lord Chief Justice. Assumption that he was a promoter in the Adam building speculations, referred to, 113. Biographical details of, 303, 305, 307. Building-owner for additions to Kenwood, Middlesex, 303. Burke's tribute to, 307. Burning of his house in Bloomsbury Square, London, by the Gordon rioters, referred to, 132, 306. Craddock's reference to his encouragement of the Adelphi enterprise, 114. Description of, in the "Life of Horne Tooke," 310, 320. Dr. Johnson's admiration of the merits of, referred to, 305. Howett's reference to his liking as a lawyer for mortgages, 114. His attribution of his success to his birth and connections, 305, 320. His compliment to Boswell on the latter's travels with Dr. Johnson, referred to, 125, 132. His firmness in the factious trials of Pope, 212. His greatness as a lawyer, referred to, 306. His indebtedness for his success to a variety of fortunate circumstances, referred to, 300. His masterly reply to King Frederick William III of Prussia on Britain's Naval rights, referred to, 307, 320. His memorable decision in the cause of abolishing slavery, referred to, 307. His monument in Westminster Abbey, referred to, 303, 320. His popular title of "The Great Lord Mansfield," referred to, 303. His portrait by David Martin at Kenwood, 310, 314, 319. His religious tolerance, referred to, 307. His retirement, referred to, 132. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's reference to him "as the real director of Home Affairs," 32. Reference to his contentions with the Earl of Chatham, 306. Referred to as a client of Robert Adam, 3, 113, 114. Referred to as the eleventh child of the 5th Viscount Stormont, 305. Referred to in the memorial notice of Robert Adam, 128. Referred to as a person who could supply data on the arrangement of the Houses of Parliament, 37. Referred to as the political antagonist of the 2nd Earl of Shelburne, 202. Referred to as Robert Adam's constant friend and patron, 128. Robert Adam's probable attendance at the Levées of, 125. Robert Adam's tribute in the "Works" to, 307. Unspiring malice of "Junius" towards, referred to, 265.

Mansfield, The Countess of (Wife of the 1st Earl). Referred to as a daughter of Finch, Earl of Nottingham, 319.

Mansfield, and Earl of. New lay-out for Kenwood made for, referred to, 304. Work by Ibbetson, an artist at Kenwood, in the time of, referred to, 308, 320.

Mansfield Street, London. Adam's building scheme at, referred to, 112, 118.

Mantelpieces. See Chimneypieces.

Maratti, Carlo, Italian Painter. Masuccio referred to as a pupil of, 41.

Marcovich, Count Antonio, of Spalatro. His assistance to Robert Adam when surveying Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro, 19.

Market Hall, Amersham, The. Referred to as built by Sir William Drake, 144.

Market Hall and Shambles, High Wycombe, 46, 56, 58, 74, 122, map, 204.

Marketrough, 1st Duke of. Marriage of his niece to the 1st Viscount Falmouth, referred to, 137.

Martin, David. His portrait of the 1st Earl of Mansfield at Kenwood, 310, 314, 319.

Mary, Queen (Tudor). Her restoration of the nunnery at Syon, referred to, 249.

Mary, Queen of William III. Her quarrel with her sister, afterwards Queen Anne, referred to, 251.

Maryburgh (Blair Adam), near Kinross. The home of William Adam, senior, referred to, 2.

Marylebone, London. The greater part of, referred to as built by John Elwes, M.P., 119.

Mason, Rev. William, Poet. His anonymous "Heroic Epistle," referred to, 121, 132. His introduction of James Essex to Horace Walpole, referred to, 92, 98. His introduction of Porden to James Wyatt, referred to, 114. Mrs. Delany's reference to his garden designs and buildings, 116, Number 92, 93. Referred to as a member of the "Snowdrop" Hill Committee, 92. Walpole's letter to, on the gateway of Syon House, 270, 278. Walpole's letter to, on Wyatt and the plagiarism of Adam's work, 99, 113.

Master Mason to the King in Scotland. Post held by John Adam and by William Adam, senior, referred to, 23.

Master of the King's Works. Sir William Bruce referred to, 23.

Masucci, Agostino, Italian Painter. His copy of Guido's "Aurora" at Northumberland House, London, referred to, 41. Referred to as a pupil of Carlo Maratti, 41.

Maudsley Castle, Lanark. Robert Adam's designs for, referred to, 132.

Mayo, The Earl of. Referred to as great-grandfather of the beautiful Misses Gunning, 191.

Meadows, Sir Sidney. Referred to by Robert Adam in his letter to John Fordyce, 60, 74.

Medmenham Abbey Club. Its members and scandals, referred to, 55.

Meggs, Mr., Brewer and Miser. His son, John Elwes, and his inheritance of property in London, referred to, 118, 131.

Melbourne, Lord. His purchase of Piccadilly House, London, referred to, 48, 82, 73.

Melcombe, George Bubb Dodington, Baron. Date of his death, 74. His commission to Robert Adam to design a garden room, referred to, 55, 80. His diary referred to, on the character of George III as a boy, 32. His house at Hammersmith, referred to, 74. His idolatry for the 3rd Earl of Bute, referred to, 56. His legacy to build a mausoleum at West Wycombe Park, referred to, 55, 67. His money inherited by Richard Grenville, 120. Meeting of a group of Robert Adam's clients at Eastbury, the seat of, 55. Morris and Servandoni referred to as architects of his house at Hanmersmith, 74.

Mengs, Anton Raphael. His copy of Raphael's "School of Athens" at Northumberland House, London, referred to, 41.

Michælangelo. His art contrasted with that of Fragonard, 76.

Miller, A. H. Robert Adam's criticism of his use of the Ionic Order, 81.

Middlesex, Lord. His membership of the Dilettanti Society, referred to, 56.

Miller, A. His "History of Scotland," referred to. Referred to as a seller of Robert Adam's print of his Admiralty screen design, 37.

Miller, A. H. His "Fife, Pictorial and Historical," referred to, 23.

Miller, Sanderson, Architect. Biographical details, 98. Designer (with Richard Bentley) of the earliest mid-eighteenth century castles, 88. His commission to supply "a plan of a Gothic cockpit," referred to, 94. His eighteenth century correspondence, quoted, 178, 191. His County Hall in Warwick, referred to, 98. His Gothic conservatory in wood, referred to, 94. His marriage to Susannah Trotman, referred to, 99. His principal works, 98. His ruined castle at Elvaston Park, 90, 94, 95, 97. His noted town house, 98. His villa referred to, 98. His noted cottage at Edgehill, near Radway, referred to, 98. His tower for Wroxton Church, Worcestershire, referred to, 98. His work at the Bishop's Palace, Durham, referred to, 98. Influence of Dr. King, the Jacobite, upon, referred to, 98. Referred to as architect of Ambresden, 98. Referred to as architect of the original Croome Court, 178. Referred to as architect of Hagley Park, 98, 178, 262. Sir Edward Turner's letters to him about Croome Court, 181, 182, 191. Walpole's considerable jealousy of his achievements, referred to, 94. William Pitt's reference to him as "The Great Master of Gothic," 94.

Mint, The Royal, London. Sir Robert Smirke, R.A., referred to as architect of, 113.

Mirabeau, Honoré Gabriele Riquetti, Comte de. Referred to as a visitor at Bowood, 202.

Mirrors (Wall): Harewood House, Yorks., **166, 167, 172, 173, 175, 177**. Kedleston, Derbyshire, **240, 242**. Kenwood, Middlesex, **313, 314, 318, 319**. Osterley Park, Middlesex, **295**. Shaddeles, Bucks., **152**. Syon House, Middlesex, **260, 262, 264, 265**. Miscellaneous sketches by Robert Adam and others, in the Soane Collection, referred to, **10, 11**. Mistley, Essex. Walpole's fancy for a Chinese room at, referred to, **89**. Molesley Hurst. The game of golf played by John Home, Alexander Carlyle and Parson Black on, referred to, **29**. Monastery at Syon, The, and the origin of Syon House, **247, 249**. The imprisonment of Catherine Howard at, referred to, **247**. Montfaucon, Bernard de, French Antiquary. Robert Adam's reference to consulting the works of, in regard to Etruscan decoration, **297**. Monk's Parlour, The, at the Soane Museum. Referred to as the best idea extant of a Strawberry Hill interior in Walpole's day, **98**. Montagu, Duke of. Robert Adam's garden seat at Richmond for, referred to, **272**. Montagu, Edward Wortley, M.P. Reference to him as English Ambassador at Constantinople, **22**. Referred to as the husband of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, **22**. Montagu, George. Walpole's letter to, on the enlarging and furnishing of the great apartment, St. James's Palace, **49**. Walpole's letter to, on the finishing of the round tower at Strawberry Hill, **91, 98**. Montagu House, London (the first British Museum). Its plan, referred to as resembling that of Harewood House, **177**. Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley. Biographical details, **22, 23**. Her letter on the 5th Earl of Northampton, **34**. Her letter to her mother, the Countess of Bute, on English Society at Rome, **23**. Her letter to Sir James Stuart on the 1st Earl of Mansfield, **12**. Her letter with the earliest mention of Robert Adam, **22**. Her meeting with Robert Adam, referred to, **23**. Her wit inherited by her daughter and grand-daughter, **34**. References in her letters regarding Kenwood in the time of the 3rd Earl of Bute, **308, 320**. Montagu, Mrs. Her house in Hill Street, Berkeley Square, London, referred to, **100**. Her house in Grosvenor Square, London, **100, 112**. Her letter to Lord Kames concerning Robert Adam's work for her, **99, 113**. Her supersession of Robert Adam by James Stuart, referred to, **99**. Referred to as "The Queen of the Blue Stockings," **99**. Robert Adam's design for a chimneypiece at her Hill Street house, referred to, **242**. Robert Adam's design of a sofa for, referred to, **242, 245**. Walpole's probable cause of her ceasing to employ Robert Adam, referred to, **99**. Monuments, Mausoleums, Memorials, Tombs, etc. Adam, William, senior, tomb of, **11, 13, 24**. Bowood, Wilts., Mausoleum, **39, 46, 73, 204, 211, 212, 213**. Brown, Lancelot ("Capability") , cenotaph, Croome Court, **189**. Child, Robert, monument, Heston Church, **294**. Croome church, Worcestershire, tombs, **187, 187**. Curzon, Sir Nathaniel, monument, Kedleston Church, **243, 244**. Davies, Daniel, son of, **13, 14, 15, 17**. Mans, Brother of Sir Horace, monument, Linton, Kent, **89**. Mansfield, 1st Earl of, Westminster Abbey, **303, 320**. Theodore at Ravenna, **17**. West Wycombe Park, Mausoleum, **55, 57, 59, 60**. Willoughby de Broke, Richard, 11th Baron, monument, **221**. Wolfe, General, monument, Westminster Abbey, **39, 41, 73**. Verney, Sir Greville, Kt., **1668**, tomb, Compton Verney Chapel, **228**. Verney, Sir Richard and Lady, tomb, Compton Verney Chapel, **228**. Moor Park, Herts. Its sale by the 2nd Lord Anson to the Dundas family, referred to, **54**. Lord Anson's purchase and lay-out of, **54**. Pulling down of Robert Adam's side-wings and colonnades, referred to, **54**. Rebuiding by Leoni, referred to, **54**. Reference to its owners and their respective building works, **54**. Side wings and colonnades added by Robert Adam for Sir Lawrence Dundas, **43, 54, 122, 123**. Tea pavilion by Robert Adam, **44, 45, 54, 55, 81**. Moore, Mrs. Hanmer. Her repression of Boswell, referred to, **261**. Moore, T. Weaver of the Adam carpet in the drawing-room, Syon House, referred to, **265**. Morillet, The Abbé. Referred to as a visitor at Bowood, **215**. Morris, Robert. His book on "Select Architecture," referred to, **166**. Referred to as co-designer with the 6th Earl of Burlington of Kirby Hall, Great Ouseburn, **164**. Referred to a joint architect with J. H. Servandoni of Lord Melcombe's house at Hammersmith, **74**. Morris, Thomas. Referred to as a *pratège* of the 3rd Earl of Burlington, **87**. Mortimer, Soane's reference to his employment by Paine, **114**. Mouldings. Robert Adam's views on, **84**. Movements in architecture. Robert Adam's characteristic note on, in the "Works," **1**. Smirke's reference to Robert Adam's note on, **109**. Mur Hutchinson. Referred to as a relation of Baron Mure of Caldwell, **115**. Robert Adam's designs for Great Saxham House, Suffolk, for, **40, 41, 42, 49, 50**. Muntz, J. H., Painter, Engraver, etc. His employment at Strawberry Hill, referred to, **89**. His quarrel with Walpole and expulsion from Strawberry Hill, referred to, **89, 98**.

Mural Decorations
Bowood, Wilts. Entrance hall, **208, 211**. Great drawing-room, (now the dining-room) **205, 209, 211**. Croome Court, Worcestershire. Long gallery, **181, 182, 183**. Drum House, Middlethorpe, Hall, **2, 7, 8**. Garrick's Villa, Hampton Landing, **33**. Harewood House, Yorks. Hall, **163, 172**. The old library, **173, 174**. Music-room, **165, 172, 175**. Hatchlands Park, Surrey. Dining-room, **138, 142**. Library, **140, 142**. Staircase landing, **141, 142**. Kedleston, Derbyshire. Fishing-house, **243**. The great hall, **234, 235, 236, 238**. The saloon or rotunda, **12, 20**. Kenwood, Middlesex. The old library, **209, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316**. Moon Park, Herts. The tea-room, **54, 55, 81**. Osterley Park, Middlesex. Eating-room, **284, 285**. Entrance hall, **284, 285, 293**. Etruscan room, **286, 287, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300**. Library, **289, 292**. Shaddeles, Bucks. Dining room, **148, 150, 151**. Library, **151, 154, 155**. Syon House, Middlesex. Ante-room, **254, 255, 256, 260**. Dining-room, **258, 261, 262**. Entrance hall, **249, 250, 251, 252, 253**.

boudoirs, **269, 272**. West Wycombe Church, Bucks. **60, 61**. Wormleybury, Herts., **104, 106, 107**.

Mure, Baron. Earl of Bute's letter to, sending him a plan for his house, **69, 74**. His advice to Sir George Colebrooke to purchase estates in Cheshire, **118, 131**. Referred to as a friend of the Brothers Adam in the stress of the Adelphi crisis, **116**. Referred to as a relation of Hutchinson Mure of Great Saxham, **115**. Robert Adam's letters to, upon the Adelphi crisis, **117, 118**. Robert and James Adam's plans for his house at Caldwell, **69, 131, 132, 116**.

Mure, Mr. Referred to by Robert Adam in his letter to John Fordyce, **61**.

Murray, James. Brother of the 1st Earl of Mansfield, referred to as involved in Jacobite plots, **105**.

Murray, Lord John. Referred to as Commander of the "Forty-Second," when Adam Ferguson was Chaplain, **27**.

Murray, William, 1st Earl of Mansfield. See Mansfield.

Muschamp, John. Mason at Harewood House, referred to, **164**. Music Rooms. Harewood House, Yorks, **165, 175**. Kedleston, Derbyshire, **241, 242**.

Mylet, Robert. Referred to as architect of Northumberland House, London, **39, 102**. Referred to as architect of Wormleybury, Herts., **104**. Referred to as a member of the Architect's Club, **127**. Referred to as the winner of the Blackfriars Bridge Competition, **(1759), 113**.

Napier, Sir Robert. His sale of Luton Hoo, referred to, **67**.

Nash, John, Architect. His reconstruction of the Queen's (old Buckingham House) as Buckingham Palace, **49**. His reckless commercialism, referred to, **113**. Sir Robert Smirke, R.A., referred to as one an assistant of, **113**.

Nealy, James. Fordyce and Down, Scottish Bankers. Their failure, referred to, **23**.

Nesfield, Robert Eden, Architect. Referred to, **55**.

New House, Organ in the half, referred to, **70**. Rev. Richard Warner's admiration of Adam work at, referred to, **176**. Robert Adam's stable block at, referred to, **65**. Tapestries at, referred to, **184**.

Newcastle, 1st Duke of, referred to as a client of Robert Adam, **74**. Referred to as in the early Cabinet of George III, **123**.

Newhaven, Lord. Robert Adam's sketch design for a house for, referred to, **112**.

Newlinston House. Referred to in Robert Adam's letter to Lord Kames on the Orders of Architecture, **73**.

Niches for Statues. Croom Court, Worcestershire, **181, 182, 183**. Kenwood, Middlesex, **307**. Syon House, Middlesex, **183, 255, 258, 260, 261, 262, 268, 269, 270, 271**.

Ninewells, near Dunse, Berwick. Robert Adam's designs for, referred to, **131, 132**.

Nisbett, Mr. Robert Adam's designs for Archerfield, Berwick, for, referred to, **142**.

No. 15, St. James's Square, London. Ceiling of great drawing-room, **101**. The façade, **102**. Gwilt's reference to, as Stuart's masterpiece, **112**.

No. 20, St. James's Square, London. Elevation, **104**. Façade, **103**. Robert Adam's house for Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, referred to, **112**. Staircase balustrade at, referred to, **290**.

North, 7th Baron, afterwards Earl of Guildford. His excursions to the ruined castle, Hagley Park, **94, 98**. His seat of Wroxton Abbey, near Edghill and Radway, referred to, **98**. Referred to as the father of George III's favourite Prime Minister, **94, 98**.

North, 8th Baron. George III's letter to, on a successor to Worsley, the Surveyor-General to the Board of Works, **121**. George III's permission for him to resign, referred to, **202**. His accession to power, referred to, **199**. His "American War" referred to as putting an end to John Elwes' building speculations, **117**. His death referred to, **70**. His political power confirmed by the breach between Shelburne and Chatham, **201**. His unnatural coalition with Charles James Fox, referred to, **202**. John Elwes referred to as a steady supporter of, **119**. Marriage of his sister Lady Louisa North, to the 14th Baron Willoughby de Broke, **222**. Period of George III's greatest power referred to as during the administration of, **123**. Referred to as the nephew of William Peere Williams, **98**. Shelburne's opposition to, referred to, **199**.

North, Lady Louisa. Her marriage to the 14th Baron Willoughby de Broke, referred to, **223**.

Northbrook. Referred to as a seat of Sir James Dashwood, Bart., **65**.

Norris, R. Referred to as a member of the Architects' Club, **127**. Northampton, 7th Earl of. His death and that of his Countess, referred to, **144**. His marriage to Lady Anne Somerset, referred to, **34**. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's reference to, **34**. Referred to as an early client of Robert Adam, **73**.

Northumberland, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Duke of. Grant of Syon Abbey to, referred to, **249**. Referred to as father-in-law of Lady Jane Grey, **249**.

Northumberland, Henry Percy, 9th Earl of. Grant by James I of Syon Abbey to, **249, 250**.

Northumberland, Algernon, 10th Earl of. Referred to as guardian of the children of Charles I, **250**.

Northumberland, Joceline, 11th Earl of. Marriage of his daughter, Lady Elizabeth Percy, referred to, **39**.

Northumberland, Hugh Smithson, 1st Duke of (3rd creation). Duten's account of, **253, 278**. His acquisition of Syon House by marriage, referred to, **251, 277**. His commissions to Robert Adam for work at Syon House, Alnwick Castle and Northumberland House, London, referred to, **39, 251, 253**. His embellishment of Syon House, referred to, **39**. His journey to Ireland with Duten, referred to, **253**. His marriage to Lady Elizabeth Seymour, referred to, **251, 277**. His rebuilding of Alnwick Castle, referred to, **253**. Walpole's suggestion to, for the treatment of the gallery at Syon House, **139**.

Northumberland, The Duchess of. Robert Adam's "Gothick" interior designs for Alnwick Castle, prepared at the desire of, referred to, **98**.

INDEX.

337

Northumberland House, Strand, London. Count Freidrick Kielmanger's description of, 41. Direct copies of Italian master-pieces at, and Walpole's opinion of this idea of decoration, 41. Empire suite from, referred to as now at Syon House, 261. Its destruction, referred to, 41. Lead lion from, referred to as now on the east front of Syon House, 255. Robert Adam's work at, 39. Nostell Priory, Yorks. Bookcases at, referred to, 183, 184, 292. Exterior stairways at, referred to, 290. Paine's arrangement of a basement hall at, referred to, 238. Paine's engagement to design, referred to, 232, 243. Riding-house at, referred to, 63. Robert Adam's modification of Paine's design for, 103, 243. Staircase at, referred to, 173. Nottingham, Earl of. His daughter, the Countess of Mansfield, referred to, 110. "Nutshells." A book by James Peacock attacking the Adam style, 109, 114.

Office of Works, The. Sir Robert Smirke's engagement at, referred to, 113. Ogle, Sir Charles. His voyage with Sir Francis Bridgeman, and the latter's death, referred to, 215. Onslow, Speaker. Referred to as voicing the thanks of Parliament to Admiral Boscombe, 133, 136. Opera House in the Haymarket, London. Referred to as by Sir John Vanbrugh, 63. Orangery. Bowood, Wilts, 213. Compton Verney, Warwickshire, 29, 224, 227, 28. Croome Court, Worcestershire, 185, 187. Garrick's Villa, Hampton-on-Thames, 29. Kenwood, Middlesex, 314. Osterley Park, Middlesex, 187. Shardeloes, Bucks, 153. Order, Architectural: Kenwood House, Middlesex (exterior), 84. Luton Hoo, Beds. (interior), 85. Orders of Architecture. Robert Adam's letter to Lord Kames on the, 50, 51. Robert Adam's views on the Three, 81. Oxford, 1st Earl of. See Walpole, Sir Robert. 4th Earl, see Walpole, Horace. Organ Case in Mahogany. Kedleston, Derbyshire, 241. Organ, Clock. Mrs. Delany's reference to the, at Luton Hoo, 69, 70. Osterley Park, Middlesex. Adam's drawings at, 302. Bridge, 300, 301. Conservatories, 300, 301. Drawing-room, 279, 288, 294. Earliest drawing by Sir Thomas Gresham at, referred to, 279, 280, 290, 302. Eating-room, 279, 284, 292. Entrance lodges at, referred to, 302. Evening room, 280, 281, 296, 297, 298, 299. Fire in 1874 at, referred to, 290. Gallery, 279, 286, 293, 294. Girandoles in the gallery, 290, 294. Gratto under south front stairway, 290. Hall, 279, 284, 285, 292, 293. Its general resemblance to Syon House, referred to, 287. Its purchase by Francis Child, (the 2nd), referred to, 290. Library, 279, 288, 292. Orangery, 187. Octagonal ceiling painting by Rubens at head of staircase referred to, 290, 292. Plans, 280, 282. Portico, 279, 281, 288. Robert Adam's ceiling treatment at, referred to, 173. Robert Adam's designs for, commended, 39. Robert Adam's drawings for interior at, referred to, 65. South front, 283, 290. Staircase, 287, 290. State bedroom, 286, 295, 295, 296, 297. Tapestry-room, 291, 292, 293, 295. "The Propyleum," 279, 279, 281, 288. Walpole's criticism and praise of, 99, 113. Walpole's description of, 279, 302. Walpole's opinion of the Etruscan room, 175, 286. Oswald. His assistance to Shelburne in the negotiations with America, referred to, 202. Oxford, Earl of. Referred to as visiting Compton Verney with George Vertue, 219. Oxford. James Adam's visit, with others to, referred to, 10.

Pæstum. Reference to James Adam having seen, 83.

Paine, James, Architect. Burning of Workshop Manor, referred to as an important event for, 237. His appointment as architect of His Majesty's Works, referred to, 122. His association with Robert Adam at Alnwick Castle, 123, 135; and at Kedleston, 43. His basement hall at Nostell Priory, referred to, 238. His book, referred to, 245. His design (in conjunction with Brettingham) for the north front of Kedleston, as revised by Robert Adam, 232, 237, 238, 245. His desire to remain on good terms with the Adam Brothers, referred to, 236. His engagement to design Nostell Priory, referred to, 232. His extravagant scheme for Kedleston, referred to, 71. His first plans for Kedleston, 103, 113. His house in Pall Mall, London, for the Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice, referred to, 245. His method of connecting quadrant galleries to wings at Thorneton Hall different to that adopted at Kedleston, 243. His original design for Kedleston, incorporating Brettingham's design for the pavilions, 232. His probable submission of a plan for Harewood House, Yorks, referred to, 164. His relinquishment of Kedleston to R. and J. Adam, 233. His testification to the efficacy of R. and J. Adam's stucco, 245. His visit to Addlestone-Sainton, referred to, 123, 124. John Carr's success to the position in Yorkshire held by, 164. Lord Scarsdale referred to as having lost faith in the scheme of, for Kedleston, 232. Revision by R. and J. Adam of his plans for Kedleston, 103, 113. Robert Adam's modification of the design for Nostell Priory by, 103. Reference to Kedleston in his book, 103, 113. Referred to as a member of the Architects' Club, 127. Referred to as an original shareholder in the Adelphi enterprise, 104. Soane's reference to his employment of Mortimer, Wheatley and Durno for decorative work, 114. Soane's reference to the neglect by, of "Shanahan," and the latter's resentment, 114.

Painted Decoration: Bowood, Wilts, Italian seascapes and landscapes in the great drawing-room, now the dining-room, 211. Harewood House, Yorks, music-room ceiling and landscapes on walls by A. Zucchi, 165, 172. Kedleston, Derbyshire, dining-room ceiling and walls, 238, 241. Kenwood, Middlesex, hall ceiling, 305, 308; the Adam's walls and ceiling, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315. Osterley Park, Middlesex, the eating-room, 284, 292; the hall, chiaroscuro over chimneypiece, 284, 255, 291; the library, 289, 294; ceiling of the state bedchamber, 297; ceiling of the tapestry-room, 294, 295; the Etruscan room, 286, 287, 296, 297, 298, 299. Syon House, dining-room, frieze, 258, 259, 261, 262; drawing-room ceiling, 262, 263, 264; gallery walls and ceiling, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271.

Painting: George Vertue's MS. note on, referred to, 90. Robert Adam's regret at the rage in Italy for mural, 87.

Palaces: Bishop's, The, Durham, 98. Blenheim, Oxon, 216, 219. Buckingham, London, 49. Carlton, London, 100. Diocletian's Palace, Split, 1, 111. Hampton Court, Middlesex, 294. Kew (the Old Palace), Middlesex, 32. The Emperor's, Rome, 87. Royal, sketch plan for a, by Robert Adam, 16, 49. St. James's, London, 48, 49. Whitehall, London, 169, 221.

Palladio, Andrea, Italian Architect. 3rd Earl of Burlington referred to as his disciple, 87. Collège des Quatre Nations, Paris, referred to as of Italian character of, 79. His method of connecting quadrant galleries to wings, followed at Kedleston, 243. His bridges referred to by Horace Walpole, 89. Robert Adam's belief, with an open mind, in, and the ancients," 1, 79. Statue of, by Rysbrack, at Chiswick House, referred to, 143.

Pantheon, The, London, by James Wyatt. Gibbons' mention of, referred to, 170. Walpole's praise of, 99.

Pantheon, The, Rome. Portico columns at Kedleston referred to as after the, 103.

Palatine Casino in the Vatican Garden, Rome. Decorative stucco work at, referred to, 313.

Papworth, Wyatt. Referred to as Editor of 1867, 1876 and 1881 editions of Gwilt's "Encyclopedia," 114.

Parliament, Houses of, London. Design by William Adam, junior, for, referred to, 10. Reference to a contemplated design, by James Adam, 37. Sir Charles Barry referred to as architect of the, 19.

Passeri, Count. Robert Adam's reference to consulting the works of, on Etruscan decoration, 297.

Pastorini, B. Engraver of plates in the "Works," mentioned, 84.

Paulet. Referred to as opposing the taxation of America, 197.

Pavilion, Garden. See "Temples and Garden Buildings."

Peacock, James. Attack in his book on the "Adam Style," 109, 114. Referred to as chief assistant to George Dance, R.A. (the younger), 114.

Pedestals and Urns or Vases: Kedleston, Derbyshire, the dining-room, 238, 241; salon or rotunda, 236, 237, 241. Kenwood, Middlesex, 306. Osterley Park, eating-room, 284, 292; the hall, 285, 295.

Pedestals for Statues. Syon House, the hall, 249, 250, 253, 260.

Percy, Lady Elizabeth. Her marriage to the 6th Duke of Somerset, referred to, 39, 251.

Percy, Sir Thomas. Duke of Northumberland conferred on, 249. Peter Pindar. Quotations on George III's attitude towards contemporary painters, 123, 132. His references to Sir William Chambers and James Wyatt, 124, 132.

Peyto, John. Nephew and heir of the 13th Baron Willoughby de Broke, referred to, 223.

Piano. Robert Adam's design for a, for the Empress Catherine of Russia, referred to, 242.

Picciotto House, London. Its sale by Lord Holland, referred to, 48, 73. Robert Adam's design for a new house on the site of, referred to, 48, 73.

"Piercy." Robt. Adam's horse, given by him to John Home, 27.

Pinkerton, John. His "Walpoliana," referred to, 72. Walpole's statements to about Wilkes, 131.

Pinkie Tunnel, for draining the coalfield, referred to, 4.

Piozzi, Madame. See Thrile, Mrs.

Piranese, G. B., Italian Painter and Engraver. His "Campus Martius," referred to, 72. His engravings in Robert Adam's book on Diocletian's Palace at Spalato, referred to, 21. Referred to as engraver of four of the plates of Syon House in the "Works" of R. and J. Adam, 76. Robert Adam's acquaintance with, referred to, 76.

Pitt, Thomas (afterwards Lord Camelford). His greenhouse and cottage at Park Place, London, for Hon. Seymour Conway, referred to, 89. His residence in Twickenham, referred to by Walpole, 90, 98. His work at Strawberry Hill, 90, 98. Referred to as a member of the "Strawberry Hill Committee," 92. Walpole's reference to, as "my present architect," 89, 98.

Pitt, William (the elder), Earl of Chatham. George III's best time referred to as under the Ministry of, 123. His acclamation of Sanderson Miller as "the Great Master of Gothick," referred to, 04. His proposal to create the 2nd Earl of Shelburne Marquess of Lansdowne, 202. His resignations from office, referred to, 32, 72. Referred to as the uncle of Thomas Pitt, afterwards Lord Camelford, 98.

Pitt, William (the younger). His accession to power, referred to, 202. Lansdowne's opposition to the anti-French policy of, 204. Referred to as a pupil of Adam Smith, 24.

Pitti Palace, Florence. Robert Adam's sketch of a cornice in a chamber of the refectory, 15.

Pitzhanger Manor, Ealing Green, referred to as an echo of the centre-piece of the south front of Kedleston Hall, 110.

Plagiarism: Robert Adam's reference to it in his famous "Preface" to the "Works," 99.

Plans—Blair Adam's house for John Adam, 9, 12. Bowood, 194, 198, 208, 212, 215, 215. Caldwell, house for Baron Mure, 132. Compton Verney, Warwickshire, 218. Croome Church, Worcestershire 188. Croome Court, Worcestershire, 180, 188. Deputy Ranger's Lodge, Green Park, London, 82. Drum House, Midlothian, 8. Garrick's Villa, Hampton, 28. Goodwood, Sussex, 38. Great Saxham, Suffolk, 40, 42. Harewood House, York, 160, 161, 162, 168, 169, 176. Hatchlands Park, Surrey, 134. Hervey, General, house for, 82. Highdown, near Hitchin, Herts, 38. Kedleston, Derbyshire, 103, 113, 230. Kenwood, Middlesex, 304. Kimbolton Castle, Hunts, gateway, 66. Kinross House, Kinross, 2. Lauder Castle, Thirlstane, Berwick, 96. Library, Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh, 64. Long Grosvenor Street, London, Robert Adam's house, 2, 2, 26. Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire, 68. Melbury House (now The Albany) Piccadilly, London, 62. Moor Park, Herts, 44. Osterley Park, Middlesex, 200, 208. Piccadilly, London, house for Lord Holland in, 62. Plan studies (various) by Robert Adam, drawn out and completed from his original rough notes, 16, 18, 20. Ridng House in Edinburgh, 64. Royal Palace, plan for, 16, 49. Shambles and butter market, High Wycombe, Bucks, 46. Shardeloes, Bucks, 146. Syon House, Middlesex, 248. Temporary Pavilion, 80. Tower for Briesley, 80. West Wycombe Park, Bucks, 52, 57.

Plaster Ceilings, Modelled. See Ceilings.
 Plate Warmer, Metal. Kedleston, Derbyshire, dining-room, 238.

Playfair, William. His competitive designs for the completion of Edinburgh University, referred to, 129, 132. Referred to as a prominent architect in Scotland after Robert Adam's death, 126. Referred to with Reid and Gillespie Graham as the "Greek School," 130.

Pococke's "Tours." Referred to, 23, 89, 98.

Poltor, F. Engraver of Adam's design for the Admiralty Screen. Whitehall, referred to, 37.

Pont des Arts, Paris. Referred to as leading straight to the College des Quatre Nat'ons, 79.

Pope, Alexander, Poet. His friendship with the 1st Earl of Mansfield, 310, 312. His reference to Thomas Ripley, 140. His address to Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington, quoted, 3. Wilke's parody of his "Essay on Man," referred to, 56.

Porden, William. Architect from 1804-12 of Eaton Hall, Cheshire, 114. Biographical details, 114. Collaboration with Robert Smirke, painter, in the "Shanahan" pamphlet attacking Robert Adam, 103, 114. His Gothic apartment at Eaton Hall, referred to, 114. His intimacy with Robert Smirke, 114. His introduction to James Wyatt by Rev. W. Mason, referred to, 114. His readings from the "Shanahan" pamphlet in Wyatt's office, referred to, 108. His stables and riding house at the Pavilion, Brighton, referred to, 114. Referred to as having been in the office of S. P. Cockerell, 114. Referred to as secretary to Lord Sheffield, 114. Referred to as surveyor for Lord Grosvenor's London estates, 114.

Porticos : Bowood, Wilts., 193, 197, 203, 204, 207. Clarendon Press Building, Oxford, 221. Compton Verney, Warwickshire, 222, 223, 225, 228, 229, 244. Croome Court, Worcestershire, 178. Garlick's Head, Hampton-on-Thames, 27, 29, 30, 31, 35, 58. Harewood House, Yorks, south front (now removed), 177. Kedleston, Derbyshire, 10, 23, 238, 238-38. Kenwood, Middlesex, 303, 318, 319. Osterley Park, Middlesex, 279, 281, 288. Shardeloes, Bucks, 145, 147, 288. Stowe, Bucks, 110, 117. Syon House, Middlesex (now destroyed), 257, 278. West Wycombe Park, Bucks, 47, 48, 49, 54, 58, 59.

Portland, Duchess of. Her visit to Luton Hoo, 1774, referred to, 69.

Portland, William, and Duke of. Referred to as a client of Robert Adam, 74. Referred to as in the early Cabinet of George III, 123.

Portland Place, London. Adams' Brothers building enterprise of, 118. Design of credited to James Adam, 119. Referred to as a building speculation of John Elwes, 119. Referred to in James Adam's obituary notice, 129. Referred to as mainly the affair of James Adam, 114, 129. Referred to by W. H. Leedes as a speculation that turned out badly, 122. Robert Adam's somewhat obscure relations with the builders of, 122. Robert Adam's small share in the building of, referred to, 122.

Portraits : Adam, Robert, Wedgwood cameo, modelled by Tassie, 1. Child, Robert, by Reynolds (Osterley Park), 294. Child, Sarah, by Romney (Osterley Park), 294. Coventry, 6th Earl of and his 1st Countess, by Reynolds (Croome Court), 179. Harewood, 1st Earl of, by Hopper (Harewood House), 165, 172. Lascelles family, the, by Reynolds (Harewood House), 173. Mansfield, 1st Earl of, by David Martin (Kenwood), 310, 314, 319. Westmorland, 10th Earl of, by Romney (Osterley Park), 294.

Powell, John, Topographer. His survey map of Bowood, 1763, 208, 215.

Posys, Mrs. P. Lybbe. Her diaries referred to in regard to: A Mr Adam as a fellow traveller with Horace Walpole, 98. The state bedchamber, Osterley Park, Middlesex, 296. The tapestry-room, Osterley Park, 302. The Drawing-room, Osterley Park, 302. Stowe, Bucks, 110, 131. West Wycombe Park, Bucks, 74.

"Preface" to the "Works of Robert and James Adam," referred to, 1, 3, 4, 14, 50, 78, 79, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87, 99, 106, 113, 147, 216, 223, 243, 290.

Priestley, Sir Joseph, Chemist. His residence at Calne while librarian at Bowood, referred to, 201. Referred to as among the leaders of industry and science, 201. Referred to as a visitor at Bowood, 215. Shelburne's invitation to him to be librarian at Bowood, 201.

Prince of Wales, Frederick. Reference to his death, 32, 72.

Princess of Wales, The Dowager. Her care of her son, George III, referred to, 32. Her opposition to the intrigue of Lord Holland over the love affair of George III and Lady Sarah Lennox, 123.

Pringle, Captain Thomas. Bequest of the design for a riding house from Robert Adam to John Fordyce, 60.

Pringle, Captain and Mrs. Holders of a reception at which Fanny Burney met Robert and James Adam, 131.

Priory, Nostell, Yorks, 61, 103, 173, 232, 238, 243, 290, 292.

Pritchard. His survey of the original disposition of Kenwood, Middlesex, referred to, 104.

Proportion. Robert Adam's views on the standard of, 81.

Propyleum : At Kimbolton Castle by Robert Adam, referred to, 65. At Osterley Park, 279, 279, 281, 288.

Prussia, King Frederick William III of. Mansfields masterly reply to, on the naval rights of Great Britain, referred to, 307, 320.

Pugin, Augustus Welby, Architect. His indignation at Wyatt's tamperings with old Gothic buildings, 125.

Pulteney, Mr. Referred to as a pall-bearer at Robert Adam's funeral, 128. Robert Adam's schemes at Bath, for, referred to, 128.

Quebec Street, London. Crescent at, referred to, 110.

Queens. Anne her quarrel with her sister Mary; Queen of William III, referred to, 251. Her residence at Syon House, referred to, 251.

Catherine Howard, wife of Henry VIII. Her imprisonment in the monastery at Syon, referred to, 247.

Charlotte, Queen of George III. Her visit to Strawberry Hill, referred to, 90. Marriage and coronation of, referred to, 90. Robert Adam's design for an illumination and transparency for, 38, 48, 49. Walpole's reference to, as being settled with the King at Buckingham House, 48.

Elizabeth. Her dissolution of the nunnery at Syon, referred to, 249. Her policy in regard to France, referred to, 202. Her visit to Osterley Park, referred to, 302. Portrait of, at Shardeloes, Bucks, referred to, 151.

Jane Grey. Her consent at Syon Abbey to accept the Crown, referred to, 249.

Mary (Tudor). Her restoration of the nunnery at Syon, referred to, 249.

Mary, Queen of William III. Her quarrel with her sister, afterwards Queen Anne, referred to, 251.

Queen's House (old Buckingham House), London. Its reconstruction by Nash as Buckingham Palace, referred to, 49. Robert Adam's ceilings and chimneypieces at, 49. Walpole's reference to George III and Queen Charlotte being settled there, 48.

Quin, "Pope." Actor. His controversy with David Garrick, referred to, 30.

Radcliffe, John. Robert Adam's design for Highdown, near Hitchin, Herts., for, referred to, 36, 43.

Rainwater Heads and Pipes, Lead, Dated Compton Verney, Warwickshire, 224, 225.

Ramsay. Referred to as an old friend of Robert Adam, 125.

Raphael. Copies of his "School of Athens" (by Anton Raphael Mengs), and "Meeting and Feast of the Gods" (by P. Batoni), at Northumberland House, London, referred to, 41. Reference to the "Grottoes" as the origin of the Grotesques in the time of, 55.

Ravensworth, Earl of. Reference to the divorce of his daughter, Anne, and her subsequent remarriage to the Earl of Upper Ossory, 98.

Rebecca, Biagio. Ceiling designs for the gallery at Harewood House, referred to, 175. His chiaroscuros in the salon at Kedleston, 287, 290. His employment by Wyatt at Heaton Hall, referred to, 290.

Register House of Scotland, The, Edinburgh. John Adam's connection with, 5. Referred to as an Adam masterpiece, 128.

Reference to the Adams' account for professional fees in connection with, 129, 132. Robert Adam's visits to and superintendence of, referred to, 116, 125, 126, 131, 132.

Reid, John. Referred to as a prominent architect in Scotland after Robert Adam's death, 126. Referred to, with Playfair and Gillespie, as the "Greek School," 170.

Rembrandt, Harmensz van Rijn, Dutch Painter. His picture of "Daniel interpreting the dream of Nebuchadnezzar," at Kedleston, 242, 242.

Repton, Humphry, Landscape Gardener, Lord Mansfield's remark to, on the Adam Liardet stucco at Kenwood, referred to, 314. References to his advice on the lay-out of Shardeloes, Bucks, 156.

Revett, Nicholas, Architect. Biographical details of, 58. Gwilt's praise of, 112. His journey to Ionian with Dr. Chandler for the Dilettanti Society, referred to, 58. Probability of his being employed at West Wycombe Park, referred to, 58, 59. Referred to as a member of the Architects' Club, 127.

Reynolds, Sir Joshua, P.R.A. Dr. Johnson referred to as an habitué of the study of, 102. George III's indifference to the merits of, referred to, 102. His reception of Sir Joshua Vanbrugh, referred to, 79, 206, 219. His death, referred to, 72. His offer in inducing George III to sit to him, referred to, 121. His friendship with Dr. Burney, referred to, 131. His high art ideal, referred to, 177. His preaching on the sublimity of "History," referred to, 110. His swift progress as a portrait painter, 14. His tact, referred to, 140.

Portraits by, referred to: 4th Duke of Richmond, 46, 6th Earl of Coventry and his Countess, née Maria Gunnung (Groome Court), 179, and Earl of Shelburne, 1st Marquess of Lansdowne, 196. Lord Heath, the defender of Gibraltar, 202. Robert Child (Osterley Park), 204. The Lascelles Family (Harewood House), 173.

Reference to his conversation portrait piece of Williams, Edgecumbe and Sawyer, presented to Horace Walpole, 98. Reference to the absence of any record of his acquaintance with Robert Adam, 73.

Revere, Paul. Design for the public marters at the funeral of, 12.

Referred to as of Leicester Square, 143. Referred to as an intimate friend of John Wilkes, 73. Referred to in the memorial notice of Robert Adam, 128.

Richardson (C. J.) Collection, The. Adam drawings in, referred to, 168, 174, 191, 243, 244.

Richmond, 2nd Duke of. His 7th daughter, Lady Sarah Lennox, referred to, 123, 132. Referred to as in the early cabinet of George III, 123.

Richmond, 4th Duke of. Biographical details, 46. Colin Campbell's design for Goodwood, Sussex, for, 38, 45, 46. His daughter, Lady Holland, referred to, 46. His gallery for art students, referred to, 49, 73. Robert Adam's design for Goodwood, Sussex, for, 38, 45, 46. Walpole's opinion on his gallery for art students, 46, 73.

Richmond Bridge, Surrey. James Paine, referred to as architect of, 104, 113.

Riding Houses : Edinburgh, for John Fordyce, 60, 61, 63, 64, 72. Nostell Priory, 63. Pavilion, Brighton, 114. Second troupe of Life Guards, London, 110.

Rigby, Richard. Design for his house in Whitehall, referred to, 105. His letter to the Earl of Upper Ossory on the sale of Piccadilly House, 73. Walpole's fancy for a Chinese room at the house of, Mistley, Essex, 89.

Ripley, Thomas. Architect for the structure of Hatchlands Park, Surrey, 34, 133, 139, 142, 143. Biographical details of, 139, 140, 143. His appointment as Comptroller of the Board of Works, referred to, 140. His building of Wolverton Hall, Norfolk, 140. His employment at Houghton Hall, Norfolk, referred to, 113, 139. His marriage to a servant of Sir Robert Walpole, referred to, 139. Pope's reference to, 140. Referred to as architect of the Admiralty Building, London, 134, 140.

Roberts, John. Engraver of plates in the "Works," referred to, 104.

Robertson, Archibald. Brother-in-law of William Adam, senior referred to, 4.

Robertson, George. His view of Kenwood, Middlesex, in 1781, referred to, 108, 320.

Robertson, Mary, of Gladney, wife of William Adam, senior, second mother of the four Adam brothers, referred to, 23.

Robertson, Dr. William, The Historian. Biographical details, 24.

Cousin of the Adam Bros., referred to, 4, 23, 24. Dr. Alexander Carlyle's interest in, referred to, 10. His friendship with Robert Adam, referred to, 10. His interview with and opinion of John Baskerville, the Birmingham printer, 10. His introduction to the 3rd Earl of Bute, 33, 72. His riding tour with James Adam and others, 9, 10. His visit to Garrick at Hampton, with others of the "Scotch Group," 20. His visit to Hagley Park, referred to, 95. His visit to William Shenstone of Leasowes, referred to, 95. His weekly meetings with Robert Adam and others of the "Scotch Group," 27. Referred to in memorial notice of Robert Adam, 128.

Robertson, William, Principal of Edinburgh University, 1762-93, referred to as a relative by marriage of Robert Adam, 24.

Robinson, Mr. Guest at the Pringle's reception attended by Robert and James Adam, 131.

Robinson, Thomas. Referred to as the proposer at James Adam's election to the Society of Arts, 74.

Rockingham, Marquess of, Statesman. His death, referred to, 202. His resignation of office, referred to, 179. Referred to as Edmund Burke's political chief, 113.

Rodney, Admiral Lord. Referred to as exemplifying John Clerk's new ideas in naval tactics, 31, 32.

Romanelli, Urban. His landscape panels in the dining-room at Kedleston, referred to, 241.

Roman Thermae. Drawing by Robert Adam, based on a study of the, referred to, 15.

Romanticism of Robert Adam. The inborn, 77.

Romilly, Sir Samuel, Statesman and Author. Referred to as a visitor at Bowood, 202.

Romney, Thomas, Painter. His portrait of Sarah Child and her husband, the 10th Earl of Westmorland, at Osterley Park, referred to, 294.

Rose, Joseph, Stucco Artist. His ceiling in the gallery, Harewood House after Robert Adam's design, 167, 173. His stucco decorations at Kenwood, 309, 310, 311, 312, 312, 313, 314, 314. His stucco decorations for Robert Adam to the state-pieces Great Hall, Syon House, 249, 250, 251, 253, 259, 260.

Rosebank-upon-Clyde. Robert Adam's designs for, referred to, 132.

Rotundas: *Kedleston, Derbyshire*, 232, 234, 237, 239, 240, 241, 245. *Straiford-on-Avon*, Garrick's (temporary), 30. *Syon House, Middlesex* (temporary), erected for an entertainment to the King of Denmark, 268, 277; (permanent), Robert Adam's plan for, 246, 248. Usual size of Adam, 240.

Rous, Thomas Bate. His purchase of Moon Park, Herts., referred to, 54. His pulling down of the Adam side-wings and colonnades at Moon Park, referred to, 54.

Rousseau, Jean Jacques. The sentimentality of his return to nature, referred to, 77.

Royal Academy, The. Reference to its first home at Somerset House, 124. Robert Adam referred to as not a contributor to the exhibition of, 109.

Royal Infirmary, The. Edinburgh. Referred to as the work of William Adam, senior, 23.

Royal Institute of British Architects, The. Its growth out of the early Architects' Club, 127.

Royal Society, The (of England). Robert Adam's election to, 46.

Royal Society, The (of Edinburgh). Robert Adam's election to, 42.

Rubens, Sir Peter Paul. His ceiling painting, an apotheosis of William of Orange, over the staircase, Osterley, 290, 292.

Rudding Hall. Robert Adam's designs for additions to, referred to, 132.

"Ruins of the Emperor Diocletian's Palace at Spalatro," by Robert Adam, 1, 19, 21, 23, 24, 33, 63, 245.

Rush, John. His comment on "the eminently political art of architecture," referred to, 112.

Rutland, Duke of. Referred to as in the early Cabinet of George III, 13.

Rysbrack, Jan Michiel, Sculptor. Biographical details, 143. His employment by Gibbs and Kent, referred to, 143. His statues of Inigo Jones, Flaminio and Palladio at Chiswick House, referred to, 143. His work on the tomb of Admiral Boscawen for Robert Adam, referred to, 138.

St. Asaph, The Hon. Robert Hay Drummond, D.D., Bishop of. Referred to as a client of Robert Adam, 74.

St. George's Square, Glasgow, 132.

St. James's Palace. Reference to George III's temporary absence at, 42. Adam's reference to the enlarging and furnishing of the great apartment at, 49, 73.

St. John of Blotsoe, Lord. Marriage of his daughter, Barbara, to the 6th Earl of Coventry, referred to, 179.

St. Mary-le-Strand Church, London. Referred to as the work of Gibbs, 3.

St. Ouen, Rouen. Madame du Bocage's reference to, 90, 98.

St. Paul's Cathedral, London. Referred to as a fusion of the mediæval church and the pagan temple, 78.

St. Peter's, Rome, Duomo of. Bernini's colonnades at, referred to as touching a high level in architectural composition, 79. Reference to it in Adam's "Works" as an example of composition, quoted, 78.

St. Sulpice, Paris. J. H. Servandoni referred to as architect of the facade of, 74.

Sale of the Adam Brothers' effects, 130.

Salisbury Cathedral. Wyatt's work at, referred to, 132.

Salford, James. Referred to as Clerk-of-Works at the Register House, Edinburgh, 126.

Salons: Alnwick Castle, 43. Bowood, Wilt., 204. Croome Court, Worcestershire, 179. Harewood House, Yorks., 169, 170, 171, 173, 174. Kedleston, Derbyshire, 232, 234, 237, 239, 240, 241, 245. Luton Hoo, Beds., 69, 74. Shardeles, Bucks., 147, 148, 148, 149, 150. Stowe, Bucks., 240.

Sandby, Paul, Artist. His employment on the survey for General Wade's road through the Highlands, referred to, 4.

Sandby, Thomas and Paul. Their acquaintance with Robert Adam, referred to, 4.

Sandby, Thomas, Artist. His employment on the survey for General Wade's road through the Highlands, referred to, 4. His appointment as Master Carpenter of all His Majesty's Works in England, referred to, 132. Referred to as an Hon. Member of the Architects' Club, 127.

Sandwich, 4th Earl of. His membership of the Medmenham Abbey Club, referred to, 56.

Santa Maria della Salute and the Dogana, Venice. Drawing by Robert Adam, of, referred to, 17.

Saw Mill, West Wycombe Park, Bucks, 58, 60.

Scagliola Plasters. The salon, Kedleston, Derbyshire, 237, 240, 245.

Scamozzi, Italian Architect. Criticism by Robert Adam of the use of the Ionic order by, 83.

Scarsdale, Sir Nathaniel Curzon, 1st Baron. Dr. Johnson's visit with Boswell and Dr. Taylor to Kedleston, 101. His better appreciation of the subtleties of artistic truth, 101. Dr. Johnson, 103. His fine collection of pictures acquired on his grand tour, referred to, 131. His memorandum asking for a drawing of a "caryatid chimneypiece," referred to, 245. His memorandum on the dates of the building of Kedleston, referred to, 232. Referred to as building-owner of Kedleston, 43, 78, 229, 231, 245. Referred to as having lost faith in Paine's scheme for Kedleston, 232. Robert Adam's design of a sofa for, referred to, 242, 245.

Scone Castle (ruined). Referred to as practically the only estate left to the 5th Viscount Stormont, 305.

Scot, David, of Scotstarvel. Marriage of his daughter to the 5th Viscount Stormont, referred to, 305.

"Scotch Group, The." Their visit to Hagley Park, Worcestershire, 95. Visit to Leasowes, Worcestershire, 95.

Scotsmen. Attacks on, by Dr. Johnson, Boswell and Wilkes, referred to, 22. Their unpopularity in England in Robert Adam's time, referred to, 22.

Scott, Mr. A. and H. Architect. His survey plan of additions to Hatchlands Park, Surrey, 134.

Scottish Bank Failures, 1772. Referred to as a probable cause of John Adam's house not being built at Blair Adam, 23.

Screen. Adam Fire. Tapestry room, Osterley Park, Middlesex, 293, 295.

Admiralty, Whitehall, London, by Robert Adam, 37, 37, 46, 73, 130, 139. Its mutilation by Sir Robert Taylor, referred to, 139.

Syon House gateway and, 251, 270, 271, 274, 275, 276.

Seaton, Alexander, and Mrs. Guests at the Pringle's reception at which Robert and James Adam attended, 131.

Selwyn, George "Gilly" Williams' letter to, regarding the return of Edwin Lascelles from France, 169, 170. His comment on Mrs. Thrale's book of travels, 113. His remark to Maria Gunning, Countess of Coventry, concerning her dress, 113. His sketches of the characters of the 4th Earl of Coventry, referred to, 131. Letter from "Gilly" Williams to, regarding Walpole, 98. Reference to portrait of, in a conversation piece by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 98. Referred to as commanding votes, 121. The endless allusions to gambling in the letters of, referred to, 112.

Semple Castle, Renfrew. Robert Adam's designs for, referred to, 132.

Servandoni, J. H., Architect and Scene Painter. Referred to as architect of the facade of St. Sulpice, Paris, 74. Referred to as joint architect, with Robert Morris, of Lord Melcombe's house at Hammersmith, 74.

Settees, Adam. Croome Court, Worcestershire, 184. Kenwood, Middlesex, 305, 310, 318, 314, 319. Osterley Park, Middlesex, 291, 293, 295.

Seymour, Lady Elizabeth. Her marriage to Sir Hugh Smithson, 1st Duke of Northumberland (3rd creation), referred to, 251, 277. Referred to as daughter of Algernon, 7th Duke of Somerset, 277.

Shakespeare Temple. Garrick's Villa, Hampton-on-Thames, 27, 30, 31, 35, 58.

Shakspere, William. His reference to the monastery at Syon in his play of Henry V, 247.

Shambles, Alnwick, Northumberland, 43. High Wycombe, Bucks, 46, 56, 58, 74.

"Shanahan, Roger" (Robert Smirke, R.A., Painter). His pamphlet attacking Robert Adam, 105, 106, 108, 109, 113. His resentment of James Paine's neglect, referred to, by Soane, 114.

Shardeles, Bucks. Character of the ceilings at, referred to, 213. Decoration at, similar to that shown on Robert Adam's design for Lord Despencer's house, Hanover Square, London, 59. Defect in the lay-out of, 155, 156. Dining-room, 148, 150, 151, 292. Entrance portico, 148, 147, 153, 155, 156, 288. Kitchen, 153. Library, 151, 153, 156, 288. Plan, 213. Plan, 148. Repton's advice on the lay-out of, referred to, 126. Resemblance in the design of, to that of Syon House, referred to, 246. Robert Adam's interiors at Kedleston referred to as developed from, 238. Robert Adam's work at, 34, 58, 73, 147. Salon ceiling referred to, 147, 211. South front, 144, 155. Stucco arabesques at, referred to, 141.

Shaw, Richard Norman, R.A., Architect. Referred to, 55.

Sheffield, Lord. William Porden referred to as secretary of, 114.

Sheilburne, John, 1st Earl of. Building work at Bowood by, referred to, 204. House at Bowood built by Henry Keene for, referred to, 207. His purchase of Bowood, referred to, 206, 215. His seat at Wycombe Abbey, Bucks, referred to, 204. Referred to as the donor of a town or market hall to High Wycombe, 204.

Sheilburne, Countess of (wife of 1st Earl). Mausoleum at Bowood designed by Robert Adam for, 39, 46, 73, 206, 211, 212.

Sheilburne, William, 2nd Earl of, afterwards 1st Marquess of Lansdowne, Statesman. Referred to as building-owner of Bowood, 192. Burke's prejudice against, referred to, 197, 199. Disraeli's comment upon, 199. George III's invitation to, to form a new Government, referred to, 202. George III's reference to him as "The Jesuit of Berkeley Square," 196. His acquaintance with Benjamin Franklin, referred to, 196. His acquaintance with David Hume, referred to, 196. His acquaintance with Dr. Johnson, referred to, 196. His antagonism to the 1st Earl of Mansfield, 202. His appointment in the last Cabinet of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, 197. His characteristic remark to Dr. Johnson, 196. His death, referred to, 204. His reference to the Earl of Chatham, referred to, 199. His hiring of Thräle's house at Streatham, referred to, 202. His first marriage to Lady Sophia Cartaret, 196, 197, 214. His marriage

to his second wife, Lady Louisa Fitzpatrick, 202. His meeting with the 3rd Earl of Bute, referred to, 196. His military service under General Wolfe, referred to, 192. His old relations with the 3rd Earl of Bute, referred to, 202. His opposition to the Adams over the Adelphi Embankment Act, 199, 201. His opposition to George III's reading of the Bill, 201. His opposition to Lord North, referred to, 199. His opposition to the young Pitt's anti-French policy, 201. His opposition to the taxation of America, referred to, 197. His peace with France and Spain, 202. His position ahead of his age, referred to, 202. His purchase of the 3rd Earl of Bute's unfinished town house, referred to, 65, 214. His relation with Baron Holland of Foxley, referred to, 196. His resignation and retirement to Bowood, 1763, 196. His resignation of office in 1767, 197. His resignation in 1783, and his retirement abroad, 202. His return from Italy, 1772, referred to, 201. His return to public life in 1765, 197. His visit to Bowood with Robert Adam and Mr. Townend, 1768, 199. Important effects of his visit to Italy on the completion of Shelburne (now Lansdowne) House, London, 201. Letter from Baron Holland to, regarding a site for Shelburne's Lansdowne House, 46, 196, 214. Portrait of, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, referred to, 196. Referred to as an intermediary between Lord Holland and the Emperor, regarding a peerage for Lady Caroline Fox, 196. Robert Adam's relations with, 199. Walpole's prejudice against, referred to, 197, 199. Shelburne, Sophia, Countess of (1st wife). Her death referred to, 201, 202. Her diary notes on the work at Bowood, 1768, 199, 210. Her successful marriage, referred to, 197. Shelburne (now Lansdowne) House, Berkeley Square, London. See Lansdowne House

Shenstone, William. James Adam's visit to, at Leasowes, referred to, 95. Dr. Alexander Carlyle's account of, 95. His laying-out and planting of his estate of Leasowes, referred to, 95. John Home's visit to, at Leasowes, 95. His views on landscape gardening, 95, 98. Referred to as a near neighbour of Lord Lytton at Hagley Park, 95. Vice of the 'Scotch Group' to, 95. William Robertson's visit to, at Leasowes, 95.

Sheridan, Richard Brinsley. Dramatist. Referred to as David Garrick's successor at Drury Lane Theatre, 70.

Siddons, Mrs., Actress. "Memoirs of," by James Boaden, referred to, 68.

Sideboards, Adam. Early Form of (side-table with detached pedestals and urns). Kenwood, Middlesex, 306, 308, 310. Osterley Park, 284, 286, 292.

Sinclair, Sir John, Bart. Creech's letters to, respecting Edinburgh in 1765, 61, 74.

Sketches by Robert Adam in the Soane Collection. Referred to, 10, 11, 14, 15, 17, 21, 24.

Skinner, General. Chief Engineer for Great Britain. Designer of the Highland forts, referred to, 4, 23.

Smellie, William, F.R.S. Biographical details, 24. His visit to David Hume, referred to, 24. His memoirs. Memoirs of his life, writings and correspondence, referred to, 24, 121, 178. Referred to as Secretary of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, 123.

Smirke, Robert, R.A., Painter. Biographical details, 105. His attack on Robert Adam in a pamphlet written under the pseudonym of "Roger Shanahan, Gent," 105, 106, 108, 109, 111. His attack on Stornoway House, Portland Place, 105. His employment by Wynt to paint decorative panels for chimneypiece, etc., 108. His intimacy with William Porden, referred to, 108. His praise of James Wyatt's interiors, 108. Referred to as the father of Sir Robert Smirke, R.A. Soane's opinion of, 108.

Smirke, Sir Robert, R.A. Biographical details, 113. Led's reference to his alteration of Luton Hoo, 74. Referred to as architect of The British Museum, 105. College of Physicians, Trafalgar Square, London, 113. Covent Garden Theatre (Burnt, 1856), London, 113. The General Post Office (pulled down, 1823), 113. The Royal Mint, London, 123. Referred to as assistant of John Nash, 113, and of Sir John Soane, 106, 111.

Smirke, Sidney, Architect. His engagement to advise on the alteration of the Admiralty Screen, referred to, 143.

Smith, Adam. Political Economist. His friendship with Robert Adam, referred to, 10. His "Wealth of Nations," referred to, 24. Hume's letter to, referring to the Adelphi crisis, 116, 131. Referred to in the memorial notice of Robert Adam, 125.

Snyders, Franz, Flemish Painter. His landscape panels on the walls of the dining-room at Kedleston, referred to, 241.

Soane, Sir John, R.A., Architect. Biographical details, 114. George Dance's letter to, on visitors at Bowood, referred to, 215. His caustic criticism of "Roger Shanahan's" pamphlet attacking the Adams, 114. His book on buildings erected in Norfolk, etc., referred to, 127, 132. His country seat, Pitshanger Manor, Ealing Green, referred to, 110, 114. His definition of the business of an architect, 114. His estimate of the Adam's claim to have reformed interior architecture, referred to, 60. His foundation of the Soane Museum, referred to, 114, 115. His lectures on architecture at the Royal Academys, referred to, 109, 114. His notebook entries on the architects who made plans for a new House of Lords, 129. His opinion of Robert Smirke, referred to, 108. His pamphlet on the suspension of the architectural lectures at the Royal Academy, 108, 111. His mention of William Hamilton as one of the artists patronised by Robert Adam, referred to, 316. His purchase of the Adam drawings, referred to, 10, 120. His remarks to Royal Academy students on the heaviness of interiors by Inigo Jones, Kent, Gibbs, etc., 110. His remarks to Royal Academy students on Ickleton, 100, 110. His succession to George Dance, the younger, a Royal Academy Professor of Architecture, referred to, 114. His reference to Robert Adam's employment of Angelica Kauffman, Zuccari, Cleopha and Hamilton, 114. Reference to his publication in *Lord Grenville's* plan for a new House of Lords, 120. References to his Royal Academy drawings to Robert Adam and his work, 109, 110, 114. Referred to as a member of the Architects' Club, 147. Sir Robert Smirke referred to as a pupil of, 113. Spiller's disclosures to, of Porden's complicity in "Shanahan's" pamphlet attack on the Adams, 108. Spiller referred to as a friend of, 114.

Soane Collection of Adam Drawings. The. Referred to, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 17, 24, 34, 36, 39, 41, 43, 45, 50, 58, 61, 69, 73, 74, 77, 87, 91, 95, 98, 114, 115, 120, 129, 137, 144, 157, 159, 160, 206, 207, 222, 223, 228, 242, 244, 245, 281, 286, 287, 300.

Soane Museum, The, London. References to, 316, 320. The Monk's Parlour in, referred to as the best extant idea of Strawberry Hill interiors in Walpole's day, 98.

Society of Arts, The. James Adam's election to, 74. John Adam's connection with the building of the 128. Robert Adam's election to, 25. The negotiations of, on the Adelphi scheme, referred to, 14.

Society for Improving Arts and Sciences, particularly Natural Knowledge, of Edinburgh. Referred to, 4.

Sofas : Kebleton, Derbyshire, 239, 242, 245. Robert Adam's design of, for Lord Scarsdale and Mrs. Montagu, referred to, 242, 245. Syon House, Middlesex, Louis seize type, 273.

Somerset, Duke of. Gift to him of Syon Abbey by Edward VI, referred to, 249, 251.

Somerset, Charles, 6th Duke of. His marriage to Lady Elizabeth Percy, referred to, 39. His acquisition of Syon House by marriage, referred to, 251.

Somerset, Algernon, 7th Duke of, and 1st Earl of Northumberland (new creation). His possession of Northumberland House, and his death referred to, 39. Referred to as father of Lady Elizabeth Seymour, 277.

Somerset, Lady Anne. Her marriage to the 7th Earl of Northampton, referred to, 34.

Somerset House, London. Its dominant position on the Thames, referred to, 115. Peter Pindar's allusion to some settlement or partial collapse at, 124, 132. Referred to as the first home of the Royal Academy, 105, 124. Sir William Chambers referred to as architect of, 100, 113. The dome of, 124, 132.

Somerville, Lord. Referred to as building-owner of Drum House, Midlothian, 2, 6.

South Bridge Improvement, Edinburgh. Robert Adam's design for, referred to, 53, 58, 132.

Spalato. Robert Adam's study of the ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian at, 1, 17, 19, 24, 33, 63, 111, 316, 318.

Spencer House. Robert Adam's section of a cornice by James Stuart at, referred to, 50, 83.

Spenser, Mr. His marriage to Georgiana, daughter of Earl Granville, referred to, 197.

Spiers, The Late Walter L. Former Curator of the Soane Museum, referred to, 1.

Spiller, James, Architect. His disclosure to Sir John Soane of Porden's complicity in the "Shanahan" pamphlet, referred to, 108. Referred to as a friend of Sir John Soane, 114. Referred to as in James Wyatt's office, 108.

Spinet, Mahogany, at Osterley Park, Middlesex, referred to, 202.

Sproul, Mr. Robert Adam's designs for Linet House, near Glasgow, for, referred to, 132.

Squares : Charlotte, Edinburgh, 97, 126, 132. Fitzroy, London, 70, 97, 114, 132. St. George's, Glasgow, 132.

Stables : Compton Verney, Warwickshire, 226, 226. Croome Court, Worcestershire, 184. Culzean Castle, Ayrshire, 88. Harewood House, Yorks., 164. Kedleston, Derbyshire, 43. Kimbolton Castle, Hunts., 65. Newby, 65. Pavilion, Brighton, 114. Second Troop of Life Guards, London, 119. Shadeford, Bucks, 153, 155. West Wycombe Park, Bucks, 50.

Stained Glass Windows. Croome Church, Worcestershire, referred to, 101.

Staunce: Alvwick Castle, Northumberland, 43. Bowood, Wiltz., 211. Drum House, Midlothian, 4, 8. Garrick's Villa, Hampton-on-Thames, 33. Harewood House, Yorks., 168, 173, 177. Hatchlands Park Surrey, 141, 142, 143. Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, 103, 173. Kenwood, Middlesex, 307, 310. Lansdowne House, London, 200. Luton Hoo, Beds., 69, 74. Nostell Priory, Yorks., 173. No. 2, St. James's Square, London. Osterley Park, Middlesex, 287, 290. Strawberry Hill, Middlesex, 88.

Standards of Proportion. Robert Adam's views on, 81.

Stanhope, Sir William. Designs for temples by Robert Adam for, referred to, 190.

Stanfield. His paintings in the great drawing (now dining) room, Bowood, Wiltz., referred to, 213.

Stansted House, Sussex. Walpole's reference to building in 1752, at, 15, 278.

Statuary : Bowood, Wiltz. (lead garden), 214. Croome Court, Worcestershire (long gallery), 181, 182, 183. Kedleston, Derbyshire (great hall), 234, 235. Syon House, Middlesex (dining-room), 183, 258, 261, 262; (Lion lead, east front), 246, 255; (Apollo), 253, 260; (Great hall), 249, 250, 251, 253, 260; (Hector, in the ante-room), 255, 260; (Ante-room), 255, 256, 260.

Steps and Stairways (Exterior). Drus House, Midlothian, 3, 5, 23. Kedleston, Derbyshire: North portico, 231; South front, 229. Nostell Priory, Yorks., 290. Osterley Park, Middlesex, approach to inner courtyard, 279, 288. South front, 283, 290.

Sterne. Referred to as living in Paris, 1765, 74.

Stevens, Mr. Robert Adam's note referring to the Cambridge plan sent to, 126.

Stoke Park. Its attribution to Inigo Jones, referred to, 243.

Stone Houses, Harewood Village, Yorks., for the 1st Earl of Harewood. Referred to, 174, 177.

Stone, Nicholas, Sculptor. His tomb for Sir Richard and Lady Verney, referred to, 228.

Stormont, David Murray, 1st Viscount. Referred to as a favourite of James I, 305. Referred to as the 2nd son of the 8th Baron Tullochardine, 703.

Stormont, 5th Viscount. His marriage to the only daughter of David Scottstarvel, referred to, 305. Referred to as father of William Murray, 1st Earl of Mansfield, 205.

Stormont, 6th Viscount. Referred to as nephew and heir of 1st Earl of Mansfield, 128. Referred to as a palf-bearer at Robert Adam's funeral, 128.

Stow, Burch. Curwen's visit to and description of, 120. Dallaway's reference to, 110. Interior work at, referred to as by Mr. Italian architects employed, 120. Mrs. Philip Powy's opinion of, 120, 131. Robert Adam's design for the south front of, 115, 117, 119, 120, 121. Signor Borra, the chief architect for, referred to, 120.

Stratford, Earl of. His house at Twickenham, referred to, 98. Walpole's letter to, regarding the completion of the round tower at Strawberry Hill, 91, 98.

Strahan, Publisher. Wallace's letter to, regarding the death of David Hume, 16.

Strange, Lord. His commission to Miller to supply a plan for a Gothick cockpit, referred to, 94.
 Strangeways, Lady Louise Emma Fox. Her marriage to the 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne, referred to, 260.
 Stratford, Earl of. Referred to as the promoter of the building of Stratford Place, London, 118.
 Stratford-on-Avon. Garrick's temporary rotunda at, 30.
 Stratford Place, London. Ceiling in the Adam manner at No. 3, 124. Richard Edwin's share in the promotion of, referred to, 118. Its attribution to Robert Adam, 118. Referred to as an example of Adam copyism, 67, 123. Referred to as not conclusively proved to be the work of Robert Adam, 114. Referred to by W. H. Leeds as a speculation that turned out badly, 114.
 Strawberry Hill, Middlesex. Assistant of Bentley and Sanderson Miller to Walpole at, 88. Bentley's assistance with Walpole at, referred to, 89. Ceiling designed by Robert Adam for, referred to, 109. Gothic staircase at, referred to, 88. Its conversion to "Gothick," referred to, 88. Its purchase by Horace Walpole, referred to, 88. Madame du Deffand's report on French opinion of, 92. State bedchamber at, referred to, 91. The famous Round Tower at, referred to, 91, 98. The "Great Tower" at, referred to, 88. Visit of George III and Queen Charlotte to, referred to, 90. Walpole's lathe and plaster castle-villa at, referred to, 88. Walpole's letters to Sir Horace Mann on the building work at, 89, 91, 98. Walpole's reference to the fourteenth century tower by James Essex at, 92. Wyatt's stay at, referred to, 132.
 Strawberry Hill Committee, The. Members of, 92.
 Stuart and Revett's "Antiquities of Athens." Referred to, 1, 58, 73.
 Stuart, George, Professor of Humanity, Edinburgh University. Referred to, 24.
 Stuart, Dr. Gilbert. His visit to David Hume's tomb, referred to, 3.
 Stuart James ("Athenian"). Architect of No. 15, St. James's Square, London, 101, 102, 112. Comparison by Robert Smirke of Adam with Wyatt and, 106, 108, 113. Gwilt's praise of, 112. His dilettantism referred to as affecting his practice, 125. His Greek Doric temple at Hagley Park, Worcestershire, 89. His house for Mrs. Montagu in Portman Square, London, 99, 100, 100. Mrs. Montagu's supersession of Robert Adam by, referred to, 99. Referred to as co-author with Nicholas Revett of "Antiquities of Athens," 58. Robert Adam regarded as a dangerous interloper by the partisans of Wyatt and, 105. Robert Adam's discussions with him on Greek architecture, referred to, 83. Robert Adam's mention of, in the "Works," referred to, 83. Robert Adam's note of a Greek cornice at Spencer House by, referred to, 59, 83. Shanahan's reference to the superiority of the work of, compared with that of Robert Adam, 108.
 Stuart, Sir James of Coltness. Biographical details, 72. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's letter to, regarding the 1st Earl of Mansfield, 32.
 Sturt, Lady Louisa. Referred to as the daughter of the 3rd Earl of Bute, 24.
 Stuart, Miss. Referred to as a guest at the Pringle's reception at which Robert and James Adam attended, 131.
 Stucco, Adams Liardet. Its unsuitability for exterior work, referred to, 35.
 Stucco Arabesques at Shardeles, Bucks. Referred to, 141.
 Styles, B. H. Referred to as a building-owner of the rebuilt house at Moor Park, Herts, 54.
 Suffolk, Henry, 12th Earl of. His marriage to the widow of Francis Child, M.P., referred to, 283.
 Sundial at Croome Court, Worcestershire, 190, 190.
 Swift, Dean. His ridicule of Vanburgh's house in Whitehall, referred to, 221.
 Syon House, Middlesex. Acquisition of, by the 6th Duke of Somerset through his marriage, referred to, 251. Ancient Roman Verde antique columns in the ante-room, 254, 255, 256, 260, 261. Casing in Bath stone of, referred to, 247, 255. Ceilings of, referred to, 184. Cloister at, 246, 255. Date of Robert Adam's work at, 46, 246. Dining-room, 183, 258, 259, 260, 262. Dissolution by Queen Elizabeth I of the nunnery at, referred to, 249. Doubts expressed by alterations at the 1st Duke of Northumberland at, 272, 278. Drawing-room, 262, 263, 264, 285, 265, 268. Embellishment of, by 1st Duke of Northumberland, referred to, 253. Entrance gateway and screen to, 17, 111, 251, 270, 271, 274, 275, 276, 278. Evelyn's note on, 166, 250, 251. Gallery, 174, 286, 287, 288, 268, 269, 270, 270, 271, 271, 278. Gate-houses at, 257, 274. Grant of, by Edward VI to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, referred to, 249. Grant of, by James I to Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, referred to, 249, 250. Grant of, by Edward VI to Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, referred to, 249, 251. Gwilt's criticism of the gateway to, 111. Hall, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 257, 259, 260. History of, 247, 249, 250, 251. Inclusion of some of the old convent building in the present structure, referred to, 253, 255. Internal quadrangle at, 255. Its origin in the monastery of the Brigittines, founded by Henry VII, referred to, 251. Its roof at Moor Park, referred to, 287. Lead figure of the lion on the east front of, 249, 255. Piranesi referred to as engineer of four of the plates of in the "Works," 76. Plan, 248. Portico entrance by Robert Adam (now destroyed), referred to, 257, 278. Reference to copies of antique statues in the dining-room, at 183. Repairs by Inigo Jones at, 250. Resemblance of the decorations at, to those at Shardeles, referred to, 246. Restoration of the nunnery at, by Queen Mary (Tudor), referred to, 249. Robert Adam's design for a bridge at, 251, 253, 278. Robert Adam's designs for, 39. Robert Adam's interiors at, referred to as related to those at Kedleston, 238. Robert Adam's scheme for a central rotunda (not executed) at, 246, 248. State rooms at, referred to as the masterpiece of Robert Adam, 246. Stucco wall panels at, referred to, 293. Treatment of the window recesses at, referred to, 293. Walpole's mention of in a letter to the Earl of Hertford, referred to, 99, 112. Walpole's reference to building in 1752 at, 253, 278. Walpole's reference to the gallery at, 269, 278. Walpole's reference to the envy of the Percies and Seymours over, 279, 302.

Tables:

Adam Console, made for Sir Lawrence Dundas, referred to, 173. Harewood House, Yorks., 166, 167, 172, 173. Kenwood, Middlesex, 313. Shardeles, Bucks, 151, 152. Shardeles, Bucks, 264, 265, 265, 268. Syon House, Middlesex, 264, 265, 265, 268. Gilt side, with mosaic slab tops, Osterley Park, Middlesex, 292. Marqueterie card, Syon House, Middlesex, 269, 270, 273. White and gold side, Kedleston, Derbyshire, 238, 240, 242. Tankerville, Earl of. His villa at Walton-on-Thames, referred to, 210. Tapestries. Boucher-Nielson, formerly at Croome Court, referred to, 184. Gobelins, in the tapestry-room, Osterley Park, 291, 292, 293, 293. Tassie, James. His Wedgwood cameo portrait of Robert Adam, 1. Tatham, C. H. His letter to Herny Holland, junior, criticising the work of R. and J. Adam, 114. Taylor, Dr., of Ashbourne, referred to as host of Dr. Johnson, when the latter visited Kedleston, 101. Taylor, G. Ledwell, his mutilation of Robert Adam's screen at the Admiralty, London, referred to, 139. Taylor, Sir Robert, Architect. His appointment as architect of His Majesty's Works, referred to, 131. His appointment as His Majesty's master mason, referred to, 132. Referred to as one of the architects to the Board of Works, 30. Tea Room, Moor Park, Herts, 44, 45, 54, 55, 81. Temple, The Earl. Referred to as building-owner of Stowe, Bucks, 130. Temples (Ancient). Concord, at Rome, referred to by Robert Adam in his Essay on the Ionic Order, 83. Erechtheus at Athens, referred to by Robert Adam in his Essay on the Ionic Order, 83. Jupiter Tomans, referred to by Robert Adam in his essay on entablatures for interiors, 15, 85. Manly Fortune at Rome, referred to by Robert Adam in his Essay on the Ionic Order, 83. Peace. Referred to by Robert Adam in his Essay on ceilings and wall decoration, 87. Temples and Garden Buildings. *Croome Court, Worcestershire*. Alcove seat in, 186, 190. Conservatory, garden room and orangery, 185, 187. East Georgian garden room, 184, 190. Island Temple, 186, 187, 189, 190. Panorama tower, 186, 188, 189. *Culzean Castle, Ayrshire*, garden towers, 92. *Garrick's Villa, Hampton-on-Thames*. Shakespeare Temple, 27, 30, 31, 35, 58. *Hagley Park, Worcestershire*. James Stuart's Doric Temple, 89. Ruined castle by Sanderson Miller, 90, 94, 95, 97. *Kedleston, Derbyshire*. Pair of garden pavilions for the earlier brick house, by James Gibbs, 229. Robert Adam's design for a great Roman ruin at, 243, 244. *Melcombe Baron*. Garden room designed by Robert Adam for the house at Hammersmith of, 74, 80. *Montagu, Duke of*. Garden seat at Richmond designed by Robert Adam for, 278. *Moor Park, Herts*. The Tea room at, 44, 45, 54, 55, 81. *Nuneham, Oxfordshire*. Rev. W. Mason, 92, 98. *Osterley Park, Middlesex*. The conservatory, 300, 301. *Orangeries*. *Bowood, Wilts.* Conservatory, 186. *Vernon, Warwickshire*, 202, 204, 227. *Croome Court, Worcestershire*, 185. *Garrick's Villa, Hampton-on-Thames*, 29. *Kensington, Middlesex*, 214. *Osterley Park, Middlesex*, 187. *Shardeles, Bucks*, 153. *Stanhope, Sir William*. Robert Adam's designs of temples for, referred to, 100. *Syon House, Middlesex*. The boathouse, 277. *Tower for Briesley*. Plan, 80. *West Wycombe Park, Bucks*. The island temple, 52, 55, 57, 60, 74. *Wimpole*. Ruined tower at, by Sanderson Miller, referred to, 98. *Terrace Gardens, Bowood, Wilts.*, by Sir Charles Barry, R.A., 192, 195, 210. *Terracotta Work in the Grounds of Croome Court, Worcestershire*, 189. Thackeray, William Makepeace, Novelist. Reference to characters by, 75. Thatched House Tavern, London. Referred to as the meeting place of the Architectural Club, 126. Theatre, Covent Garden, London, referred to, 113. Royal Drury Lane, London. Robert Adam's reconstruction of, 30, 88. Thornden Hall, Essex. Paine's method of connecting quadrant galleries to wings at, referred to, 243. Thorhill, Sir James, Architect and Mural Painter. Referred to as joint architect with Giacomo Leoni of Moor Park, Herts, 44. Referred to as the painter of the frescoes at Moor Park, Herts, 73. Thrale, H. His house at Streatham, referred to, 202. Referred to, 143. Referred to as a patron of George Gwilt (the elder) and as Dr. Johnson's friend, 114. Thrale, Mrs. (afterwards Madame Piozzi). Her criticism of Kedleston Hall, 101. Her friendship with Dr. Burney, referred to, 131. Her visit to Kedleston with Dr. Johnson, referred to, 101. Selwyn's comment on her book of travels, 213. Tombs. See Monuments. Tooke, Horne. His "Life" referred to in regard to the 1st Earl of Mansfield, 320. "Topographical Dictionary of Scotland" (Nicholas Carlisle), referred to, 10. Topham, Edward. His "Life of the late John Elwes, M.P.", referred to, 131. Torrigiano, Pietro, Italian Sculptor and Draughtsman, referred to, 4. Torrington. Referred to as opposing the taxation of America, 197. Tour Magne at Nimes. Madame du Boccage's reference to, 24. "Tour in the Northern Counties" (Richard Warner), referred to in regard to Robert Adam's village at Whitehaven, 65. "Tours in Scotland" (Pococke), referred to, 23. "Tour in the Western Highlands." References in, to Alnwick Castle, 41, 43. Towers, Briesley, 80. Croome Court, Worcestershire, 186, 188, 189. High Wycombe Church, Bucks, 204. Kedleston Church, Derbyshire, 238, 240. Newby, Yorkshire, 100. Syon House, Middlesex, 91, 92, 98. Thornbury, 92. Wimpole (ruined), 98. Townsend, Mr. His visit to Bowood with Lord Shelburne and Robert Adam, 168, referred to, 169, 215. Townsend, Alderman James. His opposition to Wilkes in the City of London, referred to, 201.

Townshend, Charles. Referred to in the memorial notice of Robert Adam, 128.

Town Hall, Dundee. Referred to as the work of William Adam, senior, 23.

Townsee, Mrs. Her editor of Horace Walpole's letters, referred to, 284, 302.

Tracy, Mr. His marriage to Kitty Gunning, referred to, 191.

Trade's Hill, Glasgow. The. Robert Adam's design for, referred to, 139, 142.

Transparency and Illumination for Queen Charlotte. Robert Adam's design for a, 39, 48, 49.

Trevi Fountain, The. Drawings, probably by Robert Adam, of, referred to, 15, 17, 24.

Trevor, 4th Baron, afterwards Viscount Hampden. Marriage of his daughter, first to Francis Child, M.P., and secondly to the 12th Duke of Sutherland, referred to, 283.

Tripp's Lamp Stand. Adam. Osterley Park, 292, 295.

Trotman, Samuel of Shelswell, Oxon. Marriage of his daughter, Susannah, to Sanderson Miller, referred to, 98.

Trotter, R. Robert Adam's design for the "House-of-the-Bush." Edinburgh, for, referred to, 112.

Tullibardine, 8th Baron. Referred to as an ancestor of the 1st Earl of Mansfield, 305.

Tunnel for draining the coalfield at Pinkie, referred to, 4.

Turner, Sir Edward. His letter to Sanderson Miller concerning Croome Court, 181, 182, 191.

Turton, Dr. Robert Adam's design for a trestle bridge at Brasted, Kent, for, 77, 78.

Tuscan Order of Architecture. Robert Adam's views in the, 51.

Twaddell, William. Referred to as supplying mirrors to Kenwood, Middlesex, 319.

Tweddell, Missess of. Referred to as half-sister of Lady Sophia Cartaret, 106.

Tytler, Hon. Alexander Fraser, of Woodhouselee. His "Memoirs" of the Hon. Henry Home, referred to, 99, 113.

University of Edinburgh. Robert Adam's ill-fated scheme for, referred to, 112.

Upper Ossory, John, Earl of. Marriage of his daughter, Lady Louisa Fitzpatrick, to the 2nd Earl of Shelburne (1st Marquess of Lansdowne), referred to, 206. Rugby's letter to, on the sale of Piccadilly House, London, 73.

Upper Ossory, Anne, Countess of. Referred to as the daughter of Lord Ravensworth, 98. Referred to as a correspondent of George Selwyn and Horace Walpole, 98, 202. Referred to as divorced from her first husband, the Duke of Grafton, 98. Referred to as sister-in-law of Louisa, Countess of Shelburne. Referred to as travelling abroad with the 2nd Earl of Shelburne and Lady Holland, 202. Walpole's advice to, to induce her husband to buy Lord Villiers house in Grafton Street, referred to, 112, 114. Walpole's letter to, on Mr. Adam's gingerbread and snippets of embroidery, 100, 113. Walpole's letter to, on Essex and his 14th century tower at Strawberry Hill, 92, 98. Walpole's letter to, on his visit to Osterley Park, 279, 302. Walpole's opinion of, 98.

Urns and Pedestals. Kedleston, Derbyshire, the dining-room, 238, 241. The Saloon or audience, 238, 237, 241. Kenwood, Middlesex, 306, 310. Osterley Park, Middlesex, 284, 292.

Valances of carved wood by Chippendale. Gallery at Harewood House, York, 168, 173.

Vanburgh, Sir John, Architect. Continuation by Robert Adam of his work at Compton Verney, referred to, 65. Facades of Compton Verney referred to as in his style, 219. His building of Blenheim Palace, referred to, 219. His building of Kimbolton Castle, referred to, 63, 219, 221. His Clarendon Press building, Oxford, referred to, 221. His death, referred to, 221. His employment at Compton Verney by the 12th Baron Willoughby de Broke, referred to, 221. His house in Whitehall, London, referred to, 221. His massive castellated work at Kimbolton Castle, referred to, 65. Influence of his work on William Adam, senior, referred to, 2 James Adam's reported opinion on Blenheim Palace, referred to, 9. Old tradition that he was architect of Compton Verney, referred to, 219. Reference to the earlier Eaton Hall, Cheshire, as by, 45. Referred to as among the great English architects, 131. Referred to as architect of the New Opera House, Haymarket, London, 61. Referred to in Adam's "Works" as understanding the art of living among them, 76. Rightly successor to his post as Controller of the Board of Works, referred to, 140. Robert Adam's additions to his work at Compton Verney, referred to, 225. Robert Adam's appreciation of the genius of, 70, 216. Sir Joshua Reynolds' appreciation of, 79, 216, 219. Start of his architectural career with Castle Howard, referred to, 210.

Van Nerven, C., Stone Carver. Employment of, at Drum House, referred to, 2. Employment of, at Kinross House, referred to, 2.

Vaughan, Benjamin. His assistance to Shelburne in the negotiations with America, referred to, 202.

Venetian Windows. Kedleston, Derbyshire, 240, 242. Kenwood, Middlesex, 310.

Verney, Sir Richard, kt. His tomb in the chapel, Compton Verney, referred to, 288.

Verney, Sir Richard, kt. Revival of the Willoughby de Broke Barony in his honour, referred to, 219. His tomb, and that of his lady, by Nicholas Stone, in the Chapel, Compton Verney, 219.

Vertue, George. His MS. notes on painting, referred to as supplying the invaluable element in Walpole's "Anecdotes on Painting," 90. His notes of a tour referred to regarding Compton Verney, 219.

Vignola, Giacomo Barozzio da, Italian Architect. The College des Quatre Nations, Paris, referred to as having more the character of Palladio than of, 79.

Villas. Adrian's, referred to, 87, 92. Farsetti's, 95. Garrick's, 28, 29, 31, 33, 38. Highclere, Christchurch, 72. Madama, Rome, 15. Pamph, 15. Rotunda, 78, 87.

Village at Whitehaven. Designed and built by Robert Adam for the 1st Earl of Lonsdale, 65.

Villiers, Lord. His house in Grafton Street, Piccadilly, London, referred to, 112, 114.

"Vitruvius Britannicus" referred to, 2, 38, 49, 58, 59, 74, 103, 113, 125, 157, 158, 168, 173, 224, 225, 227, 234, 235, 239, 240, 247.

"Vitruvius Scoticus," 2, 4, 6, 23.

Vivares, T., Engraver of Plates in the "Works," referred to, 53.

Waghorns, a famous coffee house at Westminster. Referred to, 129, 132.

Wale, Samuel, Painter. Referred to as a *protégé* of the 3rd Earl of Burlington, 87.

Wales, Frederick, Prince of. His death referred to, 32, 7.

Wales, Augusta of Saxo Gorha, Princess of. Her care of her son, George III, referred to, 32. Her opposition to the intrigue of Lord Holland over the love affair of George III for Lady Sara Lennox, 123.

Wales, George, Prince of (afterwards George IV). Reconstruction of Carlton Palace for, referred to, 100.

Wall Decorations. See Mural Decoration.

Wall, Richard. Referred to as paymaster, 1769-76, for the works at Bowood, 214.

Wallace. His letter to Strahan, the publisher, on David Hume's death, 13.

Waller, John. Referred to as building-owner of Gregories, Bucks, 173. Waller, Sir William. His residence and death at Osterley Park, referred to, 290.

Wallpapers, Chinese; Bowood, Wiltz; the Indian room, 207, 213. Kenwood, Middlesex, 319.

Walpole, The Hon. Horace (afterwards 4th Earl of Orford) Baskerville's letter to, soliciting patronage, 10. Bentley's share in the architecture of, 80. Ceiling design by Robert Adam for, 91. Chimneypieces designed by Robert Adam for, 91. John Chute referred to as a friend of, at Florence, 98. Conversation picture of Williams, Edgcumbe and Selwyn painted by Reynolds for, 98. Countess of Upper Ossory referred to as one of the correspondents of, 202. Endless allusions to gambling in the letters of, referred to, 112. Epitaph by, for Robert Wood's mother, referred to, 10. Value of his criticisms and statements of fact measurable by his libel on Chambers, 100.

References to his

Abuse of the Adelphi, 99. Admiration at first for Robert Adam, 99. Amusing himself with encaustic painting, 102. "Anecdotes of Painting," 90. Appreciation of Robert Adam in "Anecdotes of Painting," 90. Assistance by Bentley and Miller at Strawberry Hill, 88. Association with Thomas Gray at Eton and Cambridge, 88. Assured judgments on matters of art, 91.

Being the creator of Strawberry Hill, 70. Biting criticism of the "Constellation of the Adelphi," 91.

Clouding influence on Wyatt's career, 125, 132. Considerable jealousy of Sanderson Miller's achievements, 94. Criticisms of Boswell, 100, 113. Criticisms of Dr Johnson, 100, 113.

Defects in the architecture of, 98. Detention of his father, the "Great Corruptor," 121. Disgust at the lack of development in art in George III's reign, 121, 132. Disgust at Robert Adam's Etruscan decoration at Osterley Park, 175.

Exaggerated dislike of William Adam, M.P., 128.

Fancy for a Chinese room for Rugby at Mistley, Essex, 80.

Gothic Gateway in the garden at Strawberry Hill, 91.

Having been at King's College Cambridge, 98. Hostility towards Robert Adam, following publication of the first part of the "Works," 99.

Imputation that Robert Adam charged Wyatt with plagiarism, 99, 113.

Obvious malice often inspiring his judgments, 91.

Personal claims to sinecure offices on account of his father's public services, 121, 131. Prejudice against the 2nd Earl of Shelburne, 197, 199. Pretensions as a serious critic of art, 100, 113. Private persuasion of Mrs Montagu to cease employing Robert Adam, 91, 98. Purchase of Strawberry Hill, 88.

Quarrel with and parting from Thomas Gray at Reggio, 88, 98.

Reconciliation with Thomas Gray, 88, 98. Relations with Jones, Essex, brought about by Mason, 92, 98. Reputation as the founder of the Gothic revival, 88. Return from Italy, 98.

Sketches of the character of the 6th Earl of Coventry, 131. Social distinction and brilliant letter writing, 88. Suggestion for the treatment of the gallery at Syon House, 130.

Theatrical romance, "The Castle of Otranto," 88. Travels abroad with Thomas Gray, 88, 98.

Various allusions to the 6th Baron le Despencer, 56.

References to his letters to

Ashburton, The Countess of, on Lady Sarah Lennox, 123, 132. Bentham, Richard, asking for a design for the library ceiling at Strawberry Hill, 88. On the "Committee of Strawberry Hill," 88. Purchasing Sanderson Miller's ruined castle at Hadley Park, 94.

Hertford, The Earl of, mentioning Syon House, 99, 113. On the gallery at Syon House, 269, 278.

Mann, Sir Horace, on the marriage of the 2nd Earl of Shelburne to Lady Sophia Cartaret, 106, 197, 214.

On the progress of the work at Strawberry Hill, 80. On the results of the architectural work at Strawberry Hill, 91, 98. On the round tower at Strawberry Hill, 91, 98.

Mason, Rev. William, on the gateway and screen to Syon House, 270, 278.

Montagu, George, on the round tower at Strawberry Hill, 91, 98.

Pinkerton, John, on Wilkes being in the pay of France, 131.

Stratford-on-Avon, on the completion of the round tower at Strawberry Hill, 91, 98.

Upper Ossory, Anne, Countess of, advising that her husband should buy Lord Villiers' house in Grafton Street, Piccadilly, 122, 114.

On "Mr. Adam's gingerbread and snippets of embroidery," 100, 113. On James Essex and his fourteenth century tower at Strawberry Hill, 92. On Mrs. Boscowen, 137. On Osterley Park, 279.

References and opinions in his letters concerning—

"A la Grecque" rage in Paris, 1764, The, 74.

Adam, Robert. His "Harlequinades," 100, 113. His lack of modesty in the "Works," 79. His success, 63, 74. The progress of his work at Kimbolton Castle, 63, 74.

Adam Brothers, The. As the "Constellation of the Adelphi" and their bubble lottery, 100, 113.

Bateman, Richard. His "Gothick" house at Windsor, 89. Bateman, Lord. His stripping and selling the "Gothick" house at Windsor, 98.

Bentley, Richard. As "a treasure of drawing and taste," 89. His design for a monument to Sir Horace Mann's brother, 89.

Boscawen, Admiral. His achievements and merits, 133. His appointment to the Admiralty, 137, 143.

Bridge at Park Place for the Hon. Seymour Conway, 89.

Bute, 3rd Earl of. His resignation of office, 33.

Castle Ashby, Northants, 73.

Chambers, Sir William. His alleged running away, 100, 113.

Chesterfield, The 4th Earl of. His patronage of Madame du Bocage, 98.

Chesterfield House, Mayfair, London. The interior of, 87.

Child, Robert. The death of, 294, 304.

Child, Mrs. Robert. Her second marriage to Lord Ducie, 294, 295, 302.

Child, Sarah. Westmorland (10th Earl of), elopement with, 294, 302.

Comparisons between English and French society in dress and equipages, 1765, 74.

Coventry, The 6th Earl of, 179.

Denmark, The King of. Entertainment at Syon House, 1768, for, 277.

De Guisnes, Monsieur. The unfavourable reports of Strawberry Hill heard by, 91, 98.

Dodd, Rev. Dr. William, and the Lock Chapel, 73.

Du Defand, Madame. Her report on French opinion of Strawberry Hill, 92.

English architecture as pure as in Adrian's or Pliny's Villa, 92.

Essex, James, as "our only Gothic architect," 92.

Garrick's Villa. The Shakespeare Temple at, 1765.

George III. Assembled with Queen at Buckingham House, 98. His favourite study of building, 73.

Gray, Thomas, 88, 98.

Gunning, The beautiful Misses, 178, 179, 191.

Holland, Baron, and the Paymastership, 214.

Kent, William. His inability to unite the grace of Grecian architecture with the lightness and solemnity of Gothic, 89.

Manchester, The 4th Duke of, 65.

Miller, Sanderson. His ruined castle at Hapley Park, 95.

Montagu, Mrs. Her house in Portman Square, London, 100, 113.

Northampton, 7th Earl of, and his Countess. Their deaths, 34.

Northumberland, 1st Duke of. His building operations in 1752, 253, 278.

Northumberland House, Strand, London. The direct copies of Italian masterpieces at, 291.

Osterley Park, Middlesex. Criticism and praise of, 99. Doorcases at, 99. First visit to, 279, 302. Second visit to and opinion of the Etruscan Room, 286.

Pitt, Thomas (afterwards Lord Camelford), as "my present architect," 89, 98. His residence in Twickenham, 90, 98. His work at Strawberry Hill, 90, 98.

Richmond, 4th Duke of. His gallery for art students, 46, 73. His marriage to Lady Mary Bruce, 46, 73.

Rowley, Admiral. His appointment to the Admiralty, 137, 143.

St. James's Palace, London. The enlarging and furnishing of the great apartment, at, 49, 73.

Scottish Banks. The failure of, 23.

Stuart, James. His house for Mrs. Montagu in Portman Square, London, 100, 113.

Success of the Gothick Party, The, 91, 98.

Upper Ossory, Anne, Countess of. Her qualities, 98.

Wolfe, General. The designs for the tomb of, 39.

Wolfe's Corridor, Notes. The burning-down of, 236, 237, 245.

Wolfe's appointment as Surveyor-General of the Board of Works, 131.

Wyatt, James, and the Pantheon, London, 99.

Walpole, Sir Robert, (1st Earl of Orford), Statesman. Defence of, by his son, Horace, against charges of corruption, referred to, 113.

His policy in regard to France, referred to, 202.

His position in the early days of George II, referred to, 26.

His resignation of office, referred to, 98.

Lord Granville referred to as the chief opponent of, 197.

Marriage of one of his servants to Thomas Ripley, referred to, 139.

Referred to as building-owner of Houghton Hall, Norfolk, 113.

Walpole, Horatio, 1st Baron. Referred to as building-owner of Wolverton Hall, Norfolk, 140.

"Walpoliana," (Birkerton's). Reference to the 3rd Earl of Bute in, 72.

Ware, Isaac, Architect. Referred to as the designer of Chesterfield House, Matlock, London, 87.

Warkworth Castle, Northumberland. Referred to as a seat of the 7th Duke of Somerset, 277.

Referred to as a seat of the 1st Duke of Northumberland (1st creation), 253.

Walpole's reference to building in 1752 at, 253, 278.

Warner, Rev. Richard. His "Tour through the Northern Counties," referred to, 43, 65, 175, 176, 240, 245.

Watt, James. Referred to as among the leaders of industry and science, 201.

Watteau, French Painter, 1684-1721. Referred to, 87.

"Wealth of Nations," The. By Adam Smith, referred to, 24.

Wedderburn, Colonel David. His visit to Garrick with the "Scotch Group," referred to, 29.

Wedderburn, William, Lord Loughborough. See Loughborough.

Wedgwood, Josiah, Potter. Black vases at Osterley Park by, referred to, 292.

His ceramic ware, referred to, 286, 302.

Referred to as a designer of fire grates, 142.

Wentworth. Referred to as in the early cabinet of George III, 123.

Wentworth, Lady. Angelica Kauffmann's advent in London under the protection of, referred to, 73.

Wesley, Rev. John. His opinion of Alnwick Castle, 73, 177.

His opinion of the great houses of his time, referred to, 21.

His opinion of Harewood House, 177.

His visit to the 1st Earl of Shelburne at Bowood, referred to, 206, 215.

Reference to the extent of his travelling in England, 126.

West, Benjamin, P.R.A. George III's bountiful patronage of, referred to, 121.

Referred to as a prophet of the High Art School, 177.

Robert Smirke's comparison of, with Gainsborough, 106, 113.

Westminster Abbey. Monument of General Wolfe in, 39, 73.

Robert Adam's interment in, 128.

The 1st Earl of Mansfield's monument in, referred to, 303, 320.

Westmorland, Vere, 4th Earl of. Marriage of his daughter, Mary, to the 1st Baron le Despencer, referred to, 56.

Westmorland, John, 7th Earl of. His death referred to, 56.

Westmorland, John, 10th Earl of. His elopement with Sarah Child, 294, 302.

West Wycombe Church, Bucks, 57, 60, 61, 74.

West Wycombe Park, Bucks. Drawing-room, 58. East portico, 54, 58, 59. Island temple, 55, 60, 74.

Its various owners, referred to, 56.

Kimboltton Castle as a link with, through the Dashwood family, 57, 59, 60.

Mausoleum, 57, 59, 60.

Plan, 52, 57.

Reference to plan and elevation of, by J. Donowell, in "Vitruvius Britannicus," 58, 59, 74.

Robert Adam's design for kitchen and stable-wing at, 50.

Saw mill, 58, 60.

Southern colonnade, 53, 57.

South portico, 47, 48, 49, 59.

Westerell, Sir Charles. Referred to as acquiring James Paine's villa at Addington, Surrey, 113.

Wheatley, Mr. Soane's reference to James Paine's employment of, 114.

Wheeler, R. B. His "History of Stratford-on-Avon," referred to, 20.

White, Mr. His design for the new House of Lords, referred to, 129.

White, Rev. Thomas. His "Account of the Parish of Liberton, 1782," referred to, 23.

Whitehall Palace. Inigo Jones' great plan for, referred to, 169.

Vanbrugh's house in Whitehall, referred to as built amid the ruins of, 221.

Whitehaven. The 1st Earl Londale's carpet factory at, 65.

Village at, designed and built by Robert Adam, 65.

Wilberforce, William. His *bon mot* on the Church of England, 166.

Wilkes, John, Politician and Lord Mayor of London. Flander's Towne's opposition to, referred to, 120, 131.

His attack on the Scots, referred to, 22.

His membership of the Medmenham Abbey Club, referred to, 56.

His parody of Pope's "Essay on Man," referred to, 56.

Referred to as an intimate of Sir Joshua Reynolds, 73.

Referred to as living in 1765 at Paris, 74.

The facious trials of, referred to, 306.

Walpole's statement about, cringing to the Earl of Bute for the Constantinople Embassy, 131.

Walpole's statement that, was in the pay of France, 131.

Wilkinson, Pinkney. Marriage of his daughter, Anne, to Thomas Pitt, (Lord Camelford), referred to, 98.

William IV, King. Alteration of Robert Adam's screen at the Admiralty to please, referred to, 139, 143.

Williams, George James ("Gilly"). His letter to Selwyn regarding the return of Edwin Lascelles from France, 169, 170.

His letter to Selwyn on Walpole, 99, 98.

His opinion of "The Castle of Otranto," Williams' novel, 98.

Reference to his portrait in the conversation piece, painted for Walpole by Reynolds, 98.

Williams, William Feare. Referred to as the father of G. J. Williams and uncle of the 8th Baron North, 98.

Willis and Clark. Their attribution to Italian artists of the roof loft and screen at King's College Chapel, referred to, 98.

Willoughby de Broke, The Barons. Family History, 219.

Willoughby de Broke, George, 12th Baron. His employment of Vanbrugh at Compton Verney, referred to, 221.

His offices as Dean of Windsor and Registrar of the Order of the Garter, referred to, 219.

Referred to as the building-owner of Compton Verney, 219.

Willoughby de Broke, Richard, 13th Baron. Robert Adam's sketch for a monument to, referred to, 223.

Willoughby de Broke, Richard, 19th (present) Baron. His reference to the tradition that Vanbrugh was architect of Compton Verney, 219.

Wilton, Joseph, R.A. Sculptor. Biographical details, 73, 302.

Chimney-piece in the gallery at Osterley Park, attributed to, 203, 302.

His joint directorship with Cipriani of the 4th Duke of Richmond's gallery for art students, 46, 73.

His return to England with Cipriani and Sir William Chambers, referred to, 73.

Marriage of his daughter to Sir William Chambers, referred to, 73, 302.

Windsor Castle, Berks. Culmination of the epoch of the Castle Style in, referred to, 94.

Sir Jeffrey Wyatville's success in the Castle Style with, 97.

Wine Coolers. Kedleston, Derbyshire (Sicilian jasper), 238, 241.

Kenwood, Middlesex (mahogany), 305, 310.

Wimpole. Sanderson Miller's ruined tower at, referred to, 98.

Winchester. Robert Adam's drawing of the cross at, referred to, 11.

Winn, Sir Rowland, Bart. His engagement of Paine to design Nostell Priory, referred to, 23.

Wolfe, General. Designs of Robert Adam, Sir William Chambers and others for monuments of referred to, 39.

His praise of the works at Fort George, Money Firth, referred to, 39.

His history at Quebec, referred to, 132.

The 1st Marquess of Lansdowne's military service under, referred to, 39.

Monument to, by Joseph Wilton, in Westminster Abbey, 39, 41, 73.

Reference to the death of, 37.

Walpole's apostrophe to, 133.

Wolfe, John, L., Architect. His lifelong friendship and travels in Italy with Sir Charles Barry, referred to, 114.

Wolsey, Cardinal. Referred to as the builder of the original house at Moor Park, Herts, 54.

Walpole's reference to, regarding the resemblance of the tower at Thornbury to that by Essex at Strawbery Hill, 92.

Wolverton Hall, Norfolk. Ripley's building of, for Lord Walpole, referred to, 140.

Wood Carving. Croome Court, Worcestershire, fireplace in the Lord's drawing-room, 185.

Hasewood House, Worcs. Valances over windows in the gallery, 186, 173.

Hatchlands Park, Surrey, dining (now great drawing) room, 142.

Shardeo, Bucks, 148.

Wood, Robert. His books on "Basbeac" and "Palmyra," referred to, 39.

Robert Adam's design for the tomb of, referred to, 39.

Walpole's epitaph for the tomb of, referred to, 39.

Woolfe, J. Referred to as part compiler, with James Gandon, of "Vitruvius Britannicus" (continuation), Vols. II and IV, 103, 113.

Reference to his having redrawn the plans of Harewood House in "Vitruvius Britannicus," 168.

Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam, The. Referred to, 50, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 84, 85, 87, 99, 103, 106, 125, 130, 147, 216, 228, 242, 270, 271, 296, 297, 299, 300, 306, 307, 308, 318, 320.

INDEX.

Works by William Adam, senior, 23.
 Worksop Manor. Notes. Walpole's reference to its destruction by fire, 236, 237, 245.
 Wormleybury, Herts, 104, 108, 107, 122, map.
 Worlsey. Referred to as having been the King's Equerry. Referred to as Surveyor-General of the Board of Works, 121, 131.
 Wroxall, Sir N. W. Bart. His "Historical Memoirs of my own time," quoted on the 3rd Earl of Bute's taste for the fine arts and letters, 32.
 Wren, Sir Christopher, Architect. His bull's-eye windows in the Fountain Court, Hampton Court, referred to, 294. His mention of the Collège des Quatre Nations, Paris, referred to, 79. Referred to as among the great English Architects, 171. Robert Adam's reference to Vanbrugh as understanding the art of living among great better than, 76. Robert Adam's departure from the traditional work of, 1. Weakness in the use of the Corinthian Order by, 84.
 Wroxton Church Tower, by Sanderson Miller. Referred to, 98.
 Wyatt, James, R.A., Architect. Buildings by, in the grounds of Croome Court, referred to, 187. Cenotaph to "Capability" Brown at Croome Court, attributed to, 189. Clouding over his career by Walpole's influence, 125, 132. Compared with Robert Adam, 125. Destroyer of Gothic buildings, 125. James Elmes placing of, above R. and J. Adam, 112. The Empress Catherine's invitation to, to visit Russia, referred to, 114. Gibbon's mention of the Pantheon, London, by, 170. His better classical work submerged in Adam copyism, 125. His design for the new House of Lords, referred to, 129. His election to the Royal Academy, referred to, 120. His employment of Rebecca at Heaton Hall, referred to, 240. His employment of Robert Soane to paint decorative panels, referred to, 108. His grave slab at Westminster Abbey, referred to as adjoining that of Robert Adam, 128. His stay by the nobility, referred to, 113, 114. His stay at Strawberry Hill, referred to, 132. Hunt's reference to, as having a guaranteed income from twelve noblemen, 114. Peter Pindar's reference to, 124, 132. Porden's introduction by Rev. W. Mason to, referred to, 114. Porden's readings from the "Shanhagan" pamphlet in the office of, 108. Referred to as a member of the "Strawberry Hill Committee," 92. Referred to as one of the founders of the Architects' Club, 126. Referred to as the probable architect of the boathouse at Syon House, 277. Relations between Robert Adam and, 124, 125. Robert Adam regarded as a dangerous interloper by the partisans of, 105. "Shanhagan's" (Robert Smirke's) praise of interiors by, 108. "Shanhagan's" (Robert Smirke's) comparison of Robert Adam with James Stuart and, 106, 108, 113. Sir Robert Smirke's engagement at the Office of Works after the death of, 113. James Spiller referred to as in the office of, 108. Walpole's letter to Rev. W. Mason imputing to Robert Adam a charge of plagiarism against, 99, 113. Walpole's praise of him and his Pantheon, 99.
 Wyatts, The later. Their indifference to the Adam's work. Referred to, 110.
 Wyatville, Sir Jeffrey. His successful reconstruction of Windsor Castle in the "Castle Style," 94, 97.
 Wycombe Abbey, Bucks. Referred to as a seat of the 1st Earl of Shelburne, 204.
 Wyndham, Thomas. Reference to Baron Melcombe's bequest of his house at Hammersmith to, 74.
 Wynne, Sir Watkin Williams, referred to as building-owner of No. 20, St. James's Square, London, 104, 112.
 Yenn, J. Pupil of Sir William Chambers. His election to the Royal Academy, referred to, 120. Referred to as a member of the Architect's Club, 127.
 York, James, Duke of, afterwards James II. His visit to Syon House, referred to, 250.
 York Minster. Its great window referred to as the model for the east window of Alnwick Castle chapel, 43.
 Zuccarelli, Francis, R.A. His landscape panels on the ceiling and walls of the dining-room at Kedleston, referred to, 238, 241.
 Zucchi, Antonio Pietro, Venetian Painter. His decorative paintings at Kenwood, 309, 310, 311, 312, 312, 313, 314, 314. His drawings for the carved medallions on the north front of Harewood House, referred to, 175. His landscape panels in the dining-room, Osterley Park, referred to, 292. His landscape panels on the ceiling and walls of the dining-room at Kenwood, referred to, 238, 241. His landscape panels in the music-room at Harewood House, 165, 172. His marriage with Angelica Kauffmann, referred to, 316, 318. His receipted account for decorative paintings at Kenwood, 316. His return to Italy in 1781, referred to, 316. His work under Robert Adam, referred to, 316, 318. Reference in the "Tour to the Western Highlands" to his work at Harewood House, 175. Sir John Soane's reference to Robert Adam's employment of, 114.
 Zucchi, Giuseppe, Line Engraver. His employment on the "Works," referred to, 85, 318. Referred to as accompanying his brother, Antonio, to England, 318. Referred to as having finished many of Angelica Kauffmann's etchings, 318.









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